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ANTIQUITIES

OF

THE JEWS.

A GROUND PLAN OF THE COURT OF ISRAEL, THE COURT OF THE PRIESTS, THE TEMPLE &c.

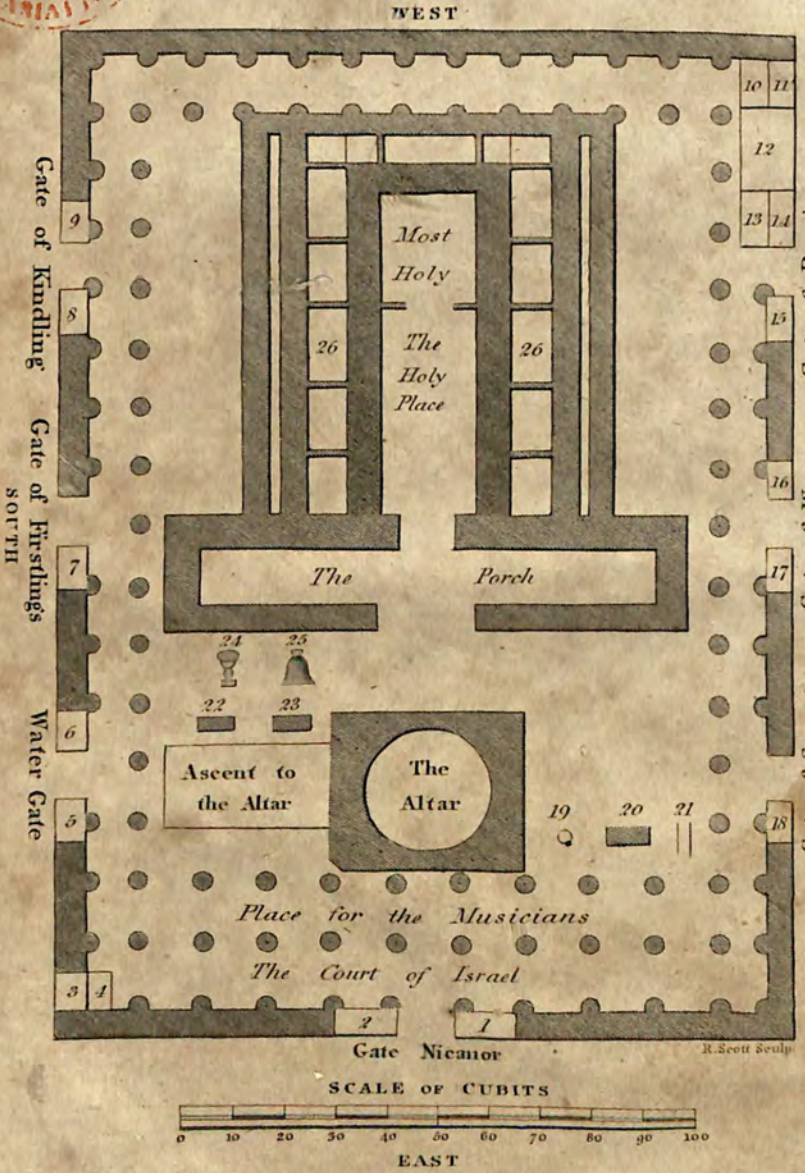


PLATE II.

To face page 92 of Vol. I.

ANTIQUITIES

OF

THE JEWS,

CAREFULLY COMPILED FROM AUTHENTIC SOURCES,

AND

110899

THEIR CUSTOMS ILLUSTRATED

FROM MODERN TRAVELS.

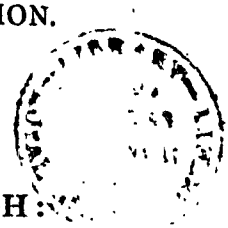
By WILLIAM BROWN, D. D.

MINISTER OF ESKDALEMUIR.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

SECOND EDITION.



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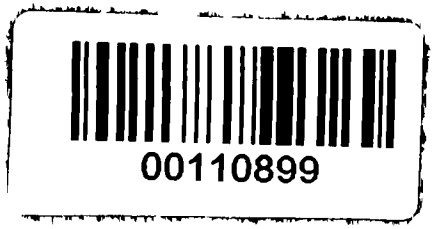

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ERRATA.

Page 22, line 22, *for* Pythagorians *read* Pythagoreans.
214, 18, *for* Chateubriand *read* Chateaubriand.
516, ult. *for* Musselmen. *read* Mussulmen.
527, 11, *for* Pilla *read* Pella.
604, 14, *for* Adzaf *read* Aazaf.
615, 29, *for* note in *read* note on.

ANTIQUITIES

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PART VIII.

JEWISH IDOLATRY, SECTS, AND PROSELYTES.

SECT. I.

The false Deities known among the Jews.

Ahad, Adrammelech, Ammon, Anamelech, Ashima, Ashtaroth, Baal, Baalim, Baal-berith, Baal-hazor, Baal-peor, Baal-tamar, Baal-zebub, Baal-zephon, Bel, Bethshemesh, the Brasen Serpent, Bit-tephuh, Chemarim, Chemosh, Chiun, Dagon, Gad, the Gammadim, the Golden Calf, the Golden Calves, the Grove, the Hemenim, the host of Heaven, Light and darkness, Malcham, Meni, Mepheletset, Merodach, the image of stone or Meshekit, Milcom, Moloch, the Moon, Nebo, Nehushtan, Nergal, Nibhaz, Nisroc, On, Phi-beset, the Planets, the Queen of heaven, Remphan, Rimmon, Shedim, Semel, Shen, Shoirim, Succoth-benoth, the Sun, Tartak, the Teraphim, Tammuz.

In comparing the religion of the Jews with the religions of the other ancient nations, we are struck with its manifest superiority. The idea it gives us of the existence, attributes, and works of

God, is such as the most enlightened reason approves of. Its worship was admirably calculated to their peculiar circumstances; and its morality well fitted to make them good men and good members of society. Whence, then, it may be asked, came this vast superiority? It cannot be ascribed to the superior wisdom of Moses. For, though acquainted with all the learning of the Egyptians, it was not likely that he could have struck out a plan so bold, and so greatly superior to that of every other sage. It is both an unique in its kind, and an intermediate link between the patriarchal and Christian dispensations. It formed part of a plan, which began before Moses had an existence; and was intended to be the prelude to a subsequent, and more perfect economy. Indeed, Moses never assumed an independent character, nor arrogated to himself the merit of the system, which he promulgated to his countrymen. He was contented with the honour of a delegated authority; of being the organ of the divine mind; and of confirming his mission by stupendous miracles. And what would have proved him a true man, had he favoured us with no other evidence, was this, that he sought not his own emolument, nor the aggrandizement of his family; but endured much vexation and fatigue while living, and allowed his children to remain in obscurity after his death.—One would naturally have supposed, then, that the Israelites would have felt grateful to God, for those distinguished blessings, which Moses was the instrument of communicating to them; and that they would have been very desirous to observe his laws. But the reverse was the case. The generation which

was a spectator of these events, was indeed a pious generation; but, in the time of the judges, they had wonderfully degenerated. Under Samuel's superintendence they became better. Saul taught them to be warriors. David, to be warriors and saints. In the days of Solomon, their glory as a nation was at its height; but after the revolt of the ten tribes, both Judah and Israel became gradually corrupted, till the time of their being carried away to Babylon. It would be endless to trace all their deviations to idolatry, but it may be proper to give a short description of those ideal divinities, which they preferred to Jehovah, that we may see, on the one hand, his long-suffering patience; and on the other the justice of those judgments which he executed against them.

The first of these divinities was *Ahad*, אחד or *Ahed*. He is mentioned in the original of Is. lxvi. 17, but is not discoverable in our translation, by being rendered as a numeral, thus; "Behind *one* tree in the midst." In Bishop Lowth's Translation of Isaiah, however, he is made evident, and the rites performed to him are appropriate. "They who sanctify themselves," says that translation, "and purify themselves in the gardens, after the rites of Ahad; in the midst of those who eat swine's flesh, and the abomination, and the field-mouse; together shall they perish, saith Jehovah." Bishop Lowth observes, in a note, that the Syrians worshipped a god called Adad,[a] that they held him to be the highest and the greatest of the gods, the same with Jupiter and the sun. Many learned men, therefore, have supposed, and with some pro-

[a] Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvii. 11. Macrob. Sat. i. 23.

bability, that the prophet means, in the above-mentioned passage, that Syrian deity. Indeed, Benhadad, and Hadadezer, names of their kings, were evidently taken from this chief object of their worship.

Adrammelech, or אדרמלך *Aderemelek*, from אדר *Ader*, illustrious, or a gorgeous robe, and מלך *Melek*, king, represented the solar fire, which was worshipped, under that name, by the Sepharvaites, who burnt their children in the fire to him. The word occurs in 2 Kings xvii. 31, and it was also the name of one of Sennacherib's sons, probably in honour of this idol.[a] The name seems to have originated from his glorious appearance, or from the gorgeous robe in which he was arrayed, and which might be designed to represent the solar splendour.

Ammon, or אמון *Amun*, an Egyptian idol, was well known to the Greeks and Hebrews by that name. Thus Herodotus[b] says, "the Egyptians call Jupiter, Ammun;" and Plutarch[c] observes, that "many were of opinion, that among the Egyptians, the proper name of Jupiter was *Amun*, of which we (Greeks, says he) have made Ammon." This idol, according to Herodotus, was represented with the head or face of a ram, and seems to have denoted the sun as gaining the northern hemisphere, and entering into the sign Aries, or the ram, which he does about the 21st of March, or vernal equinox, thereby giving new light and heat to that part of the globe. Amun, therefore, considered as of Hebrew origin, though with a dialectical corruption, denotes the cherish-

[a] 2 Kings xix. 37. [b] Lib. ii. cap. 42. [c] De Isid. et Osir.

ing or fostering sun, which was particularly worshipped at Thebes, the ancient metropolis of Upper Egypt: and which had there a most magnificent temple dedicated to him.[a] Of that temple, there are remaining to this day prodigious ruins, which extend near half a mile in length, and serve to confirm the wonderful accounts which the ancient writers, and particularly Diodorus Siculus, give of its grandeur.[b] In Nahum iii. 8. we find the city of Thebes, where that temple was, called by its Egyptian name נא אמון *Na amun*, or "the habitation of Amun," although our translation renders it "the populous No." And in Jer. xlvi. 25, when Jehovah threatens Egypt, he says, "I will punish Amun of No;" אמון מנא, *Amun mena*, or the idol there worshipped, although our translation renders it "the multitude of No." We have a similar phraseology to the one suggested above, in Jer. li. 44, where God says, "I will punish Bel in Babylon," or the idol that is worshipped there.

Anammelech, or ענמלך *Onemelek*, from ענן *Onen*, a cloud, and מלך *Melek*, a king, is mentioned in company with Adrammelech, in 2 Kings xvii. 31, as one of the gods of Sepharvaim, and was worshipped in the same cruel manner. Perhaps he was represented as sitting on a cloud, with the intent to teach them an overruling power.

Ashima, אשימא in the Chaldee form, was the Aleim of the men of Hamath, mentioned 2 Kings xvii. 30. The word, if uncompounded, should

[a] Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. 42; Diodorus Siculus, lib. i.; and Artapanus, in Euseb. Præpar. Evang. lib. ix. cap. 27.

[b] Pococke's and Norden's Travels. Savary's Letters, let. 9. Captain Light's Travels, part i. ch. 3, 6.

mean, "the atoner, or expiator." The Rabbis say, that the emblem was a goat, or a form compounded of a man and a goat, as the Roman poets describe the satyrs and Pan.

Ashtaroth, Ashtoreth, or עשתרת *Osheteret,* was a female divinity worshipped by the Philistines,[a] Zidonians,[b] and the apostate Israelites, so early as Judg. ii. 13. She is generally joined with Baal, which represented the sun; and, being feminine, is thought to have been the same with Astarte, or the moon. Indeed, the Septuagint render Ashtaroth by Αστραρτη, in 1 Kings ii. 5, 3, and 2 Kings xxiii. 13; or in the plural by Αστραρται in Judg. ii. 13; and the Vulgate, in the above places, hath Astarten. It is probable that this idol was in the form of a woman, with the head and horns of a bull. For Sanchoniathon, as cited from the translation of Philo-Byblius,[c] says, that, according to the Phœnician theology, Astarte put upon her head the head of a bull, as an ensign of royalty. And we meet with a place in Canaan, called Ashtaroth Carnaim, or Ashtaroth the horned, so early as Abraham's time.[d] Dr. Clarke[e] gives Colonel Capper's description of the worship of Venus, or Ashtaroth, upon Mount Libanus, as observed by him, A.D. 1812.

Baal, or בעל, *Bol,* which signifies *the Ruler,* was the general name by which they worshipped the solar fire, which is the most active, and to sense and appearance the ruling principle in nature. Sanchoniathon, speaking of the sun, says

[a] 1 Sam. xxxi. 10. [b] 1 Kings xi. 5. 2 Kings xxiii. 13.
[c] Eusebius, Præpar. Evang. lib. i. cap. 10. [d] Gen. xiv. 5.
[e] Travels, vol. ii. Appendix.

that the Phœnicians thought it to be the Lord of heaven, and called it Beelsamen, which, in their language, signifies, the Lord of heaven. Its emblem was a heifer, as expressive of perseverance and power.[a] And, in that remarkable contest between Elijah and the priests of Baal,[b] the answering by fire, as its visible effect, was the smybol fixed upon, to determine whether Baal or Jehovah was the true God. The Jews, in idolatrous times, burnt their sons to this idol.[c] And it was an idol of Baal which Nebuchadnezzar set up in the plain of Dura; and for refusing to worship which, Shadrach, Meshech, and Abed-nego, were cast into the fiery furnace.[d]

Baalim, or בעלים *Bolim*, which signifies *the rulers*, probably meant the different kinds of Baals which were worshipped, or rather the different insignia with which he was invested. These Baalim are mentioned in Judg. ii. 11; iii. 7; viii. 33; and may be described as follow:

Baal berith, בעל בריה *Bol berit*, which signifies *Baal the purifier*, (alluding to the purifying influence of fire and of the sun,) is mentioned in Judg. viii. 33, ix. 4, and called Al berith, or the god Berith, in Judg. ix. 46. The children of Israel are expressly said in Judg. viii. 33, to have made Baalberith their Aleim; whence we may collect that though the ox or bull, the representative of the solar fire, was the prevalent or predominant figure in the idol,[e] yet they did not mean entirely to exclude the other agents of nature, in the worship of Baalberith; any more than Aaron, or Jeroboam, in setting up the calf, as an emblem

[a] Tobit i. 5. [b] 1 Kings xviii. 24. [c] Jer. xix. 5.

[d] Daniel iii. 1—30. See a description of the golden image in Prideaux, Connex. A.A.C. 570. [e] Tobit i. 5.

of Jehovah, intended absolutely to reject the second and third persons of the Trinity; for both Aaron and Jeroboam call their respective calves Aleim.[a]

Baalhazor, or בעל חצור *Bolhetsur*, which signifies *the ruler over vegetables*, was another heathen idol. There is a city of this name, mentioned 2 Sam. xiii. 23, which seems to have been so called by the Canaanites, in honour of their god Baal, or the sun, for his annual influence on the vegetable creation, after the apparent death of winter.

Baal peor, or בעל פעור *Bol phör*, which signifies *the ruler with the open mouth*, or simply *Peor, the open mouthed*, mentioned in Num. xxv. 3, 5, 18, xxxi. 16, and several other places, was worshipped by the Moabites, Midianites, and apostate Israelites; and was probably so called, from his being represented by a bull, (the ordinary symbol of Baal,) with a wide gaping mouth, to receive the victims, whether animals or children, which were burnt to death by the fire within. His image was originally intended, perhaps, to show the power of the solar fire, as an emblem of the divine justice; but soon forgotten by idolaters.

Baal tamar, or בעל תמר *Bol temer*, which signifies *the ruler with the palm*, was the name of a place in Canaan, mentioned Judg. xx. 33, and so called, in honour of Baal or the sun, whose image or idol was probably there. Among the Greeks, the palm was sacred to Apollo, or the sun; as being of quick growth, and an emblem of victory; the sun rejoicing as a strong man to run his race,

[a] Exod. xxxii. 4. [b] 1 Kings xii. 28.

and conquering every difficulty that presents itself to him.

Baal zebub, or בעל זבוב *Bol zebub*, which signifies *the god of the fly*, or *with the fly*, was one of the gods of Ekron, 2 Kings i. 2; and was probably represented by a bull, the emblem of the sun, with a fly on his forehead, or some other part of his body, rousing him up to activity, as expressive of the activity and force of that luminary. Or perhaps, the fly might indicate the generative power of the sun, in producing, or reviving the numberless tribes of insects. The Jews called him by way of contempt, *Beelzebul*, or *the lord of dung*, which is often resorted to by flies, and promotes their generation.

Baal zephon, or בעל צפון *Bol tsephun*, which signifies *the ruler of the secret place*, or *of the north*, was the name of a place on the confines of Egypt, near the Red Sea, mentioned Exod. xiv. 2; Num. xxxiii. 7; and probably so called from the Baal that was there worshipped, in some *adytum*, or concealed place; and who ruled both over the northern and southern hemispheres, according to the different seasons of the year. But if צפון *Tsephun* be related to צפה *Tsephè*, to spy out or observe, then Baalzephon will probably signify, the god of the watch tower, or guardian deity.

Bel, בל or *the mingler*, was the god of the Babylonians, and is mentioned in Is. xlvi. 1; Jer. l. 2; li. 44. Herodotus[a] expressly calls the tower of Babel, "the temple of Jupiter Belus or Bel." And Servius, on the first book of the Æneid, says, that "among the Assyrians, Saturn and the Sun are, upon some sacred account, both called Bel."

[a] Lib. i. cap. 181.

In the apocryphal book of Baruch, we have several particulars mentioned concerning the worship of this deity. His image was made of divers kinds of materials; Nebuchadnezzar's was of gold;[a] but it was more commonly of wood gilded, or plated with silver,[b] and a crown of gold upon its head.[c] The tongue appears to have been a conspicuous member, for it is said to have been polished by the workmen.[d] Perhaps it resembled some of the idols in India, which have open mouths, and large red tongues. It was often clothed with purple, as being the most expensive; and ornamented with gold;[e] and had in its hand a sceptre, or dagger, or axe:[f] with candles continually burning before it, and meat set before it by those who implored its aid.[g] In the great temple of Belus at Babylon, there were set before the image daily, twelve measures of fine flour, forty sheep, and six measures of wine, which were pretended to be eaten by the deity, but nightly feasted on by the priests and their families.[h] Sometimes the idol was carried in religious procession on men's shoulders;[i] and the priests, when imploring its protection, sat in the temple, with their clothes rent, their heads and beards shaven, their heads uncovered, and uttering loud cries, like those which were usual at the feast of the dead.[k] Perhaps the reason of the name may have been, that its heat mixes the different elements so, as to form the various productions we observe around us.

[a] Dan. iii. 1. [b] Baruch vi. 8, 57. [c] Ch. vi. 9.
[d] Baruch vi. 8. [e] Ch. vi. 12, 24. [f] Ch. vi. 14, 15.
[g] Ch. vi. 19, 30. [h] Apocryphal Bel and the Dragon.
[i] Baruch vi. 26. [k] Ch. vi. 31, 32.

Bit shemesh, בית שמש, which signifies *the house* or *temple of the Sun*, is the name of an Egyptian idol mentioned Jer. xliii. 13, but seems to have been worshipped in Canaan also, for we find it the name of a city in Naphtali,[a] and also the name of a city in Judah which was given to the Levites.[b] That the sun should have had temples in Egypt, is not to be wondered at, considering the general superstition, and its use to the inhabitants; and the Canaanites may either have imported that worship from them, or invented it themselves from similar motives.

The Brasen Serpent which Moses erected on a pole to cure the Israelites, who were bitten with fiery serpents in the wilderness,[c] appears to have been long an object of worship among that people. For, in 2 Kings xviii. 4, we are told, that Hezekiah "removed the high places, and brake the images, and cut down the groves, and brake in pieces the brasen serpent that Moses had made; for unto those days the children of Israel did burn incense to it: and he called it Nehushtan." The meaning of Nehushtan is a brasen serpent, and as such he treated it, when abused to idolatrous superstition: although in its original institution it was a type of the Messiah, lifted up on the cross, and exhibited to sinners, as the sovereign cure for all the evils which were brought on man by the fall.

Bit tephuh, בית תפוח, meaning *the temple of the breather*, or *blower*, is mentioned in Josh. xv. 53, and seems to have been a name given to the sun, as the cause of breezes and blasts. The distinguishing symbol, attached to the general one of

[a] Josh. xix. 38. [b] Josh. xxi. 16. [c] Num. xxi. 9.

the bull, as descriptive of the sun, was a citron or orange, because of their very agreeable smell, which the original word also signifies.

The *Chemarim*, or כמרים *Kemerim*, mentioned in Zeph. i. 4, and translated "idolatrous priests," and "priests," in 2 Kings xxiii. 5, Hosea x. 5, were thought by D. Kimchi to mean, priests clothed in black, in contradistinction to others who were clothed in white. And Jurieu thinks they were so called, because their principal employment was to offer incense, and other perfumes to the sun.[a] But Ikenius is of opinion, that they were Magian fire-worshippers, the remains of which sect still exist in Persia, under the name of Guebres or Gaurs.[b] The Hebrew word means "scorched," in allusion to their office: but he considers the Persian word *Camar*, as giving greater insight into their character. For *Camar* in that language signifies "a girdle or belt;" and these Magians always wore one, as the most sacred symbol of their religion. It was composed of wool and camels' hair; surrounded the body twice; and was tied with four knots, which had a mysterious meaning, and made it a defence against demons. Every one of the sect wore a belt of that kind. It was put on them when young, by a priest; and continued to be worn by them through life. Those who laid it aside, were considered apostates from the Magian faith. It is to these girdles or belts that Ikenius thinks Ezekiel refers in chap. xxiii. 14—17: and in Jer. xxxix. 3, 13, the person named Rab-mag means the chief magus. The

[a] Hist. de Dogm. et des Cultes, part iv. tract. ix. ch. 4.

[b] Dissert. Theolog. tom. i. dissert. 12.

Brahmins in India have a token of caste, somewhat similar to the belt of the magi. For they have a thread put round their necks in infancy, by a Brahmin, which is worn by them through life; and to break which, would be to disown the religion in which they had been brought up.

Chemosh, or כמוש *Kemush, the solar light*, was an idol of the Moabites,[a] and Solomon, in his old age, built an high place for it on Mount Olivet, before Jerusalem.[b] As to the form of the idol, Scripture is silent: but if, according to Jerom, it was like Baal peor, it must have been in the form of a bull, as all the Baals were, though accompanied with various insignia. And there can be little doubt but part of the religious services performed to Chemosh and Baal Peor, consisted in revelling and drunkenness,[c] obscenities, and impurities of the grossest kind. We may add, that from Chemosh, the Greeks seem to have derived their Κωμος, (called by the Latins Comus,) who presided over lascivious feasting and revelling.

Chiun, or כיון *Kiun*, is only mentioned once in Scripture, and has given rise to various interpretations. Parkhurst makes it to signify some luminous appearance attending their images, and made in imitation of the shechinah; either by embellishing them with precious stones, or placing them on some resplendent seat or throne. But Spencer makes it the same as Saturn. The substance of his explanation of Amos v. 26, is as follows: "Ye have borne, or carried aloft in religious procession, the tabernacle of Moloch," meaning either a model of his temple, or some covered canopy or bed, on

[a] Num. xxi. 29. [b] 1 Kings xi. 7, 33. [c] Jer. xlviii. 13, 26.

which the image representing Moloch, or the sun, lay; as shrines of Diana, or of the moon, were carried afterwards by the Ephesians: "and ye have carried also, in the same religious procession, Chiun," or Saturn, which the Septuagint translate Remphan, the Egyptian name of Saturn, and which Stephen following, uses in Acts vii. 4. These images, according to Spencer, were worshipped by the Israelites before they left Egypt, and it was to wean them from their idolatry, that God erected the sacred tabernacle, or tent of the congregation, and instituted the tabernacle worship.[a]

Dagon, or דגון *Degun*, according to Parkhurst, means *the corn giver*. Δαγων ὁς ἐστι Σιτων, says Sanchoniathon in Philo Byblius. It was the god of the Philistines,[b] and was represented by a fish in the lower part, with the head, hands, and body of a man. Others derive it, therefore, from דג *deg*, a fish, which, from the form of the idol, appears the most natural.—The temple of Dagon, at Azotus, in which the ark of God was placed by the Philistines, in the days of Eli, was afterwards burnt by Jonathan, the brother of Judas Maccabæus.[c]

Gad, or גד *Ged*, means a troop, and is so rendered in Is. lxv. 11; but it evidently there denotes an idol. We find a place in Canaan called Migdal-gad, or the tower or temple of Gad, in Josh. xv. 37: and another in the valley of Lebanon, called Baal-gad, Josh. xi. 17; xii. 7; xiii. 5. But the meaning of the idol, and the nature of the service performed to him, is best explained in the

[a] De Legib. Heb. Ritual. lib. iii. cap. 3. [b] Judg. xvi. 23.
[c] 1 Maccab. x. 83, 84.

passage in Isaiah lxv. 11, which says, "Ye are they that forsake the Lord, that forget my holy mountain, that prepare a table for that troop, (Gad) and that furnish the drink offering unto that number (Meni, another idol.)" The manner in which the idolatrous Jews prepared a table for Gad, or made a feast, or lectisternium, as the Romans would have called it, is thus described by Jerom on the place: "There is," says he, "in every city in Egypt, and especially in Alexandria, an ancient idolatrous custom, that on the last day of the last month of the year, they cover a table with dishes of various kinds, and with a cup filled with a liquor made of water, wine, and honey, *(poculum mulso mixtum)* indicating the fertility of the past or future year. This also the Israelites did."

The *Gammadim*, גמדים *Gemedim*, or Gammadims, as they are called in Ezekiel xxvii. 11, have been very differently explained by commentators; some having made the word a corruption of גפרים *Gephedim*, or "Cappadocians;" others גם-מדים *Gem-medim*, signifying, "also the Medes;" and others from גמד *gemed*, "a cubit." But if they have differed about the meaning of the word, they have shown as much difference, as to the conjectures they have built upon it. Thus Grotius thinks the Gammadims were the inhabitants of Ancon, who were Phœnicians; because גמד *gemed* in Hebrew is Αγκον, "a cubit or the shape of the arm" in Greek, which resemblance gave name to the city. The Vulgate makes them pygmies, who, in the fable, having fought with the cranes, were looked upon as the tutelary deities of the Tyrian towers. Buxtorff makes them a people inhabiting

a region of Phœnicia, which jutted out into the sea in the form of an arm, and was afterwards swallowed up; but this is merely conjecture, for there are no traces of it in history. Others have supposed them to be men of strong arm, or great warriors. And others that they came from the neighbourhood of Gamad, a corruption for Gamal, mentioned by Pliny:[a] the head of the Hebrew letter ל having been blotted out, and thus changed into a ד. But the most likely meaning is that which is given by Spencer,[b] viz. that they were small images about a cubit long, in the houses and towers of the heathen, as their tutelar deities. His arguments for this opinion are the following. 1st, The heathens were wont to have certain small images in their houses and towers, of which Horace speaks in the following lines:

> Parvos coronantem marino
> Rore deos, fragilique myrto.

These were the Roman lares, penates, the Egyptian serapes, and probably the teraphim of Laban. They never considered their houses safe without them. 2dly, They were about a cubit long, and like pygmies in their size and shape. Thus Herodotus tells us, that when Cambyses was at Memphis, he entered the temple of Vulcan, and smiled to see the statue of the god, only the image of a pygmy-man; (πυγμαιου ανδρος μιμησιν, lib. iii. cap. 37;) and immediately after, the same author adds, that "the images of the Cabiri were like the statue of Vulcan," pygmies also. In like manner, Cur-

[a] Lib. ii. cap. 91.

[b] De Legibus Heb. Ritual. lib. ii. cap. 24.

tius, according to Scaliger,[a] when speaking of the chariot of Darius, has these words, "from which arose, conspicuous, two golden images of a cubit long, the one having the resemblance of Ninus, and the other of Belus."[b] 3dly, These images were set in towers and other places for their defence.

> Stant quoque pro nobis, et præsunt mœnibus urbis,
> Et sunt præsentes, auxiliumque ferunt.
> Ovid. Fastor. lib. v. vers. 135.

Lastly, The scriptures seem to consider them in this light. For their being in the Tyrian towers, Ezek. xxvii. 11, showed they were for defence; their being of the size of pygmies, was a proof that they did not defend these towers by fighting: and, therefore, the only supposition left is, that they were the lares of that people, on whom they depended when attacked by the enemy. Accordingly the Septuagint translate them φυλακας or guards. Such are the arguments of Spencer on this intricate subject: and it is probable, that the images which the Philistines left, when defeated by David, and which are said to have been burnt by him in 2 Sam. v. 21, were such kind of lares as we are now speaking of.

The golden calf, mentioned in Exod. xxxii. 4, was the first image that was made by the Israelites after they came out of Egypt: and as it was made by Aaron, who was not ignorant of the true God, the question naturally occurs, what could be his motive for making the form of that animal, and

[a] De Emendat. Tempor. lib. vi. p. 579.

[b] Ex quo eminebant duo aurea simulacra cubitalia, quorum alterum Nini, alterum Beli gerebat effigiem. (Lib. iii. scot. 7.)

none other. Two reasons present themselves, 1st, That he meant it for a representation of Apis, the god of the Egyptians, which the Israelites had been accustomed to see worshipped, and to which idolatry, from long observance, they might have been addicted. Or, 2dly, That it was intended as a symbolical representation of the first person in the Trinity, who, according to the Hutchinsonian system, was represented by that animal. Perhaps the fear or policy of Aaron might have had an eye to both, as satisfying the mixed character of the people with whom he had to do. The crime, however, was strongly marked, and severely punished, as derogatory to God, the great author of worship, and an express violation of the second commandment.

The golden calves which Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, set up at Bethel and Dan, to prevent his subjects from returning to Jerusalem, at the three great festivals,[a] made a woful schism in the Jewish church, and are severely reprobated in scripture. They may have been intended as representations of the first person in the Trinity, but they were derogatory to the other two. They violated also the second moral precept in the decalogue; withdrew the hearts of the ten tribes from the true worship of God; established a religion of human invention, to serve political purposes, in the place of that divine model which was communicated to Moses; and was the cause, in the end, of their removal from Judea, and their present dispersion among the eastern nations. These calves, Pri-

[a] 1 Kings xii. 29.

deaux informs us, were carried away by Tiglath-pileser, and Salmaneser his son, into Assyria.[a]

The Grove (אשרה Asherè) mentioned in 2 Kings xxiii. 4, 6, and other places of scripture, appears to have been an idol rather than a grove, although it is properly rendered grove in several places. But, as we have already noticed it, when treating of the Brasen altar, near which no grove was allowed to be erected, it is needless to say any thing more of it here; unless it be to add, that Prideaux[b] gives us an account of two groves, consecrated to idolatrous purposes, which may throw some light on those which are condemned in scripture. The first was that which the Rhodians consecrated to Ptolemy Soter, for his assisting them against Antigonus. It was a furlong square, surrounded by a most stately portico on every side, and called from his name the Ptolemeum, where, according to the infamous flattery of those times, they paid him divine honours, and gave him the name of Soter or Saviour, by which he has since been distinguished. —The second was at Daphne, four or five miles from Antioch, on the Orontes. "It was planted by Seleucus, was ten miles in compass, had in the middle of it a temple consecrated to Apollo and Diana, and was made an asylum. To it the inhabitants of Antioch resorted for their pleasures, for which it was excellently fitted; for it had most delicious fountains, and rivulets of the best water, most pleasant walks of cypress trees, the purest air, and every thing else that nature could afford for pleasure and delight, which being farther improved by all the arts of luxury, whatever could adminis-

[a] Connex. A.A.C. 729. [b] Connex. A.A.C. 304 and 300.

to voluptuous enjoyment, was there to be had in the utmost excess; so that though the place had been originally consecrated to Apollo and Diana, it was in reality wholly devoted to Bacchus and Venus." This abuse of the grove at Daphne made it so infamous, that "Daphnicis moribus vivere—to live after the manners of Daphne," grew into a proverb, to express the most luxurious and dissolute way of living; and all who had any regard to their reputation, for virtue and modesty, avoided going thither. There is reason to fear that the groves resorted to by the idolatrous Israelites, were but too much of the above description, and therefore justly condemned by a pure and holy God.

The *Hemenim*, חמנים, or *images* mentioned in Levit. xxvi. 30, have been variously explained by commentators. For some make them of Egyptian origin, and the same as Jupiter Hammon; but Hammon is not an Egyptian word. Others the same as Ham, whom they afterwards deified. And others derive the word from חמה, *hemè*, "the sun," and thus make Hemenim "idols in honour of the sun." But as to the nature and form of these idols, there has been much difference of opinion. For some have imagined them temples to the sun; some images on the roofs of houses, dedicated to the sun; some images of a round figure like the sun; and others, historical monuments hid in the temples, or inscribed on the altars or statues of that luminary. But Spencer's opinion appears to be the most probable, which makes them certain symbols or figures, made like a cone or pyramid, which the ancient idolaters used when worshipping the sun. Their materials were of wood or stone, which

agree with the idea of them contained in 2 Chron. xiv. 3, xxxiv. 7 : and they were sometimes very high,[a] in order to enable the worshippers the better to observe the rising sun. They were made of wood or stone by the Hebrews, but of pyrites by the Egyptians.[b] Thus were they symbols of the sun's rays, which diverge from a point; and of fire, which converges to a point. Being evidently idolatrous, they were forbidden to the Israelites, as leading them into idolatry.[c]

The host of heaven, צבא השמים *Tseba eshemim,* was a very general object of worship among the heathen, and the idolatrous Israelites. The words sometimes denote the sun, moon, and stars, as in Deut. iv. 19; sometimes the stars, as distinguished from the sun and moon, Deut. xvii. 3; but most frequently the sun, moon, and planets, as in 2 Kings xxiii. 5, where it is said that Josiah put down all that burnt incense to the sun, and to the moon, and to the planets, *even* to all the host of heaven. These, it is well known, were the primary objects of worship. The sun was worshipped as the most striking representation of the Divine Being. The moon came next to receive divine homage, as the second in importance of the heavenly bodies; and after them the planets, as having attracted their notice by their appearance and motions. Accordingly, names were assigned to each, and they were either supposed to be divine beings, or the habitations of those whose names they bore.[d] Thus did men neglect the Great first Cause, and worship the crea-

[a] 2 Chron. xxxiv. 4. [b] Kircher, Obelisk. Pamph. p. 50.
[c] Spencer de Leg. Heb. Ritual. lib. ii. cap. 25.
[d] Prideaux, Connex. A.A.C. 522.

tures of their own fancy, rather than Jehovah the great Creator. It was from this worship, which very generally prevailed among the Gentiles, that a great part of the heathen world were denominated Zabians, or Sabians. We have an excellent account of this sect in Prideaux.[a] Spencer[b] thinks that they appeared in Chaldea before the days of Abraham; for the religion of the Chaldeans corresponds with that of the Zabians, who worshipped the sun, moon, and planets, believing the world to be eternal, and the planets to be gods. But they are not described by ancient authors as a distinct sect, till towards the end of the Jewish economy, when their doctrines became a compound of many other sects. Thus they had astrology, magic, and the worship of the stars, from the Chaldeans; some of the patriarchs' names, the rites of purifying, and some scripture histories mixed with fable, from the writings of the Jews; something about demons and angels from the Gnostics and Cabbalists; and some allegories and fanatical dogmas from the Platonists and Pythagorians. As to the books of the Zabians, they are fictitious, and their pretended antiquity is entitled to no credit. None of them were translated into Arabic, before the seventh or eighth century; and it is from the Arabic translations, that Maimonides, Hottinger, and Pococke give their accounts. Of those mentioned by Maimonides, the titles of the two principal are "Concerning the agriculture of the Nabathæans," and "The Book of Isaac Zabius, concerning the nation and manners of the Zabians." It was evidently against the Zabians, who existed in Moses's days, that

[a] Connexion, *A.C.* 522.

[b] De Leg. Heb. Ritual. lib. ii. cap. 1, 2, 3.

many of the most singular of the ceremonial laws were enjoined.[a] We need not wonder, then, at the jealousy of God, on the adoption of these luminaries, as objects of worship; and his frequent appropriation of the term to himself. Thus he is called Jehovah tsebaut, or the Lord of hosts, and Aleim tsebaut, or God of hosts, in 2 Sam. v. 10. Hosea xii. 5. Amos iii. 13; v. 14, 15, 16, 27; vi. 8. Micah iv. 4. He claims the formation of this host of heaven in Deut. iv. 19. Neh. ix. 6. Ps. xxxiii. 6. Is. xl. 26; xlv. 12. They are called his hosts in Ps. ciii. 21. And in James v. 4, the word tsebaut or Sabaoth is to be found in our English translation. "The cries of them which have reaped, but have not received their wages, are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth," or the Lord of hosts.

Light and *darkness* were the great principles of the Magian religion. For they held that there were two supreme, co-eternal, and independent causes, always acting in opposition to each other; one the author of all good, whom they called Ormuzd; the other the author of all evil, whom they named Ahriman. The good being they also called Light; the evil being Darkness: and believed that when Light had the ascendant, good and happiness prevailed among men; but when Darkness had the superiority, evil and misery abounded. Such an opinion, however, contradicts the clearest evidence of our reason, which plainly leads us to

[a] This the whole of Spencer's second Book is employed in proving; and some of his most valuable observations will be found in Part x. sect. 2d, where we treat of the ceremonial law as a defence against idolatry.

the acknowledgment of one Supreme Being, infinitely good as well as powerful. To oppose it, therefore, the Jehovah of Israel, in a prophecy concerning Cyrus, who, being a Persian, was naturally educated in the Magian religion, but destined to take Babylon and free the Jews from their seventy years captivity, has these remarkable words, Is. xlv. 5—7, "I am the Lord, and there is none else. There is no God beside me—I form the light, and create darkness; I make peace and create evil. I the Lord do all these things." By these striking expressions, he clearly informed Cyrus, that the gods of Persia were nothing; and that the God of Israel was the creator of the universe.[a] It appears from Ezek. viii. 16, 17, that the Israelites sometimes practised the religion of the Magi: for the prophet says, that "he was brought into the inner court of the Lord's house, and saw at the door of the temple of the Lord, between the porch and the altar, about five and twenty men, with their backs towards the temple of the Lord, and their faces towards the east, who worshipped the sun towards the east. And that then, the Lord said unto him, Hast thou seen this, O son of man? Is it a light thing to the house of Judah, that they commit the abominations which they commit here? for they have filled the land with violence, and have returned to provoke me to anger: and lo, they put the branch to their nose." This last circumstance, though apparently trifling, fixes the words down to the Magian religion. For Strabo tells us,[b] that when the Magian fire worshippers

[a] Lowth on Isaiah, ch. xlv. 7, note. Prideaux, Connex. A.A.C. 522.

[b] Lib. xv.

prayed before the sacred fire,- they held a little bunch of twigs in their hand. And Dr. Hyde[a] gives a more particular account of this Magian rite: and presents us[b] with a print of a priest, standing before the fire altar, and holding the twigs in his hand.[c]

Malcham is a heathen deity, mentioned in Zeph. i. 5; but as it is, in the original, the same with Milcom or מלכם *Melekem*, it will fall to be considered under that article.

Meni, מני or *the distributer*, is the name of a deity referred to in Is. lxv. 11, 12; but translated "number" in our common version. The following translation, however, by Bishop Lowth, makes it much more visible. "But ye, who have deserted Jehovah, and have forgotten my holy mountain, who set in order a table for Gad, and fill out a libation for Meni; you will I number out for the sword." In a former article, we considered the worship offered by them to Gad; we may now observe, that the same was offered to Meni, as is evident from the above-mentioned passage in Isaiah. Parkhurst makes Meni a name, or attribute, under which the idolatrous Jews worshipped the material heavens, as the dispensers of food, provisions, &c. for the service of men and animals; and considers it to have been known by the Israelites, even while they resided in Egypt. At any rate, it appears from the extract given by Jerom, under the article Gad, that it was of Egyptian origin, and

[a] Hist. Relig. Vet. Pers. lib. i. cap. 27. [b] Page 369, 1st edit.

[c] See Prideaux, Connexion, A.A.C. 486, for a full account of Zoroaster, the Zendavesta, the Magian religion, and its present appearance among the Gaurs in Persia.

must have been imported by the idolatrous Israelites, along with Egyptian commerce.

Mepheletset, מפלצת which signifies *the trembler*, is only mentioned in 1 Kings xv. 13, and 2 Chron. xv. 16. In our translation it is modestly rendered "the idol in the grove," which Maachah the mother of Asa king of Judah set up, and which was destroyed by her son, and burnt beside the brook Kidron. But it is evident that there was something particularly shocking about it; for it is only mentioned in her history, and she was removed from being queen, for her shameful attachment to it. The Vulgate renders the passage in 1 Kings xv. 13, by simulachrum turpissimum, or the most filthy image; and it is still more plain in 2 Chron. xv. 16, for it renders it simulachrum Priapi, or the image of Priapus. It appears then, both from the derivation of the word, and the authority of the Vulgate, to have been an obscene figure, too well known in the heathen mythology.

Merodach, or מרדך *Meredek*, which signifies *to descend and break in pieces*, is a Babylonish idol mentioned in Jer. l. 2: "Say, Babylon is taken, Bel is confounded, Merodach is broken in pieces, her idols are confounded, (meaning those of Bel,) her images are broken in pieces," (meaning those of Merodach.) It is worthy of remark, that the Septuagint, by adding the epithet ἡ τρυφερα or "the delicate," to Μαιρωδαχ, make this idol a goddess: and from it we find several of their kings named, as Merodach-baladan, (Is. xxxix. 1,) Evil Merodach, (2 Kings xxv. 27; Jer. lii. 31,) &c.

The image of stone, as it is called in our translation of Levit. xxvi. 1, is literally the stone *Meshe-*

kit, (משכית) and has given room to much conjecture. Thus Arias Montanus makes it the stone of observation, from whence they could see an enemy, or study the stars; with which the LXX. agree, who render it σκοπιας, or towers of observation. Others make it a stone of indication or annunciation, as the Samaritan pentateuch, meaning that hieroglyphics either mystical or religious were inscribed upon it. Our translation makes it a stone of adoration, so engraved as to excite worship. And others a stone for divination. The word, indeed, has various meanings in Scripture. For sometimes it signifies seeing with the outward eye, and sometimes with the eye of the mind; sometimes a carved image, sometimes pictures of silver,[a] and sometimes an imagination of the heart, which is as it were engraved on it. In the law under consideration, we have *Meshekit* in the singular, and in Num. xxxiii. 52, we have משכיותם *Meshekiutem* in the plural: the first of which, according to Spencer, means the principal one among the Egyptians, and the last the less important ones of the Syrians. The *Aben Meshekit*, in the singular, or the principal one of the Egyptians, was an obelisk, cut with mysterious, hieroglyphical, superstitious characters, and erected under such a figure of the heavens as was reckoned the most propitious. It was composed of stone to resist the weather, and was placed in the fields or boundary of a district, to avert evil, and counteract the force of any evil genius. It was also believed to have something in it magical, which was perhaps the reason why the LXX. have rendered it σκοπων, a keeper. Kircher confirms this by many arguments.[b] He thinks that the Egyp-

[a] Prov. xxv. 11.

[b] Obelisk. Pamph.

tians had one of these obelisks to Baal-zephon, or the Lord of the South, between the Red Sea and the mount Pihahiroth, in the strait, to guard the entrance; another to Jupiter Ammon, in the deserts of Libya; and a third to the Sminthian Apollo, in the lakes which formed the entrance from Phœnicia to Egypt, as the guardians of Egypt. They were forbidden in Canaan, because God allowed no tutelary deities, he himself being the protector of Canaan. The *Meshekiutem* of the Syrians were less magnificent than the *Meshekit* of Egypt. They are described by Herodian as being consecrated to the sun, under the title of Ελαιαγαβαλος, *Elaiagabalos*, and as being seen in his magnificent temple at *Emesa* in Syria; in which, says he, "there stands not any image made with hands, as among the Greeks and Romans, to represent the god; but there is a very large stone, round at the bottom, and terminating in a point, of a conical form, and of a black colour, which they pretend fell down from Jupiter." The rude stones called βαιτυλοι, βαιτυλια, *Bætuli*, probably from the stone that Jacob erected at Bethel, and the stones that were dedicated to the god Terminus, were something resembling them. Arnobius, lib. i. gives us the following account of his own practice with respect to the Bætuli, before he became a Christian. "If at any time I saw a stone slippery, and bedaubed with olive oil, I bowed, addressed myself to it, and asked favours, as if a present deity resided in it, without ever reflecting that it was a stone."[a]

[a] "Si quando conspexeram lubricatum lapidem, et ex olivi unguine sordidatum; tanquam inesset vis præsens, adulabar, affabar, et beneficia poscebam, nihil sentiente de trunco."

As they were accounted sacred by the original inhabitants of Canaan, they were enjoined to be destroyed by the Israelites, when they should enter it. For there was no need for stones of observation, since the eyes of the Lord were in every place; nor of stones for defence against demons, since the Lord kept them night and day. Besides, these stones took their origin from a belief in Osiris and Typhon, the good and bad principles of Egypt, with their genii; and were intended to defend them against Typhon and his genii.[a] They contained the sacred mysteries and abominations of Egypt, whether political, philosophical, magical, historical, or theological, in hieroglyphical characters. And they were erected in the form of a cone, or pencil of rays, to serve as altars. It was necessary, therefore, to destroy them as incentives to idolatry: for the superstition of the ancients comprehended three things; their visible gods, the sun, moon, and stars; their images or pretended likenesses, and their symbols or mysterious characters and doctrines.[b]

Milcom, or מלכם *Melekem*, from מלך *Melek, a king*, and כמה *kemè, to be hot*, was the abomination of the Ammonites; and it is plain from comparing 1 Kings xi. 5, with verse 7, that this was another name for Molech.[c] In 2 Sam. xii. 30, 1 Chron. xx. 2, the LXX. (Vatic.) have τον στεφανον Μολχομ του βασιλεως αυτων, "the crown of Molcom

[a] The author has seen an image of Typhon, 1 1/10 inch long, by half an inch thick, of a greenish colour, found at Thebes, A.D. 1810. From the hole in the back of the neck, it seemed to have been suspended from the neck, as a charm, to defend from his power.

[b] Spencer de Legib. Heb. Ritual. lib. ii. cap. 23.

[c] See also 1 Kings xi. 33. 2 Kings xxiii. 13. Zeph. i. 5.

their king." And indeed, as Parkhurst justly remarks, considering that the weight of the crown there spoken of was a talent, or 32½ lbs. avoirdupois at least, without the precious stones, it seems more suited so the head of an idol than of a king.

Molech, Moloch, or מלך *Melek,* which signifies *a king* or *ruler,* was the name of an idol representing Baal or the sun,[a] worshipped by the Ammonites,[b] and the apostate Israelites.[c] When treating of the objects seen from the outside of the Temple wall,[d] we attended to the worship of this bloody divinity, in the valley of Hinnom. We shall only, therefore, at present add a passage from Diodorus Siculus,[e] to show how he was worshipped by the heathen nations. The passage relates to the Carthaginians, when besieged by Agathocles, tyrant of Sicily. "They imputed this calamity," says Diodorus, "to Saturn's fighting against them: for whereas they used, in former times, to sacrifice the best of their own children to this god, they had lately offered such children as they had privately purchased, and brought up; and on inquiry, some of those who had been sacrificed were found to have been supposititious. Reflecting, therefore, on these things, and seeing the enemy encamped at their very walls, they were seized with a religious dread, as having profaned those honours which their ancestors paid to the gods. In haste, then, to rectify their errors, they chose out two hundred of the noblest children, and sacrificed them quickly. Other persons, who were accused of irreligion, gave up themselves willingly, to the number of no less than three

[a] Jer. xxxii. 35. [b] 1 Kings xi. 7. [c] Levit. xviii. 21; xx. 3.
[d] Part ii. sect. 1. [e] Lib. xx.

hundred. For they had a brasen statue of Saturn, stretching out his hands towards the ground, in such a manner, that the child placed within them, tumbled down into a pit full of fire." It appears from Amos v. 26, that at the religious festivals of Molech, they carried his tabernacle or shrine in solemn procession; a custom which was indeed practised at the festivals of several of their gods. Thus, Herodotus,[a] speaking of the idol worshipped at Papremis, says, "the image, being in a small temple of wood gilt, they (that is, some of the priests) carry it out the day before to another building." And Diodorus Siculus[b] tells us, that "among the Egyptians, the shrine of Jupiter is annually transported over the river (Nile) into Libya, and after some days returns, as if the god himself were come from Ethiopia." In Homer,[c] and Eustathius on the place, and also in Macrobius,[d] it appears that the Greeks and Romans had their *Pompæ*, or similar customs of carrying their idols. The present annual procession of the Hindoo Juggernaut is a lively representation of those ancient rites.

The *Moon* is spoken of as an object of idolatrous worship, in 2 Kings xxiii. 5; and was worshipped by them under various names; as Ashtoreth, Astartè, the queen of heaven, &c. Her utility in the absence of the sun, and her influence on the weather, and the tides, too naturally led them to pay her homage.

Nebo, or נבו *Nebu*, which signifies *the fructifier*, was a Babylonish idol, and is mentioned Is. xlvi.

[a] Lib. ii. cap. 63. [b] Lib. i. sub finem. [c] Iliad i. 420.
[d] Saturnal. lib. i. cap. 23.

1, 2. Both it and Bel seem to have been of considerable size, for the prophet says, "Bel boweth down, Nebo stoopeth: their idols were upon the beasts, and upon the cattle: your carriages were heavy loaden; they are a burden to the weary beast. They stoop: they bow down together; they could not deliver the burden; but themselves are gone into captivity." It seems also to have been in great repute, for a number of names were composed of it; thus Nebuchadnezzar, Nebuzaradan, Nebushasban,[a] Nabonassar, Nabopalassar, Nabonnedus, Samgar nebo,[b] &c. The LXX. according to the Alexandrian copy, and the Complutensian edition, render נבו *Nebu* by Δαγων *Dagon*, which was an idolatrous object among the Philistines, and of similar signification.

Nehushtan, נחשתן, *Nehesheten*, which signifies *a brasen serpent*, was the name given to the brasen serpent, which Moses erected in the wilderness, to cure those who were bitten by the fiery serpents,[c] and which, for many ages, had become an object of idolatrous worship, till it was destroyed by Hezekiah.[d]

Nergal, or נרגל *Neregel*, which signifies *the revolving light*, was the idol of the Cuthites.[e] It represented the light of the sun, both in the daily return of light after darkness, and in the influence of that luminary on the seasons. Hence its appropriate emblem, as the Rabbis tell us, was the cock. Stephanus Morinus, in his Dissertation concerning the Terrestrial Paradise, prefixed to Leusden's edition of Bochart's works, p. 24, observes from

[a] Jer. xxxix. 13. [b] Jer. xxxix. 3. [c] Numb. xxi. 8, 9.
[d] 2 Kings xviii. 4. [e] 2 Kings xvii. 30.

Josephus,[a] that the Cuthites were of Cutha, which is a country of Persia, and that this may be confirmed by the idol they worshipped; namely Nergal, which represented the sun, or fire, as its emblem, which the Persians worshipped. But the learned Dr. Hyde[b] strenuously contends, that the Cuth mentioned in 2 Kings xvii. 30, was situated in Babylonia; and so called, by the usual dialectical variation of ש into ת, from Cush, the son of Ham, who at first settled in that country.[c] It is some confirmation of his opinion, that we find the name of this idol making a part of the appellation of two of the king of Babylon's princes, both named Nergal-sharezer,[d] and of Nerigillassor, king of Babylon.

Nibhaz, or נבחז *Nebehez*, from two words which signify "to bark," and "to see," was the idol of the Avites, and is mentioned in 2 Kings xvii. 31. The Rabbis say it had the shape of a dog, much like the Anubis of the Egyptians.[e] In Pierius's Hieroglyphics, p. 53, is the figure of a Cynocephalus, a kind of ape, with a dog's head, standing upon his hinder feet, and looking earnestly at the moon. Pierius there teaches us, that the Cynocephalus was an animal eminently sacred among the Egyptians, hieroglyphical of the moon, and kept in their temples, to inform them of the moon's conjunction with, and opposition to the sun, (*i. e.* new and full moon,) which seasons have a considerable effect on the weather, and on the feelings

[a] Antiq. ix. cap. 14.
[b] Relig. Vet. Pers. cap. xi. p. 39.
[c] Gen. x. 6, 10.
[d] Jer. xxxix. 3.
[e] Calmet. See also a learned Dissertation on the subject in Ikenii Dissert. Theolog. tom. i. dissert. 11.

both of brutes and of man. Parkhurst conjectures, that as it does not appear that the Cynocephalus was known to the Avites, their idol Nibhaz might have been the figure of a man, with the head of a dog; which would point out the same idea to that people.

Nisroc, or נסרך *Neserek*, was the name of an Assyrian idol, mentioned in 2 Kings xix. 37, Is. xxxvii. 38. The Chaldaic noun masculine is used in the plural number several times in Daniel ch. vi. for overseers, or presidents over inferior governors. It seems therefore to have been like Baal, and Molech, a general name in the Assyrian dialect, for the solar fire; to whose anger, Sennacherib probably attributed the destruction that his army met with at Jerusalem;[a] and therefore went to his temple to appease him after his return, where he was slain by his sons.[b]

On, און or אן *Aun*, or *An*, signifying "*labour* or *activity*," was the appellation of an object of worship in Egypt. The LXX. have rendered it as the name of a city, in Gen. xli. 45, 50; xlvi. 20; and given it the name of Heliopolis, or the city of the Sun, because in that city, according to Herodotus,[c] and Strabo,[d] there was an annual assembly in honour of the sun; and a temple dedicated to him. Cyril, who was patriarch of Alexandria, says, in his Commentary on Hosea, that On, among the Egyptians, meant the sun: and it is probable, as Parkhurst observes, that it got that name as descriptive of its incessant labour, and unwearied activity to run its race.[e]

[a] Isaiah xxxvii. 36. [b] 2 Kings xix. 37.
[c] Lib. ii. cap. 59, 73. [d] Lib. xvii. [e] Ps. xix. 6, 7.

Phi-beset (פי־בסת) is evidently a dialectical variation of פי־בשת *Phi-beshet*, meaning *The shy*, or *shame-faced goddess*, and was the name of a city in Egypt,[a] which the LXX. render by a word evidently corrupted from the Hebrew, viz. Βουβαστου, and the Vulgate has Boubasti; in which city, according to Herodotus,[b] was a famous temple to the Egyptian idol Βουβαστις, who, says he, is in Greek called Αρτεμις. Now the Greek Αρτεμις means the moon, which has often been denominated "meek-eyed;" and her symbol was a cat, as having the singular power of seeing in the dark; or a cat's head added to the body of a female.

The Planets are mentioned in 2 Kings xxiii. 5, as objects of worship. They were considered as the habitations of the deities whose names they bear.

The Queen of heaven, or the *Moon*, is mentioned as an object of idolatrous worship in Jer. vii. 18; xliv. 17, 18, 19: no doubt on account of their gratitude for her light during the night, and her influence on vegetation and the tides. The idolatrous Israelites, in the above-mentioned passages, are said to have burnt incense, poured out drink offerings, and baked sacred cakes to this luminary.

Remphan, mentioned in Acts vii. 43, is the Egyptian name for Saturn, and is so translated by the LXX. Saturn was the same as Chiun, of which we have already spoken, and it was customary for them, at certain stated times, to carry about the tabernacles and symbols of their divinities. Hence Stephen says of the Israelites in the wilderness,

[a] Ezek. xxx. 17.

[b] Lib. ii. cap. 59, 137.

that they "took up the tabernacle of Moloch, and the star of their god Remphan," or Saturn, the name of one of the planets. Lightfoot, in his Commentary on the Acts, ch. vii. 43, however, gives a different etymology to the word. For he thinks that Remphan is compounded either of the Hebrew word רם *Rem*, and φαινω to shine, meaning "the high-shiner"—or of רם *Rem*, and פנים *phenim*, "the high faces, or representation," not only of Saturn, but of all the host of heaven; a part being taken for the whole.[a]

Rimmon, or רמון *Remun*, which signifies *a pomegranate*, was a Syrian idol, and is mentioned 2 Kings v. 18. It is thought by Parkhurst to have represented the fixed stars; but from the following passage, which he quotes from Mr. Bryant,[b] it would rather appear to have represented Jupiter. "Achilles Tatius mentions an ancient temple at Pelusium in Egypt, in which was a statue of the deity styled Zeus Casius, (Jupiter Casius,) holding this mysterious fruit (meaning the pomegranate) in his hand. We may from hence infer," adds Bryant, "that he was upon mount Casius worshipped in the same attitude; and the god Rimmon, mentioned in the sacred writers, was probably represented in the like manner."

Shedim, שדים or *The pourers forth*, are mentioned as objects of idolatrous worship in Deut. xxxii. 17, Ps. cvi. 37, but they are rendered "devils" in our translation. From the latter of these passages it appears, that the Canaanites worshipped these Shedim, and from them the valley of Siddim,

[a] Vol. i. p. 784. [b] New System, vol. ii. p. 381.

or Shedim, of which we read in Gen. xiv. 3, 8, 10, was probably denominated. Parkhurst supposes that they represented the heavens, as the pourers forth of blessings, and that to them may be referred the Multimammiæ, or many-breasted idols, which were worshipped among the heathen. Thus, for instance, Macrobius informs us[a] that "the whole body of the Egytian goddess Isis was clustered over with breasts, because all things are sustained and nourished by the earth, or nature." And of this many-breasted kind was the idol of the Ephesian Diana, mentioned Acts xix. 24, which Octavius[b] thus describes: "The Ephesian Diana was formed with many breasts and nipples."[c]

Semel, סמל, is, in our translation, rendered generally, "an idol, or image;" but, from a comparison of 2 Chron. xxxiii. 7, with 2 Kings xxi. 7, it is manifest, that whatever be the precise idea of the word, as an object of worship, it is equivalent to אשרה *Asherè*, or "the blesser:" and consequently was a female deity, perhaps a Venus, as Parkhurst conjectures. It appears from 2 Chron. xxxiii. 7, that Manasseh impiously "placed a carved image of this Semel (סמל), which he had made, in the house of God," that is, within the precincts of the Temple; and probably near the northern gate of the inner court, where we find it set up afterwards in Ezek. viii. 3, 5; in the former of which verses it is called Semel, or the image provoking to jealousy.—It appears from Deut. iv. 15, 16, that they had Semels of different sexes, for they are enjoined

[a] Saturnal. lib. i. cap. 20. [b] In Minucius Felix, cap. 21.

[c] "Diana—Ephesia multis mammis et uberibus extructa." See more in Park. Lex. שרה, v.

to take heed to themselves, lest they be corrupted, and make themselves a graven image, the representation of any Semel, the likeness of male or female." It is conjectured that from this Semel the Greeks had their Semele, the mother of Bacchus, whom she bare to Jupiter.

Shen שֵׁן, which signifies *The changer*, or *renewer*, was a god of the Philistines, to whom they dedicated a temple in the city of that name; *Beth-shan*, or בֵּית שֵׁן *Bit-shen*, meaning "the temple of Shen," and giving name to the city. It seems to have represented the seasons, as the changers or renewers of the year. And the reason why the Philistines fastened the body of Saul to the wall of Beth-shan, or the temple of Shen, was to testify their acknowledgments to it, as the conqueror of their enemies. It is true, indeed, that although the original in 1 Sam. xxxi. 10, expressly says, that the body of the Jewish king was fastened to *the wall* (חוֹמַת *behumet*) of Bethshan; it is said in 2 Sam. xxi. 12, to have been taken from *the street* (מִרְחָב *mereheb*) Beth-shan, by the valour of the men of Jabesh-gilead. But this ought not to overturn the idea of Shen being an idol; for when the same act of valour by the men of Jabesh-gilead is mentioned in 1 Sam. xxxi. 12, the word *wall* is retained, and they are said to have taken down the bodies of Saul and his sons, not from the street, but from the wall (מחומת *mehumet*) of Beth-shan. The true state of the case seems to have been, that the city was named after the idol; that the street which led to the temple was called the street of Beth-shan, or of the temple of Shen; and that they went along it, when they removed

the bodies of Saul and his sons, from the side or top of the walls of the temple, where they had been placed in triumph. Some would have Dagon and Shen to be the same: but there is evidently a distinction made between them, in the sacred history. For in 1 Sam. xxxi. 10, the Philistines fastened the bodies of Saul and his sons, on the wall of the temple of Shen: whilst they fastened their heads which they had cut off[a] in the temple of Dagon:[b] dividing thus their honours among their several divinities.

Shoirim, *Shoirem*, and *Shorim*, שעירם, שעירם, שעירים, translated gates, *i. e.* high places of the gates, in 2 Kings xxiii. 8, and "devils," in Lev. xvii. 7, 2 Chron. xi. 15, were certain idols, representing, as Parkhurst thinks, the power of the heavens, in storms, tempests, and rains; and they were commonly made in the form of wild goats, or other rough shaggy animals, that being also one of the significations of the word.

But Spencer[c] enters more deeply into the subject, for he makes the word to mean, 1st, Any hairy animal, and as such it is applied by Jacob to Esau, Gen. xxvii. 11; particularly goats, which were to be found in camps and deserts, that is to say, both in solitude and society. 2d, The goat was deified in Egypt, and was a generic term for Pan, Faunus, and Satyr; and Diodorus says, "that they not only retained it among the gods, but their priests were initiated to it, before they could perform their priestly office."[d] Maximus Syrius says, "they worshipped the cow, the sheep, and the

[a] 1 Sam. xxxi. 9. [b] 1 Chron. x. 10.
[c] De Leg. Heb. Rit. lib. ii. cap. 12. [d] Biblioth. lib. i. p. 78, 79.

goat."[a] Herodotus, speaking of the Mendesii in Egypt, says, "they all worship goats, and the males rather than the females."[b] Diodorus Siculus, in the above-mentioned place, says, that "they deified the goat, for the same reason that the Greeks worshipped Priapus." Strabo says the same thing.[c] And Lucian tells us in his Εἰκὼν, that "if one looked at the Egyptian temples without, they were large and beautiful; but if he sought for a god within, he would only find an ape, a stork, a goat, or a cat." It appears, then, that the Shorim were idols of the hirci-footed kind, as Pan, Faunus, Sylvanus, Satyri, Silenus, &c.; and that their worship was grossly impure, like the nature of the animals they worshipped. It was no wonder, then, that God prohibited offering sacrifices to these Shorim in Levit. xvii. 7, after which the Israelites had gone a whoring, when they dwelt in Egypt. For Bochart tells us, that "in the Egyptian worship of the goat, some women, from religious motives, basely exposed themselves to these sacred animals:"[d] of which Pindar, Strabo, Elian, and Herodotus give ample proofs. And Plutarch[e] positively tells us, that "the Mendesian goat in Egypt, is said to have been shut up with many beautiful women, not naturally lascivious, but preferring goats," I suppose, from religious motives. It was to this abominable practice, and the perverse taste it introduced, that the pure and holy God had a particular respect, when he dictated the laws against bestiality in Levit. xviii. 23, 24.

Succoth benoth, or סכות בנות, *Sekut benut*, was a Babylonish idol, and transplanted by them into

[a] Dissert. 38. [b] Euterp. cap. 46. [c] Geogr. lib. xvii.
[d] De Animal. Sacr. p. i. col. 642. [e] In Gryllo, p. 989.

Judea, when they came to people the land after the captivity of the tribes.[a] The words may literally be rendered "the tabernacles of the daughters—or of the young women." Or if *Benut* be taken as the name of a female idol, from בנה *Benè* to build up, or procreate children, then the words will express "the tabernacles sacred to procreation;" and, agreeably to this latter exposition, the Rabbis say that the emblem was "a hen and chickens." But however this be, there is little reason to doubt, as Parkhurst has justly observed, that these *sekut* were tabernacles, wherein young women exposed themselves to prostitution, in honour of the Babylonish goddess Mylitta. Herodotus[b] gives the following account of that detestable service: "Every young woman of the country of Babylon must, once in her life, sit at the temple of Aphroditè, or Venus, (whom he afterwards tells us the Assyrians called Mylitta,) and prostitute herself to some stranger. Those who are rich, and disdain to mingle with the crowd, present themselves before the temple in covered chariots, attended by a great retinue; but the generality of the women sit near the temple, having crowns of cord upon their heads, some continually coming and others going. Ropes are placed in such a manner as to afford a free passage among the women, that the strangers may choose whom they please. A woman, who has seated herself in this place, must not return home till some stranger has cast money into her lap, led her from the temple, and defiled her. The stranger who throws the

[a] 2 Kings xvii. 30. [b] Lib. i. cap. 199.

money must say, 'I invoke the goddess Mylitta for thee.' The money, however small a sum it be, must not be refused, because it is appointed to sacred uses. The woman must follow the first man that offers, and not reject him; and after prostitution, having now duly honoured the goddess, she is dismissed to her own house. In Cyprus," adds the historian, "they have the same custom."

Strabo[a] mentions the above practice. Baruch, vi. 43, alludes to it; and, perhaps, it is to this also that Amos refers, ch. ii. 8, when, speaking of the sinful practices of the Israelites, he says, that "they lay themselves down upon the clothes laid in pledge, (or as חבלים *hebelim* signifies, surrounded by cords,) by or near every altar; and they drink the wine of the condemned (ענושים *onushim*, literally, of the fines) in the house of their god."

The sun is spoken of in 2 Kings xxiii. 5, as an object of idolatrous worship, and was worshipped under the different names of Adrammelech, Baal, Beth-shemesh, &c. as may be seen in the foregoing articles. In 2 Kings xxiii. 11, we find that the kings of Judah had so far corrupted themselves, as to dedicate horses and chariots to this luminary; and we are informed from Ezek. viii. 16, that they commonly worshipped it with their faces to the east.

Tartak, or תרתק, *Teretek*, was the aleim or idol of the Avites, mentioned in 2 Kings xvii. 31. It seems compounded of תר, *Ter*, to go about, and רתק, *Retek*, to swathe or gird round as with a

[a] Lib. xvi.

chain, alluding to the motion of the planets, which move round the sun, and are girt to it by the invisible power of God, as with a chain; to which invisible power, philosophers have given the name of gravitation. Job uses a similar expression in ch. xxxviii. 9; and the Jews have a tradition that the emblematical idol for this power, to which they gave the name of Tartak, was an ass; which seems not improbable, as that animal is stupid, like inactive matter; and when confined by a rope to its pasture, might rudely represent the general law of gravitation; which chains the planets to the sun, and preserves them in their orbits round that luminary.

The *Teraphim*, or תרפים *Terephim*,[a] were representative images of the great object of religious awe and veneration. So Jehovah is called "the fear of Isaac,"[a] and the Jews are commanded to have the Lord of hosts for their fear and their dread.[b] There is not the least reason to think, that either Laban or Micah had any other aleim than Jehovah.[c] Their Teraphim, therefore, in Gen. xxxi. 30, 32, and Judg. xviii. 24, could only be intended to represent Jehovah, and, perhaps, had some resemblance to the cherubim, but less as to size,[d] and employed only for private uses. They did wrong, however, in multiplying representations of these cherubic figures, as they thereby furnished an inducement to the practice of idolatry. It was probably from these Teraphim, that the Penates, or household gods of the heathens,

[a] Gen. xxxi. 42, 53. [b] Isaiah viii. 13.
[c] Gen. xxxi. 24, 49, 50, 53. Judg. xvii. 3, 4, 5, 13; xviii. 19, 31.
[d] Judg. xvii. 4.

took their rise, and to whom, likewise, they burnt incense. The carriage of Micah's Teraphim, or car, on which the Danites carried it off in solemn procession, is mentioned in Judg. xviii. 21.

Thammuz, or תמוז *Temuz*, is mentioned as the name of an idol, Ezek. viii. 14, for which the Jewish women are said to have sat weeping, before the north gate of the Temple. The general opinion is, that it was the same as Adonis, and is so interpreted by Jerom, who observes, that Adonis is in the Hebrew and Syriac called Thammuz. Now, it is well known that Adonis was a Syrian idol, of whose worship, as celebrated in the temple of Venus at Byblus in Syria, we have the following account in Lucian.[a] "The Syrians," says he, "affirm, that what the boar is reported to have done against Adonis, was transacted in their country; in memory of which accident, they every year beat themselves and lament, and celebrate frantic rites; and great wailings are appointed through the country. And after they have beaten themselves and lamented, they first perform funeral obsequies to Adonis, as to one dead; and afterwards, on the next or a subsequent day, they feign that he is alive, and is ascended into the air, or heaven; and shave their heads, as the Egyptians do at the death of Apis." The account given by Julius Firmicus is rather different, but it might be occasioned by a difference of rites, in different countries and ages. "Upon a certain night," says he, "while the solemnity lasted, an image was laid in a bed, and after a great lamentation made over it, light was brought in, and the priest, anointing the mouths

[a] De Deâ Syriâ.

of the assistants, whispered to them that salvation was come, that deliverance was brought to pass."[a] Parkhurst seems inclined from the above, and other evidence, to suppose that Thammuz was originally designed to represent the promised Saviour, the desire of all nations; and that the name might have been derived from תם, *Tem*, "to put an end to," and מז, *mez*, "heat, wrath, or punishment," in allusion to Christ, who made an end of sin, and brought in an everlasting righteousness.—Such were the principal heathen deities, which the apostate Israelites foolishly worshipped; and for the explanation of which, I have been much indebted to Parkhurst and Spencer.[b]

SECT. II.

The Places where they were worshipped, and the Manner of worshipping them.

Behind their doors; on the roofs of their houses; in the gates of their cities; in gardens; high places; groves. The houses of their gods; their altars: of exquisite workmanship; generally high. Reasons why their altars were high; why they worshipped in high places. Why high places were forbidden by Moses; and yet tolerated under the first temple.—Idols worshipped by adorning them; kissing the hand; dancing before them; crying aloud; cutting themselves; feasting and obscenity.

LET us next attend to the places where they were worshipped. These were various, according to

[a] See more in Spearman's second letter on the Septuagint.

[b] On the general history of idolatry among the ancients, see the learned work of Gerard Vossius, "De Idololatriâ, Origine, et Progressu," appended to his translation of Maimonides, "De Idololatriâ."

the taste of the worshippers. For sometimes, they had their images behind their doors,[a] to serve as tutelary deities; in direct opposition to the divine law, which not only forbade any image to be made, but enjoined them to write on the door-posts of their houses, and on their gates, certain portions of the word of God.[b] Sometimes, their idolatrous worship was performed on the roofs of their houses,[c] which being flat, and either paved with brick or tile, or covered with strong terrace cement, were both near at hand and convenient. On these, the idolatrous Jews built altars of brick, and burnt incense to their ideal divinities.[d] Sometimes, their worship was performed in the gates of the cities, the places of public concourse,[e] as if to set decency, and a respect for public opinion, at defiance; and in Jeremiah's days, altars to Baal were in every street of Jerusalem.[f] Not unfrequently, also, they worshipped in their gardens,[g] as places of coolness and retreat. And hence Isaiah says of his corrupted countrymen, in ch. i. 29, that "they should be confounded for the gardens they had chosen." But their idolatrous rites were most commonly observed, on some elevated place, without their cities. Accordingly Josiah, being actuated with a laudable zeal for the glory of God, and the reformation of religion, is said to have demolished the high places which were before Jerusalem,[h] on the Mount of Olives, which Solomon, in his old age, had built at the solicitation of his strange wives.[i] And we are

[a] Is. lvii. 8.
[b] Deut. vi. 9; xi. 20.
[c] 2 Kings xxiii. 12. Jer. xix. 13; xxxii. 29. Zeph. i. 5.
[d] Is. lxv. 3.
[e] 2 Kings xxiii. 8.
[f] Jer. xi. 13.
[g] Is. lxv. 3.
[h] 2 Kings xxiii. 13.
[i] 1 Kings xi. 7.

told in Jer. ii. 20, iii. 2, 6, Ezekiel vi. 13, that the idolatrous Jews had images upon every high hill, on all the tops of the mountains, under every green tree, and under every thick oak.

Indeed, groves were very early applied to idolatrous worship. For, although, in Abraham's time, they were planted to Jehovah, to create veneration in the worshippers, prevent distraction of thought by surrounding objects, and direct the attention upwards to heaven,[a] yet, in the practice of his posterity, they were soon employed to worse purposes; for they became the retreats of idolatry, and the haunts of debauchery.[b] These groves appear to have been often of oak, from the thickness of their foliage. Accordingly, it is said of the idolatrous Israelites in Is. i. 29, that "they should be ashamed of the oaks which they had desired." And Hosea classes several of these trees together, in the following passage: "They sacrifice upon the tops of the mountains, and burn incense upon the hills, under oaks, and poplars, and elms, because the shadow thereof is good."[c] Groves of these species of wood, but particularly of oak, were common also among the heathen. Every scholar will recollect the oracle of Jupiter in the oaks of Dodona, and the interesting accounts by Tacitus,[d] and Pliny,[e] of the ancient druids or priests of the oaks. But, although the idols were worshipped in these retreats, it was with very different degrees of pomp. For sometimes there was only a single

[a] Gen. xxi. 33.

[b] Judg. iii. 7. 1 Kings xv. 13. 2 Kings xxiii. 7. Is. lvii. 5—8. Ezek. xvi. 25—34.

[c] Hosea iv. 13.

[d] De Morib. Ger.

[e] Nat. Hist. lib. xvii. cap. 44.

idol, and sometimes more; sometimes they were in the open air, and sometimes under a canopy, or in a temple. In the early times of the Jewish history, the *Bits*, or houses of their gods, were extremely simple, merely a screen from the weather; and, not unfrequently, only another word for a sacred inclosure, like the Grecian τεμενη. For it is worthy of remark, that Moses, who, in Deut. vii. 5, xii. 3, is very particular in commanding the Israelites to destroy the other appendages of the Canaanites' idolatry, never mentions their sacred buildings; nor do we ever read of them in the Book of Joshua. But in the subsequent parts of Scripture, these Bits were commonly used as houses for one or more of their ideal divinities, and were sometimes of large size, and exquisite workmanship. Thus, in Ezek. viii. 10, 11, xxiii. 14, we find them full of images portrayed upon the wall. Nay, even the groves were ornamented, as places of luxury and lust: for women were employed in making hangings for them, in 2 Kings xxiii. 7; and the women of Israel are accused by the prophet Ezekiel xvi. 16, of taking their garments to deck the high places with divers colours, where they played the harlot.[a]

Hitherto we have said nothing of their altars, on which they sacrificed to these pretended deities. Let us now observe, that they were sometimes of beautiful workmanship; but, whether they were ornamented or not, they were generally high. Thus Pausanias,[b] when describing a certain Olympic altar, says, that "the whole height of the altar was twenty-two feet;" and a little after, he adds

[a] See also Amos ii. 8.

[b] Lib. v.

of an altar of Diana, that "it raised its steps by degrees aloft." The reasons assigned for their height were various. 1st, To supply the defect of hills in low situations. Thus Apollonius Rhodius[a] says, that "the Argonauts erected a high altar on the first shore." 2dly, To remove them beyond the chance of casual pollution: and 3dly, To distinguish the altars of the dii superi, from those of the dii inferi, which were sunk in pits, and scarcely level with the ground.—But, if they had reasons for their high altars, they had also reasons for their high places. 1st, Because they thought they would be more easily heard on these eminences. Thus Tacitus says, that "those groves especially (which were situated on mountains) approached heaven, and that the prayers of mortals could nowhere be nearer heard by the gods."[b] And Lucian[c] says the same. 2dly, They supposed high mountains to be the thrones of the gods, as Olympus, Ida, &c., and therefore thought them the fittest temples.[d] And 3dly, As the sun and planets were then objects of worship, it was natural to ascend to elevated situations, where the air was more pure, and where, of course, they could see them the more clearly, and be free from the interruptions attending a crowd. From what we have said of these high places, we can easily see the reason why they were forbidden in the law of Moses: for they inclined the people to heathenism; they struck against the unity of God, and the unity of worship,

[a] Lib. ii.

[b] Eos maxime lucos (montis nempe) propinquare cœlo, precesque ortalium a Deis nusquam propius audiri. (Annal. lib. xiii.)

[c] De Deâ Syriâ.

[d] Homer, Il. xxii. 170.

by withdrawing them from the common altar of burnt offering; and they turned their thoughts back to Egypt, where these high altars originated, on account of the level nature of the country, and the annual overflow of the Nile. Hence the obelisks and pyramids with which that country abounded: and hence the words of Lucan when treating of the rites of Egypt, "vows are paid at the lofty altars of the pyramids."[a] After all, there was hardly any time, as Bishop Lowth justly remarks, in his note upon Is. ii. 8, when they were quite free from this irregular and unlawful practice; which they seem to have looked upon as very consistent with the true worship of God; and which seems, in some measure, to have been tolerated, while the tabernacle was removed from place to place, and before the Temple was built.[b] Even after the conversion of Manasseh, when he had removed the strange gods, and commanded Judah to serve Jehovah, the God of Israel, it is added, "nevertheless the people did sacrifice still on the high places; yet, unto the Lord their God only."[c] The worshipping on the high places, therefore, although it originated in a great measure from the heathen practice, and too often led to it, did not necessarily imply idolatry. From what is said of Uzziah and Jotham in 2 Kings xv. 3, 4, 34, 35, "that they did that which was right in the sight of the Lord, save that the high places were not removed, where the people still sacrificed and burnt incense;" we may presume, that the public

[a] "Votaque pyramidum celsas solvuntur ad aras."

[b] Mishna, Tractat. de Sacrificiis, cap. xiv. sect. 4—8.

[c] 2 Chron. xxxiii. 17.

exercise of idolatrous worship was not permitted in their time. The idols, therefore, to which the people sacrificed and burnt incense, might have been the teraphim, which were commonly designed for private use, as household gods; but were also employed for idolatrous and superstitious purposes, particularly for divination, and as oracles.

Yet, as it is generally known, that many of the Jews did cast off their regard for God, and joined in the idolatrous rites of the heathen, it may be proper to say a few words concerning *their manner of worship*; of which we have some hints in Scripture, besides those which have already been given, when describing the different idols. Thus, they sometimes painted their idols with vermilion, and spotted them with other kinds of paint; made convenient places for them, where they were chained, to prevent their falling, or set them in niches of a wall;[a] and adorned them with silver, gold, and broidered garments, and set meat before them.[b] Not unfrequently did the idolaters join in their feasts,[c] offer sacrifice and incense to them,[d] cut off their hair,[e] like Lavinia in Virgil,[f] and kiss their hand to the sun, in token of veneration. Accordingly, Job, in allusion to this last kind, says,[g] "If I beheld the sun when it shined, or the moon walking in brightness, and my heart hath been secretly enticed, or my mouth hath kissed my hand, this also were an iniquity to be punished by the judge; for I should have denied the God that

[a] Wisdom xiii. 14, 15.
[b] Ezek. xvi. 17, 18. Baruch vi. 9—15, 27, 30.
[c] Ezek. viii. 6, 11, 15; xxii. 9.
[d] Ezek. vi. 13.
[e] Jer. vii. 29.
[f] Æneid, vii. 391.
[g] Ch. xxxi. 26, 27, 28.

is above." This custom of kissing the hand is confirmed by several later heathen authors. For Lucian, Περι ορχησεως, mentions the Greeks, in his time, "worshipping the sun, by kissing their hand, and then thinking their adoration complete." Minutius Felix, cap. 2, remarks, that when the heathen Cæcilius observed the statue of Serapis, "he, according to the custom of the superstitious vulgar, moving his hand to his mouth, kissed it with his lips." And Apuleius,[a] who lived in the second century, when speaking of one Æmilian, who was probably a Christian, says, "If he passes by a temple, he thinks it wicked to move his hand to his lips, as a sign of adoration." We have several other of these practices in Is. lxvi. 3, where, in speaking of the idolatrous Israelites, God thus describes his detestation of their conduct: "He that killeth an ox, (in sacrifice to me,) is as if he slew a man; he that sacrificeth a lamb, is as if he cut off a dog's neck; he that offereth an oblation, as if he offered swine's blood; he that burneth incense, as if he blessed an idol."

But, besides the ordinary rites of idol worship, there were some that might be called extraordinary, because practised at their solemn festivals. Thus, they had their religious processions, when the image of their idol was carried either on men's shoulders,[b] or on the backs of animals, or drawn in a car,[c] like the Juggernaut of the Hindoos; and when religious dances were exhibited in honour of these idols,[d] like David when

[a] Apol. p. 496. [b] Baruch vi. 26. [c] Is. xlvi. 1, 2.
[d] Picart, Cerem. and Relig. Customs of all Nations, vol. iii. p. 97, 88, 120, 160, 177, 234. Eng. edit. fol.

he danced before the ark.[a] They cried also aloud, and cut themselves with knives and lances:[b] like the priests of Bellona, the Roman goddess of war, who are described by Lactantius as cutting their shoulders, and as running like madmen with drawn swords.[c] They often glutted the cruelty of their deities with human victims, and even with their own children: like the king of Moab in 2 Kings iii. 27.[d] And many, to testify their adherence to their favourite idol, marked the hand, or some other part of the body, with its name or ensign. Hence the mark of the beast in Rev. xix. 20, xx. 4, and the determined resolution of the faithful to adhere to the true God in Is. xliv. 5: "One shall say I am the Lord's, and another shall call himself by the name of Jacob, and another shall subscribe with his hand (or rather inscribe his hand) to the Lord, and surname himself by the name of Israel."

Amidst such perversion of the worship of the true God, and inclination to the worship of idols, it was not to be wondered at, that the divine patience was exhausted; and that he sent them into captivity, that they might experience the difference between his service, and that of their despotic conquerors. In 2 Kings, xvii. 6—18, we have an affecting vindication of the divine conduct, in the punishing of this highly favoured, but rebellious people.

[a] 2 Sam. vi. 14. [b] 1 Kings xviii. 26, 28.

[c] Lib. i. cap. 21. See also Lucan, Pharsal. lib. i. vers. 565.

[d] See an excellent Essay on the Universality of Human Sacrifices in Magee on Atonement and Sacrifice, vol. i. Illustrations, No. 5.

SECT. III.

The various Kinds of Divination.

Magic; applying to wise men; divining by the cup; sorcery; witchcraft; enchantment; the observing of times; cloud-mongers; consulting familiar spirits, or Aubs; wizzards; charming; necromancy; divination; astrology; stargazing; dreams; rhabdomancy, or consulting by staves; making bright the arrows; consulting by images; looking into the liver; soothsaying.

In perusing the Scriptures, one is struck with the various kinds of divination, which are mentioned; and feels a desire to be informed of some particulars concerning them. The following observations are intended to gratify such a curiosity.

Magic is very early spoken of. Pharaoh sent for the magicians of Egypt, to interpret his dreams.[a] The original word חרטמים *Herethemim* is differently rendered by the Septuagint; for sometimes they translate it εξηγηται, interpreters, or explainers of things secret; sometimes επαοιδοι, enchanters; and sometimes φαρμακοι, conjurors by drugs. Nor do the Greek Hexaplar versions, or the Vulgate, by their translations, throw any more light upon the strict and proper sense of the word; which may, as Parkhurst thinks, be best considered as a compound of חרט *Hereth*, a pen, or instrument to draw with, and חם *tem*, to perfect, or accomplish; and so denote those who were perfect in drawing the sacred, astrological, and hieroglyphical figures or characters, and by means of them pretended to

[a] Gen. xli. 8.

extraordinary feats,[a] among which was the interpretation of dreams. In short, they seem to have been such persons, as Josephus[b] calls ἱερογραμματεις, sacred scribes, or professors of sacred learning; one of whom, he tells us, foretold Moses' birth to the king of Egypt, for they were eminent, he adds, for predicting futurities.

The *wise men* were often resorted to for the purpose of divination. They pretended, as their name חכמים *Ekemim* imports, to wisdom in the magical arts; and are uniformly called σοφοι by the Septuagint. By their wisdom they were supposed able to interpret dreams,[c] and work miracles. Hence Pharaoh called them to counteract the miracles of Moses.[d]

Divining by the cup is commonly understood to be alluded to in Gen. xliv. 4, 5, where Joseph's steward says to his brethren, "Wherefore have ye rewarded evil for good? Is not this it (meaning Joseph's cup) in which my lord drinketh, and whereby indeed he divineth? Ye have done evil in so doing:" viz. in stealing it from him. The question, therefore, here is, How Joseph could divine by the cup, which he had caused to be put secretly in the sack's mouth? Some have ascribed it to the magical figures, which were engraven on it; and others to the appearance of the liquor when poured into it, or to its known effect in elevating the spirits: but the most natural explanation is that which is given by Parkhurst, (verb נחש) and which removes every idea of divination. His words are, "Is not this it in which my Lord drinketh, and

[a] Exod. vii. 11, 22.
[b] Antiq. ii. 9.
[c] Gen. xli. 8. Dan. ii. 27.
[d] Exod. vii. 11.

for which searching he would search, (נחש ינחש *nehesh inehesh,*) or would surely accurately search? Ye have done evil in so doing." Here every idea of divination disappears, and the natural one occurs, that a cup which was so much used, must soon have been missing, and they suspected of the theft. In Gen. xxx. 27, and 1 Kings xx. 33, the word is translated as Parkhurst has done it. The Arabic confirms this sense, by rendering the words "and he hath tried you by it." And the Chaldee makes them, "searching he has searched," or "he has made diligent search for it."

Sorcerers (מכשפים *Mekeshephim*) were those who pretended to discover things hidden, by compositions of drugs, whether vegetable, mineral, or animal: and whom the Septuagint always describe by some of the derivatives of *φαρμακον*. They are often mentioned in Scripture.[a]

Witchcraft, according to the English acceptation of the word, means those women who pretended to intercourse with the devil; but as the original word in Exod. xxii. 18, where it is said, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live," is מכשפה *Mekeshephè*, or the feminine singular of that which was rendered "sorcerers," under the former article, it naturally refers to those sorceresses, who pretended to discover things hidden by pharmaceutical compositions.[b]

Enchantment is often mentioned in Scripture; but the original word נחש *nehesh* means augury,

[a] Exod. vii. 11. Deut. xviii. 10. Jer. xxvii. 9, &c.

[b] The reader may find some account of these abominable processes, as practised by the heathen, in Potter's Antiquities of Greece, book ii. ch. 18. Horace in usum Delphini, Epod. 5. Ovid. Metam. lib. vii. fab. 2. Lucan, lib. vi.

by attending the motions of serpents, the flight of birds, and the entrails of animals. The jugglers in the east, at the present day, have a custom of extracting the fangs of serpents, at the bottom of which the bag of poison lies, so as to make them harmless; and then teaching them to move to the sound of music, entwine themselves round the body, &c. to excite admiration, and extract money from the vulgar.

The observers of times in Lev. xix. 26, Deut. xviii. 10, literally mean the cloud-mongers, (עוֹנֵן *Ounen*) or those who observed the clouds to foretell success or disappointment, prosperity or adversity, to the persons who applied to them.

Consulting familiar spirits was very common among the idolatrous Israelites. It seems to have been brought by them from Egypt;[a] and to have been practised afterwards in imitation of their heathen neighbours.[b] The original word for "familiar spirits" is אבת *Abet*, and in the singular number אב *Ab*, and אוב *Aub*. It is very differently used in Scripture. For sometimes it signifies the belly; sometimes a leathern bottle, as resembling the belly; sometimes a ventriloquist, pretending to have connexion with a familiar spirit, who spoke out of the ground;[c] sometimes an impure spirit, whom the heathen seers consulted, about things hidden, lost, or future, about things said or done by persons who were absent, and about persons seized with any disease; and sometimes it is applied to real or pretended possessions. Bochart says that the word is Egyptian, which is not unlikely,

[a] Lev. xix. 31. Deut. xviii. 11. [b] Is. viii. 19; xix. 9.
[c] Is. xxix. 4.

from its being so familiar to the Israelites, when they came out of Egypt; but Spencer makes it Hebrew, and thinks that the Obion and Hoff of Kircher, in his Onomasticum Copticum, might have been introduced into Egypt, by the Jews who travelled into that country.—Those who consulted the python, or pythoness of Aub, commonly went in the night, who answered either from the belly, like a ventriloquist; or from the earth; or by means of some spectre, fictitious or real, like the pythoness of Endor—to whom Saul said, "Divine to me by the Aub, or familiar spirit."[a] We read of a pythoness in the New Testament, but when, or how she was consulted is not said. We are only told, that there was at Philippi, in Macedonia, a certain damsel possessed of a spirit of divination, (πνεύμα Πυθωνος, a spirit of Python, or Apollo, the same kind of spirit which actuated the pythoness at Delphi, when she delivered responses,) who brought her masters great gain by soothsaying; and who was dispossessed of the demon by Paul.[b] Applying to such persons was strictly prohibited to the Jews; for it was one of the vanities of Egypt, which they were forbidden to imitate; derogatory to the character of the Supreme Being; contrary to their engagements as God's covenant people; and seems to have been one to which they were much addicted, since it is no less than thrice prohibited in the compass of a few verses.[c]

[a] 1 Sam. xxviii. 8. See Gleig's edition of Stackhouse's Hist. of the Bible, book v. ch. 3, dissert. 3, and appendix to that dissert.: also Maimonides de Idololatriâ, cap. vi. sect. 2; cap. xi. sect. 15, 16.

[b] Acts xvi. 16—18. [c] Lev. xix. 31; xx. 6, 27. See also Spencer de Legib. Heb. Ritual. lib. ii. cap. 21.

The *Wizzards* whom the Israelites were forbidden to seek after,[a] were those fortune-tellers, who by palmistry, as the word ידענים *idonim* imports, endeavoured to persuade men that they could inform them of their fate. Hence the Septuagint call them γνωστοι, or knowing ones. In Is. viii. 19, they are said to "peep and mutter," which it is probable they did, in the exercise of their art; but the original word for "peep," (המצפצפים *emetseph-tsephim*) signifies "the curious observers" of the lines on the hands of those who applied to them; and the word rendered "mutter," (המהגים *emègim*,) means rather the dissolvers of different kinds of drugs, as incantations, or medicines, in which these persons often dealt.

The *Charmers* in our translation, are described by two words in the Hebrew. 1st, חבר *Heber*, or those who muttered a certain combination of words, in the form of a spell or charm.[b] 2d, אטים *Athim*, which, coming from a root that signifies "to stoop, or incline," means, as Bate thinks, that kind of Egyptian conjurors, who crept, stooped, and pryed about in quest of something beyond the ken of the uninitiated.[c]

The *Necromancers*, (דרש אל המתים *Deresh al èmetim*,) mentioned in Deut xviii. 11, were those who consulted the dead; who dwelt in sepulchres, and lodged in the monuments, as Isaiah informs us,[d] for the purpose of obtaining dreams and revelations.

The *Diviners* (קסמים *kesemim*) were those who

[a] Lev. xix. 31. Deut. xviii. 11. Is. viii. 19; xix. 3.
[b] Deut. xviii. 11. Is. xlvii. 9, 12. [c] Is. xix. 3.
[d] Is. lxv. 4.

attempted to prognosticate future events, by a sagacity superior to others. The original word also denotes the rewards of divination, by those who were so foolish as to consult them.[a]

The *Astrologers* (הברי שמים *Eberi shemim*,) were those who divided the heavens into parts, or houses, as they were called, for the more distinct contemplation of the situations and configurations of the stars and planets; whence they pretended to collect the will of heaven, and foretell future events. In Dan. i. 20, we find our translators saying, that Nebuchadnezzar "found Daniel and his companions ten times better than all the astrologers that were in his realm." But the original word אשפים *Ashephim* rather means "conjurors," for the word is derived from one which signifies "to breathe," on account of the divine afflatus to which they laid claim.

The *Stargazers* (החוים בכוכבים *Ehezim bekukebim*) studied the stars, not for the purposes of astronomy, but of astrology.[b]

The *Monthly prognosticators* (מוריעים *murioim*,) mentioned by Isaiah,[c] pretended to foretell at every new moon, the events which should happen to any person, during its continuance.

The *Dreamers* (חלמהיכם *Helemetikem*) endeavoured to make men believe that they could discover things stolen by means of dreams; or had future events revealed to them in that way; or could understand the interpretation of those dreams, which were told them by others.[d]

[a] Is. xliv. 25. Jer. xxvii. 9. [b] Is. xlvii. 13. [c] Is. xlvii. 13. [d] Jer. xxvii. 9.

Rhabdomancy, or consulting by staves, is mentioned in Hosea iv. 12; where it is said, "My people ask counsel at their stocks, or images; and their staff (מקלו *mekel*) declareth unto them." Maimonides says, that in this kind of divination, they snatched a staff, leaned upon it thoughtfully, or struck the ground with it, till they imagined they had obtained the wished-for response.[a] They also drew omens from the side on which the staff fell, as to the direction of their journey; or whether they ought to undertake it or not: and they usually made this trial "at the parting of the way, at the head of two ways," as Ezekiel mentions; where roads separated, or crossed each other.

Making bright the arrows was used by the king of Babylon, as a kind of divination. That was the preparatory step. They next marked upon them the names of the cities, intended to be attacked; put them promiscuously into a quiver; and drew them by lots, to determine the order in which they should attack the cities.[b] This was certainly very unlike a regular campaign; but it marked the self confidence of the monarch, and the oscillation of eastern councils. The Afghauns practise this kind of divination at the present day.[c]

Consulting by images is also mentioned by Ezekiel, as having been resorted to by the king of Babylon.[d] The original word is תרפים *terephim*, and it probably resembled those in use among the Jews, which were a small kind of cherubim, used as penates or household gods.

[a] De Idololatriâ, cap. x. sect. 7. [b] Prideaux, Connex. A.A.C. 590.
[c] Elphinstone's Cabul, book ii. ch. 5. [d] Ezek. xxi. 21.

Looking into the liver was also practised by the king of Babylon,[a] and was a very common mode of divination.[b]

We find *soothsaying* mentioned in Dan. ii. 27, and the ordinary meaning of the word, in the English language is to predict future events; but the original word גזרין *gezerin*, denotes those particularly who pretended to foretell future events, by cutting up and inspecting the entrails of animals. They corresponded, therefore, with the inspectors of the liver in the preceding particular.

Thus much concerning the very humiliating state in which the heathens were as to religion; and the criminality of the Jews, in leaving the worship of the true God, to follow the superstitious practices of their heathen neighbours.

SECT. IV.

Jewish Sects, and lesser Distinctions, in our Saviour's Days.

Enmity between Jews and Samaritans accounted for. Sadducees, their origin and tenets: Pharisees, their origin and tenets; this sect the most numerous and popular.—The Essenes, practical and contemplative. The Herodians.—Chief priests; Scribes, their office, and how our Lord's teaching differed from theirs.—The elders, lawyers, and publicans.

BEFORE the revolt of the ten tribes, the Jews had no other difference in religious matters, than what arose from the temporally and spiritually minded;

[a] Ezek. xxi. 21. [b] Potter's Antiq. of Greece, book ii. ch. 14. Adam's Roman Antiq. art. Sacred Rites.

the one observing the letter of the law, and the other endeavouring to enter into its spirit. But after that time, the Jews and *Samaritans* publicly and perpetually differed from each other. Every one who reads the sacred history will perceive this, and the grounds of the enmity that subsisted between them were the following. In the first place, they were divided by national hatred, the one belonging to the kingdom of Judah, and the other to the kingdom of Israel; so that they were frequently at war with each other. 2dly, Religious prejudices widened the breach; for Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, did all he could, to prevent his subjects from going to the festivals at Jerusalem, by erecting two idols at Bethel and Dan. 3dly, The mixed multitude which were sent from Babylon, Cutha, Ava, Hamah, and Sepharvaim, to people the kingdom of Israel, after it was led away captive, (A.M. 3295,) increased this hatred, by their blending their heathen worship with the religion of Moses; and appearing as the greatest enemies of the Jews, in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah, when they were engaged in rebuilding the city and temple of Jerusalem. 4thly, The temple on mount Gerizim which was built by Sanballat the Horonite, (A.M. 3595,) in opposition to the temple at Jerusalem, set altar against altar, and worship against worship. And 5thly, The enmity was rendered complete by the Samaritans rejecting the historical books, prophets and hagiographa; the oral law, and traditions; and retaining as their creed, the pentateuch alone. It was no wonder, then, that the woman of Samaria expressed her surprise to our Lord, when he asked her even for

a draught of water; since it really was, as she said, that the Jews had no friendly dealings with the Samaritans.[a]

In the days of our Saviour, the Jews were divided into four sects; the Sadducees, Pharisees, Essenes, and Herodians.

The *Sadducees* derived their origin from *Tzadoc*, or צדוק *Tsedok*, the disciple of Antigonus, who lived 240 years before Christ. This Antigonus had said to his disciples, "Be not as slaves who obey their masters for reward; but obey, without hoping for any fruits of your labours. Let the fear of God be upon you."[b] This certainly was a noble sentiment, but Tzadoc, the disciple of Antigonus, favouring the sentiments of Epicurus, perverted it to mean, that there were no rewards nor punishments at all.[c] The Sadducees, when they first appeared, believed the whole of the written word, and like the Karaites, rejected the oral law and traditions; but in the days of our Saviour, they admitted only the five books of Moses,[d] as proper to be read in the synagogues; rejected the oral law, and traditions of the elders; denied fate; considered God as not interfering in human affairs; and asserted that having set good and evil before men, he left them at liberty to do as they pleased. They also denied the immortality of the soul, and the existence of angels and spirits,[e] and were thus the freethinkers or infidels among the Jews. The

[a] John iv. 9. See a further account of this people, and how they differed from the Jews, in Prideaux, Connex. A.A.C. 107, 409.

[b] Mishna, Capita Patrum, cap. i. sect. 3.

[c] Prideaux, Connex. A.A.C. 310.

[d] Prideaux, Connex. part ii. book v. A.A.C. 107. Lightfoot, vol. ii. Serm. on Acts xvii. 31.

[e] Acts xxiii. 8.

following is the account which Josephus gives of them. "As for the Sadducees, they say there is no such thing as fate, and that the consequences of human affairs are not at its disposal; but they suppose that all our actions are in our own power; so that we are ourselves the causes of what is good, and receive what is evil from our own folly."[a] In another place he tells us, that "the doctrine of the Sadducees is, that the souls die with the bodies. Nor did they regard the observance of any thing, besides what the written law enjoined them—but this doctrine was received but by a few, yet by those still of the greatest dignity. But they were able to do almost nothing for themselves (as a sect); for when they became magistrates, as they were unwillingly and by force obliged to be, they conformed themselves to the notions of the Pharisees, because the multitude would not otherwise bear them."[b] In a third place, Josephus gives a farther account of them, in the following words: "The Sadducees take away fate entirely, and suppose that God is not concerned in our doing or not doing what is evil; and they say, that to act what is good, or what is evil, is at men's own choice: and that the one or the other belongs so to every one, that they may act as they please. They also take away the belief of the immortal duration of the soul, and the punishments and rewards of Hades."[c] A little after he adds, that "the behaviour of the Sadducees one to another is in some degree unnatural; and their conversation with those who are of their own party is as barbarous as if they were strangers to them."—

[a] Antiq. xiii. 5. [b] Antiq. xviii. 1. [c] War, ii. 8.

Such is the account which Josephus gives of the Sadducees, and every one must see how consonant it is with what the Scriptures have said concerning them.[a]

The second sect among the Jews was that of *the Pharisees.* These derived their name from פרש Pheresh, "to separate," because they affected to be holier than other men, and believed in a state of retribution after death, in opposition to the Sadducees, who denied the doctrine of rewards and punishments. The time when they first appeared was about 140 years before Christ. "They made broad their phylacteries; offered up long and ostentatious prayers, even in the streets;[b] sounded a trumpet when they gave alms; disfigured their

[a] See farther, Prideaux, Connex. A.A.C. 107; Lightfoot's Harm. of the Four Evangelists, sect. 23; Leusden's Philologus Hebræo-mixtus, dissert. 19; Stackhouse's Hist. of the Bible, book vii. ch. 4. dissert. 4.

[b] This publicity in their devotions continues in the east to the present day. "I was much struck," says the Rev. W. B. Lewis, "with the punctuality, but the very careless manner in which he (the Padre of Deir El Kamar on Mount Lebanon) and the others (the priests) repeated their daily prayers together, and a great many of the psalms, both morning and afternoon. There was no kneeling, no order nor form, no regarding of those who might be in the room at the time, and they hurried through the daily work as quick as lightning; though it seemed a great task to look at in the book. Indeed the work of religion in this country, (meaning the Holy Land,) among the religionists, seems to be all a show, and to consist chiefly in saying long prayers, and using vain repetitions before the world; and this remark, as far as I am yet able to judge, is equally applicable to Christian, Turk, and Jew. There is no such thing as retirement, no entering into a closet, shutting the door, and praying to the Father who is in secret; and one is continually reminded of the Pharisees, in the days of our Lord, who loved to pray standing in the synagogues, in the corners of the streets, and any where to be seen of men." (Journal published in the Scottish Missionary and Philanthropic Register for January 1824.)

faces that men might see when they fasted; and were fond of being called Rabbi, and of sitting in the uppermost seats at feasts. They also washed their hands before meat, and frequently also their household utensils; ornamented the tombs of the prophets; were anxious to make proselytes; and to read the law in the Synagogue, but they made it void by their traditions; for they believed not only in the written and oral law, but made the oral the rule of interpreting the written, and taught their disciples, that when these appeared to clash, the oral was to be followed in preference to the written. Josephus several times makes mention of this sect. Thus, in one place he says, "Now the Pharisees say, that some actions, but not all, are the work of fate, that some of them are in our own power, and are liable to fate, but are not caused by it."[a] In another, when accounting for the unnatural hatred of Herod to his sons, he speaks thus of the Pharisees: "We (Essenes) are persuaded that human actions are thereby determined beforehand, by an inevitable necessity, and we call it Fate, because there is nothing that is not done by it. Wherefore I suppose it will be sufficient to compare this notion, with that other (of the Pharisees) which attributes somewhat to ourselves, and renders men not unaccountable for the different conduct of their lives; which notion is no other than the philosophical determination of our ancient law."[b] In a third place he gives a fuller account still, of their sentiments and habits. "Now the Pharisees live meanly, and despise delicacies in diet, and they follow the conduct of reason, and

[a] Antiq. xiii. 5. [b] Antiq. xvi. 11.

what that prescribes to them as good for them, they do. They also pay a respect to such as are in years, nor are they so bold as to contradict them in any thing that they have introduced: (by which I understand him to mean the traditions of the elders.) And when they determine that all things are done by fate, they do not take away the freedom from men of doing as they think fit; since their notion is, that it hath pleased God to make a rule, whereby what he wills is done; but so that the will of man can act virtuously or viciously. They also believe that souls have an immortal vigour in them, and that, under the earth, there will be rewards or punishments, according as they have lived virtuously or viciously in this life; and the latter are to be detained in an everlasting prison, but that the former shall have power to revive and live again, (hereby believing in the doctrine of transmigration.) On account of which doctrines they are able to persuade the body of the people, and whatsoever these do about divine worship, prayers, and sacrifices, they perform according to their direction: insomuch, that the cities give great attestation to them, on account of their virtuous conduct, both in the actions of their lives, and their discourses."[a] Elsewhere Josephus farther says of this sect, that "the Pharisees are those who are esteemed most skilful in the exact explication of their laws. They ascribe all to fate, and to God; and yet allow, that to act what is right, or the contrary, is principally in the power of man, although fate does co-operate in every action. They say that all souls are incorruptible: but that the

[a] Antiq. xviii. 1.

souls of good men only are removed into other bodies, and that the souls of bad men are subject to eternal punishment." A little afterwards he adds, that "the Pharisees are friendly to each other, and are for the exercise of concord, and a concern for the public."[a] Such is the account which Josephus has given us of the Pharisees: and it must be more satisfactory to hear himself, than to endeavour an abridgment.[b]

In the writings of the Jews, who lived in the days of our Saviour, we find them using a distinction, which had an evident reference to this sect; for they divided their nation into three classes, the righteous, the good, and the sinners. By the righteous, צדיקים *tsedikim*, they understood those who adhered strictly to the letter of the law, doing what it required, but nothing more. The good, חסידים *hesidim*, were those who not only attended to the letter of the law, but observed the traditions of the elders: they were liberal to the poor, gave more than the half shekel that was required for the temple, and contributed largely for the priests and sacrifices. As for the third class, or those denominated sinners, רשעים *reshoim*, they were persons of a wicked and profligate cast, who feared not God, nor regarded man; who despised the written law, neglected the traditions of the elders, were regardless of ordinances, and violators of moral and religious duties. It is to this distinction that St. Paul alludes, in Rom. v. 7, 8, when, in

[a] War, ii. 8.

[b] See more in Lightfoot's Harmony of the Four Evangelists, sect. 23; Leusden's Philologus Hebræo-mixtus, dissert. 18; Stackhouse's Hist. of the Bible, book vii. ch. 4.

magnifying the riches of divine mercy, he says, "Scarcely for a righteous man will one die, peradventure for a good man some would even dare to die; but God commendeth his love towards us, in that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us."

As for the third sect, or that of *the Essenes*, (חשאי *Heshai*, a חשה *Heshè*, *silēre*,) although largely spoken of by Josephus, they are never mentioned in the Scriptures, because they came not from their concealment to converse with Christ, being but few in number in Judea in comparison of Egypt, where they chiefly resided. The following is an abstract of what Josephus says concerning them. They consisted entirely of males, to the number of four thousand, denying themselves marriage, discouraging commerce, and employing themselves chiefly in agriculture. By the laws of their society, they might reside where they chose, but in whatever city they dwelt, they had a community of goods which was intrusted to certain persons called stewards, in whom they had confidence, and who employed it in procuring the necessary requisites of food, raiment, and the entertainment of those strangers of their own sect, whom business occasionally brought among them. Their manner of spending their time was as follows. Their first care was to offer up certain prayers before sun-rise, which they had received from their fathers. They were then sent by the stewards, to exercise themselves in those arts, in which they were skilled, till the fifth hour, or eleven o'clock, at which time they met, bathed themselves in cold water, put on white raiment, and entered

the common hall, where dinner was served up. This consisted of bread, and a single dish of some kind of meat for each individual, a priest asking a blessing, and the deepest silence reigning during the repast. When thanks were returned, they resumed their ordinary dress, and went about their several employments till the evening, when they supped in a similar manner. In all their transactions they paid the strictest regard to truth; were distinguished for their fidelity; received from the common stock what was needful for the purposes of charity, but might not give it away to their kindred, as if it were their own; and were unusually strict in their observance of the sabbath.—Their doctrinal tenets were, that fate governed all things; that the soul was immortal; and that there were rewards and punishments beyond the grave; but their ideas on this last subject were much corrupted by the opinions of their heathen neighbours.

They had two ways of obtaining proselytes; the one by procuring the children of others, and training them up in their principles and habits; the other by persons arrived at manhood, who wished to become members. For these last, a long noviciate was prescribed. They received a small hatchet, a girdle, and a white garment, and were bound to observe the rules of the order for a year, without, however, being allowed to eat at the common table. When that was expired, their tempers were tried for other two years, at the end of which, if they were counted worthy, they were allowed to take the initiatory oath; which consisted in solemnly engaging to exercise piety towards God, and justice towards man; never to abuse

authority when invested with it; nor practise theft, nor violate truth, nor conceal any thing from their sect, nor reveal the doctrines of it to others, even though their lives should be in hazard, nor alter the established dress of the society. And after they had taken the oath, and had partaken of the common feast, they were considered as invested with all the privileges belonging to the Essenes. Those who oberved their engagements were highly respected; but those who violated them were tried by a council composed of a hundred men, and excommunicated from the society; after which their state was deplorable. For, having subsisted at the common table, they considered themselves as precluded from receiving food from strangers, even after they became unable to earn a subsistence; so that they went about, often, in the utmost distress, and when at the point of death, were received into the society, that their souls might be saved in the other world.[a]

Some have supposed the Essenes to be the descendants of the Rechabites, others the Samaritan heretics, called Jessæans, and others have confounded them with the monks under the gospel; but it is easy to see that their tenets were a mix-

[a] Such is the substance of what Josephus has given us in his Antiq. xiii. 5, xviii. 1, and War, ii. 8. Philo has also written of the Essenes, in his book entitled "Every good man is free," p. 600; and Pliny treats of them in his Nat. Hist. v. 17. What is said of the Essenes by Josephus, has been transcribed by Porphyry in his De Abstin. iv. 11, 12, 13; and Eusebius, out of Porphyry, in his Præparat. Evang. ix. 2. Eusebius also produces an elegant passage out of Philo's Apology for the Jews, not now extant, in his Præparat. viii. 10; and whatever we meet with that is authentic in other authors is derived from these sources.

ture of the doctrines of Moses and Pythagoras.[a] They were, however, the favourites of Herod the Great, who distinguished them above all the other sects, because one Menahem saluted him, when at school, with "Hail, king of the Jews,"[b] but the Romans hated and persecuted them; at which times, it is but doing justice to their characters to say, that they acted with the greatest magnanimity and heriosm.[c]

On reviewing the three before-mentioned sects, the following reflections present themselves. The Sadducees strained the doctrine of the freedom of the will too far, and made man the master of his actions and his fate. The Essenes ascribed all to fate, and inclined to the opinions of the Stoics, whose austere morals they copied. The Pharisees kept a medium between the two. The Sadducees were pelagians, the Essenes predestinarians, and the Pharisees semi-pelagians. The Sadducees, like the Epicureans, denied the immortality of the soul, and had their disciples chiefly among the rich and unprincipled. The Pharisees had theirs chiefly among the poor, the hypocritical, and ambitious of every class. And the Essenes found their votaries among the romantic, the melancholy, and the dissatisfied. Every one also will observe a considerable resemblance, between the tenets of the Essenes, and the precepts and practice of the first Christians. Whilst the oriental scholar, taking a more comprehensive glance, will institute a comparison between the whole of the three above-mentioned sects, and the Sheahs, Soonees, and Soofees

[a] Basnage's Reliq. of the Jews, chap. xii. xiii.
[b] Joseph. Antiq. xv. 10. [c] War, ii. 8.

of Persia. For the Sheahs maintain the literal and perfect meaning of the Koran; the Soonees assert the necessity of a supplement to it by the Sonna, which is a collection of the actions and sayings of the prophet, as gathered from the mouths of his wives and companions, and afterwards augmented by the commentaries of the Mahomedan doctors. Whilst the Sooffees resemble the Essenes in their contemplation of the divine love, and their four stages to the attainment of divine beatitude.[a]

As for the fourth sect, or *the Herodians*,[b] their tenets consisted, either in the legality of paying tribute to Cæsar, and conforming to the heathen rites, in order to ingratiate themselves with Herod, as the friend of the Romans; both of which were detested by the Jews in general, as striking at the root of their national independence, and the purity of their worship: or in the opinion that Herod was the Messiah, or temporal conqueror, who should free the Jews from the Roman yoke, thereby flattering him at the expense of truth. Those who have supposed that the tenets of the Herodians consisted in the last of these, have derived the origin of the sect, either, 1st, from Herod the Great, who died a little before Christ's birth, and wished to be accounted the Messiah; but he was hated by the Jews, and a feast was appointed on the 7th of Chisleu as the anniversary of his death. —Or, 2dly, from Herod, the tetrarch of Galilee, who is called the fox by Christ,[c] and whose doctrine, whether of the Messiah, or of paying tribute

[a] Malcolm's History of Persia, vol. ii. chap. 22. Memoir of the Rev. Henry Martyn, p. 361, 390, 392, 393, third edit.

[b] Matth. xxii. 16. Mark iii. 3. [c] Luke xiii. 32.

to the Romans, is called the leaven of Herod.[a] —Or, 3dly, from Herod Agrippa, who killed James with the sword, and was smitten by an angel.[b] From whichever of the three we deduce the title, one thing is certain, that the sect disappeared with the splendour and prosperity of the Herodian family.[c]

Such were the principal sects among the Jews in the days of our Saviour; but there were lesser distinctions to which we ought also to attend; viz. the chief priests—the scribes—the elders—the lawyers—and the publicans.

The chief priests, who are mentioned in Matth. ii. 4, and ch. xxvii. 1, are evidently different from that individual who was commonly known by the name of high priest. They have, therefore, been supposed by some to mean the chief priest and his sagan; and by others, the present and former high priest; but the most natural interpretation seems to be, the heads of the twenty-four courses, who were the chief priests of these courses. They formed one-third part of the Jewish sanhedrin, and therefore are joined in Matth. xxvii. 1, and Mark xv. 1, with the scribes and the elders, who formed the other two-thirds.

The scribes, who are frequently mentioned in the gospels, were not the secretaries of private individuals, as Baruch was of Jeremiah,[d] and Seraiah of David;[e] but the public scribes of the people,

[a] Mark viii. 15. [b] Acts xii. 2, 23.
[c] Leusden's Philologus Hebræo-mixtus, dissert. 23.
[d] Chap. xxxvi. 4.
[e] 2 Sam. viii. 17.

whose office was threefold. 1st, They acted as notaries in the Councils of twenty-three; wrote portions of scripture for the phylacteries, and door-posts of houses; contracts, bills of divorce, &c.[a] 2dly, They copied the scriptures for those who desired them, and took care that no errors crept into the text. The eight and forty cities, therefore, which were given from among the tribes, were so many schools or universities, in which they trained up the young for these purposes; for it should be recollected, that these scribes were either from among the priests or Levites. 3dly, They were the public and common teachers of the people, expounding the meaning of the sacred oracles to the people, and the nature of those traditions which were handed down by the elders. They had therefore two places of instruction; for they were often called upon to interpret the section of the law, or the prophets in the synagogues; and they expounded the traditions in the Bitmederesh, or schools of divinity in the neighbourhood of the synagogue.[b] It was in reference to this last part of their duty, or that of teaching the people, that our Saviour said in Mark xii. 35, "How say the scribes that Christ is the son of David?" Instancing the scribes only, (although the Pharisees, Sadducees, and even all the Jewish nation, held the same opinion,) because the scribes were the persons who sat oftenest in Moses' seat, and taught this doctrine to the people. Ezra was a person who fulfilled both the duties which were required of the scribes; for he was a ready scribe in the law of Moses,[c] and preached to the people.

[a] Lightfoot's Heb. and Talm. Exercit. on Matth. ii. 4.

[b] Lightfoot's Harm. of the Four Evang. part i. sect. 7.

[c] Ezra vii. 6.

And the scribe of which our Saviour speaks, was one who was instructed to the kingdom of heaven, and brought out of his treasures things new and old. It is worthy of remark, however, that our Saviour's manner of teaching is said to have been different from theirs.[a] For, in the first place, when they expounded scripture, they only told what this or the other doctor had said on the subject; explained the law by their traditions; and when the law and traditions were at variance, they taught that the traditions were to be preferred to the law: but Christ resorted to no such authorities, called no man master, rejected their traditions, and restored the precepts to their primitive purity.[b] In the second place, their teaching in their Bitmederesh, or schools of divinity, was commonly about external, carnal, and trivial rites; but his was about regeneration, repentance, faith, love, charity, self-denial, and the other weighty matters of the law and of the gospel. 3dly, Their teaching was often so various, and even so contradictory, that the people were at a loss what to follow; but his had a clearness and consistency that carried conviction along with it. 4thly, They were only servants, and with all their desire to do good, could not command success: Christ was a lord in his own house, and taught savingly so as to profit.[c] It was already noticed, that the scribes composed a third part of the Jewish sanhedrin.

As for *the elders*, they were different from the

[a] Matth. vii. 29.

[b] Lightfoot's Heb. and Talm. Exer. on Matth. vii. 29.

[c] Leusden's Philol. Hebræo-mixtus, diss. 23. Lightfoot's Harm. of the Four Evang. part iii. sect. 20.

scribes, for they were lay-men, deeply versant in the laws and usages of their country, whose judgment had great weight. They were commonly also chief men in the tribes, and composed the remaining third part of the sanhedrin.

The lawyers are commonly classed in the gospels with the Pharisees and Scribes, and derived their name, from their having devoted themselves to the study of the law, and teaching it to the people; but burdened with the load of their numberless traditions. Hence are they severely reproved by our Lord in Luke ii. 45—52.

As for *the publicans*, although they were rather a civil than religious class of men, yet they deserve to be noticed. Their office was to collect the tribute, which the Romans imposed upon Judea, after it became a Roman province; but it was an unpleasant task for the following reasons. In the first place, the Jews disliked to be accounted subject to the Romans, and, therefore, those who collected the tax (let them do it as impartially as they might) were considered as enemies to the independence and honour of the nation; and, 2dly, as the Roman revenues were often farmed to the highest bidder, that gave room for extortion and injustice, which, though bad in a foreigner, was accounted doubly criminal in a descendant of Abraham.

SECT. V.

Jewish Proselytes.

1st, Slaves embracing Judaism without obtaining their liberty. 2d, Proselytes of the gate: the seven precepts of Noah; their conformity to the apostolic rescript in Acts xv. 20, 29. 3d, Proselytes of righteousness; their privileges; how initiated; their instruction, circumcision, and baptism. Children of these proselytes entitled to their privileges. Proselytes of righteousness on their admission offered a sacrifice, and changed their name. The Jews divide the history of proselytism into six periods; these mentioned.

ALTHOUGH the Jewish religion was peculiarly adapted to the Jewish nation, yet it was not confined to it, for leave was given them to make proselytes, and certain privileges were granted to those who became such.—Of the Jewish proselytes there were three classes: 1st, Those slaves who embraced Judaism without receiving their freedom; 2dly, The proselytes of the gate; and, 3dly, The proselytes of righteousness.

As for *the slaves, who embraced Judaism without receiving their liberty,* they were either natives of other countries, who came into the families of the Jews by conquest, or purchase, or gift; or they were the children of these natives. These quitted their heathen practices, and conformed to the religion of their masters, sometimes from necessity, and sometimes from choice. Of this kind was Eliezer of Damascus, the steward of Abraham's house,[a] and to this does God compare Israel, when

[a] Gen. xv. 2, 3.

he says in Jer. ii. 14, "Is he a homeborn slave, why is he spoiled?"

The proselytes of the gate were persons who, without undergoing circumcision, or observing the Mosaic ritual, engaged to worship the true God, and observe the seven precepts which were said to have been imposed on the children of Noah. The following is a list of these precepts: 1st, *Of foreign worship*, (על עבירה זרה, ol obidè zerè,) in which was forbidden the worship of idols and false gods. 2d, *Of blessing the name of God*, (על ברכה השם, ol berekè eshem,) under which were comprehended the opposite sins of blasphemy, swearing, and perjury. 3d, *Of the effusions of blood*, (על שפיכות דמים, ol shephikut demim,) or the prohibition of murder. 4th, *Of chastity*, (על גלוי ערוות, ol gelui oruut,) de revelatione pudendorum, Deut. xxii. 15, 17, under which were forbidden fornication, adultery, incest, and unnatural copulations. 5th, *Of theft*, (על הגזל, ol egezel,) under which was comprehended every species of dishonesty. 6th, *Of courts of judicature*, (על הדינין, ol edinin,) prescribing the nature and form of civil government, and the administration of justice. 7th, *Of the members of living creatures*, (על אבר מן החי, ol aber men ehi,) de membro e vivo, in which was forbidden eating flesh with the blood, or things strangled. Such are the celebrated commandments of Noah, which the Jews so often mention, (although their authenticity has been called in question,) and which, according to them, composed a summary of religious duty to all mankind, before the giving of the law from Mount Sinai. But be they true or false, they laid the foundation of that distinction of proselytes, of

which we are speaking; since the proselytes of the gate became bound to observe them, whether they resided in the land of Judea, or in heathen lands. Naaman the Syrian,[a] and Cornelius the centurion,[b] are thought to have belonged to this class. And in reviewing the seven precepts of the Noachidæ, one is struck with their conformity to that singular letter which the church at Jerusalem issued, in Acts xv. 29, when the question before them was, whether an observance of the Mosaic law was essential to the salvation of those who had become Christians? or, in other words, whether Christianity, of itself, could not save its adherents, without the aid of Judaism? The question was proposed to them by two classes of persons, viz. those who from heathens had become Christians, and those who had previously been proselytes of the gate. And the answer was such as to satisfy the doubts of both these classes. With respect to the first, or those who from heathens became Christians, the meaning of the apostolic rescript evidently is, "We see no occasion for your being circumcised. It is not indispensable to salvation. Only, as you have disclaimed idolatry, you must henceforth abstain from meats offered to idols; to prevent giving offence to the Jews, you must keep from blood, and from things strangled; and to hinder you from offending God, and returning to your former state, you must be on your guard against fornication, and all impurity, as hateful to a pure and holy God, and but too much practised within the precincts of the heathen temples." Thus was it both a quieting of their fears on an important

[a] 2 Kings v. 18. [b] Acts x. 2.

point; a solemn warning against those vices, to which, from their connexion with their heathen neighbours, they were daily exposed; and an excellent lesson of self-denial in matters indifferent, to conciliate the minds of the Jews to the gospel.

But if this was the meaning of the apostolic letter, as addressed to those who, from being heathens, had become Christians; it was equally satisfactory to those who had been proselytes of the gate, before they became Christians; for it relieved them from the fear of the Jewish yoke, and evidently contained the precepts of the Noachidæ; or, if any of them were omitted, it was because they were judged by the Apostles to be unnecessary. Thus, the words in the letter which enjoined them to "abstain from meats offered to idols," comprehend the first and second of Noah's commandments: for he who took his share in the sacrifices of idols, was guilty both of idolatry, and profanation of the name of God. The second prohibition, viz. that "of blood," relates to the third commandment of Noah, which forbade the effusion of blood, or of murder: for it appears to me that these words ought to be interpreted thus, rather than in the sense they are commonly taken, of refraining from blood. The eating of blood is evidently forbidden in the next words in the rescript, or those which prohibit the use of things strangled; and it is not very probable that in so short a decree as this, the same thing would be expressed in two different clauses. With respect to abstaining from "things strangled," this was exactly the seventh commandment of Noah, which regarded the members of living creatures, thereby signifying, that no flesh of

any living creature should be eaten; for a creature strangled with the blood in it was reputed by the Jews to retain its life, because the blood is expressly said by God himself to be the life. The last thing in the decree is the "abstaining from fornication," and it corresponds with the fourth commandment of Noah against illegal cohabitations. So that there are only two of the commandments of Noah awanting in the decree of the apostles; viz. the fifth against theft, and the sixth concerning right judgment by the courts of judicature; but these might have been thought unnecessary, because the one was punished by the existing laws, and the other was both the professed aim and great end of every existing government.[a] From this review, then, of the decree, its intention with respect to the proselytes of the gate is obvious. It was certifying, that, as the converts from heathenism to Christianity were not obliged to keep the law of Moses, neither were they. Only, as they had bound themselves, on becoming proselytes of the gate, to keep the seven commandments of Noah, they should continue to observe them.[b]

As for *the Proselytes of righteousness*, they were more highly favoured than the proselytes of the gate, for they might trade with Jews, marry with Jews, enter within the sacred fence of the Temple, and partake of the annual feasts.[c] There were several things, however, to which they were bound to submit, before they were entitled to these privileges. In the first place, when they expressed

[a] Stackhouse, Hist. of the Bible, book ii. chap. 1. dissert. 1.

[b] See farther in Prideaux, A.A.C. 129.

[c] Prideaux, Connex. A.A.C. 428.

their wish to become proselytes of righteousness, they were examined strictly by the wise men, as to their motives; whether they were actuated by the love of gain, or of fear, or of affection for some woman of Israel, or by a regard for the law? And if the wise men were satisfied as to these points, they then instructed them in the leading principles of Judaism, intending to dwell upon them more fully in the course of their noviciate.[a] When these outlines were understood, the next step was circumcision, which was performed with the usual ceremonies: but if any of them had been circumcised, as was the case among the Egyptians and Ishmaelites, they took a few drops of blood, which they called the blood of the covenant, before three witnesses, who prayed thus: "O God, grant that we may find in the law, good works, and thy protection, as thou hast introduced this man into thy covenant."[b] Some have thought that in adults the pain of circumcision was greatest on the third day, founding their opinion on Gen. xxxiv. 25; but Sir John Chardin says, that he was told by divers renegadoes in the East, who had been circumcised, some at thirty, and some at forty years of age, that circumcision had occasioned them a great deal of pain; that they were obliged to keep their bed at least twenty or twenty-two days; during which time they could not walk without feeling very severe pain: but that they applied nothing to the wound, to make it cicatrize, except burnt paper.[c]

[a] Lightfoot's Heb. and Talm. Exer. Matth. iii. 6; and Harm. of the Four Evangelists on John iii. 23.

[b] Basnage, Relig. of Jews, book v. ch. 6, 7.

[c] Clarke's Harmer, ch. xi. ob. 92. See also Capt. Light's Travels,

While the wounds of the proselytes were healing, the wise men continued to instruct them more fully in the nature of the law; and when completely healed, they then submitted to the rite of baptism. That, however, could neither be done on the Sabbath, nor on a holiday, nor in the night: and three scholars were required to be present, to instruct them in the nature of baptism, and to see that it was legally performed; for their traditions enjoined that they should be dipped completely, either in a confluence of waters, or in a vessel of a cubit square, and three cubits deep, which would hold what was equal to forty seahs.[a] After the rite, the scholars, as witnesses, gave the proselytes a certificate, which, when presented to any synagogue, constituted them church members while they resided within the bounds.[b] And if the head of a family was, in this way, baptized, the infants and slaves were baptized at the same time, without asking their consent: the former, because they could not give it; and the latter, as being his property, and having no rights of their own: but sons come of age were not baptized unless they wished it. Hence it is that we find no mention of children or slaves, in the baptisms of the first Christians. It was a matter of course in the baptism of houses.[c]

The next thing the proselytes did, was their attending the Temple, and offering a sacrifice to Jehovah, through the medium of the priesthood, for

[a] Lightfoot, Heb. and Talm. Exer. Matth. iii. 6.

[b] Basnage, Relig. of Jews, book v. ch. 6, 7.

[c] Lightfoot, Heb. and Talm. Exer. Matth. iii. 6; and vol. ii. sermon on 1 Cor. x. 2.

their admission among the number of his chosen people: but that is now discontinued, as impracticable, since the destruction of Jerusalem. We must add, that the persons initiated changed their names, renounced their heathen kindred, family, and wealth, and received as it were new souls.[a] Accordingly Tacitus reproaches them with "despising the gods, and forsaking their country, children, and kindred, whom they looked upon with indignation."

So much, then, with respect to the male proselytes of righteousness. The females were received by baptism and sacrifice, but now only by baptism and instruction.[b] In perusing the Jewish writings, we find them dividing proselytism into six periods. The first was, when the Jews came out of Egypt; when Jethro was admitted to Jewish privileges, and a letter was added to his name, like Abraham; for he was formerly, according to them, Jether-reuel, or Raguel; and when others of the neighbouring nations, struck with the wonders of Jehovah, became proselytes. The second period was in the reigns of David and Solomon, when proselytes were forbidden, lest they might have become so from interested motives, on account of the flourishing state of the Jewish nation. And hence the reason why there was no Court of the Gentiles in the first Temple. The third period was between the captivity and the coming of Christ, when they were admitted to offices, and confounded by degrees

[a] Basnage, book v. ch. 6, 7.

[b] See some sensible observations on proselytism, in Fleury's Manners of the Ancient Israelites, part iv. ch. 1, and Leusden's Philologus Hebræo-mixtus, dissert. 21.

with the original stock by their intermarriages. The fourth period was at the beginning of Christianity, when each sect, in place of uniting in the general cause, compassed sea and land to make proselytes to itself. The fifth period was after the destruction of Jerusalem, when the ruin of their Temple, and subsequent misfortunes, prevented many from joining themselves to them. And the sixth is, when the Messias shall appear, to restore the glory to Israel, and when multitudes from heathen lands shall rejoice in their connexion with the favoured race. How painful the thought, that they seek in futurity that Messiah, who is come already to purchase the salvation of an elect world!

PART IX.

LEARNING OF THE JEWS.

SECT. I.

Jewish Manner of Writing.

Origin of writing. Engraving on stone tables, on rock. The inscriptions on the mountains of Faran, in the wilderness of Sinai; in the plain of Mummics in Egypt; at the river Lycus; on the bricks of Babylon. One of these seen by the author. Engraving on brass, and lead. Books written on painted linen, papyrus, parchment, leaves, and inner bark of trees, plates of wood covered with wax. Their pens or styles: sometimes iron; sometimes a reed. The ancient form of books in rolls. A copy of the Veda described, as seen by the author. Rolls commonly written on one side; but sometimes on both. Writings how preserved. Letters, or private epistles in the form of rolls: how sealed. Description of an Eastern letter seen by the author.

VARIOUS disputes have arisen as to the origin of writing: some supposing that it was of divine original, and never known till the time of Moses; and others, that it was known long prior to him. But, in a matter of such high antiquity, it is impossible to arrive at certainty. It would seem, however, from the perfection of Moses' style, that it was known before; unless we conclude, that God not only wrote the law on two tables of stone; but that the Holy Spirit enabled Moses to write the Pentateuch in a language, till that time only spoken, but never committed to writing; and consequently, that the five books of Moses are re-

markable, not only as being the most ancient code of laws ever promulgated, but as being the first specimen of writing that ever existed. This, however, although maintained by some, is certainly carrying the argument too far.[a] The materials on which the Jews and other eastern nations wrote were various. The most ancient that we read of, were the two tables of stone, on which the Decalogue was written; and the two altars mentioned in Deut. xxvii. 8, which were erected for a similar purpose; and in Job xix. 23, 24, we have three ways of writing mentioned, viz. writing in a book, engraving on lead, and engraving on a rock. It would appear, that engraving on rock, especially, was the way in which the ancients chose to preserve inscriptions. For the Prefetto of Egypt mentions a place not far from the mountains of Faran, in the wilderness of Sinai, where, for the distance of three miles, he met with ancient unknown characters, cut here and there on the hard marble rock, at the distance of 12 or 14 feet from the ground. Maillet mentions something of the same kind in the plain of Mummies in Egypt, (Lett. 7.) Maundrell gives an account of figures and inscriptions like these abovementioned, graven on polished parts of the natural rock, and at some height above the road, near the river Lycus, (p. 37.) And Mr. Macdonald Kinneir, when speaking of Babylon, says, that he observed several kinds of bricks which appeared to have been in use

[a] Bishop Gleig's edition of Stackhouse's Hist. of the Bible, book iii. appendix to dissert. 5th, where the subject is discussed. And as the origin of language is allied to that of writing, see the divine origin of language ably defended in Magee on the Atonement, vol. ii. Illustrations, No. 54.

among the Babylonians; some of which were burnt in the fire for facing, and others dried in the sun for the heart of the building. Of the former he distinguished four kinds, but the most common were about a foot square, and three inches thick, with a distich of the characters so common at Persepolis, and similar in appearance to the barb of an arrow.[a] The author of the present work saw one of these bricks, exactly answering the above description, which had been brought from Babylon by one of the suite of General Sir John Malcolm.[b]

It is generally thought that engraving on brass or lead, and on a rock or tablet of stone, was the form in which the public laws were written; but that rolls of linen, first painted and then written upon, was the common form of books. Two things corroborate this opinion: 1st, That tablets of stone or plates of metal could not have been cut with a knife, and thrown into the fire, as Jeremiah's roll was by Jehoiakim.[c] And, 2dly, The linen bandages which surround the mummies are commonly filled with hieroglyphical characters. Prideaux informs us, that the Egyptian papyrus (from whence

[a] Geograph. Memoir of the Persian Empire, A.D. 1810, p. 279.

[b] As many attempts have been made to discover the language in which these distichs are written, but all of them hitherto in vain, there can be no impropriety in the author adding his opinion. He conceives them to be marks engraven on the bottom of the frames, in which the bricks were fashioned, to ascertain the individuals, or companies, by whom they were made. Those conversant with the masonic art know, that every operative has his particular mark, which he engraves on the stones hewn by him, and which may be called the hieroglyphic of his name. It was the resemblance which some of these bore to the figures on the brick from Babylon, that suggested the idea; and if it be well founded, it will afford an additional argument in favour of the antiquity of those symbols which are peculiar to Masonry.

[c] Ch. xxxvi. 23.

our English word paper is derived) was not known till the building of Alexandria, by Alexander the Great, and consequently later than the times of the prophets; and that parchment (*pergamena*, from Pergamus in Asia Minor, where it was first used,) was of later date than the papyrus.[a] The leaves and inner bark of trees (called Βιβλος and Liber) were indeed sometimes used, as were the thin plates of wood (tabellæ) either plain or covered with wax;[b] but both the Jews and other nations resorted at length to linen or parchment, as being most convenient; for paper, like that in present use, is only a modern invention.

The Jewish manner of writing was suited to their materials. For when stone, lead, brass, wood, wax, or papyrus, were used, they wrote with a bodkin or style of iron; (and hence it is that every man's writings or compositions are called different styles;[c]) but when they wrote on linen or parchment, they used a reed (calamus) formed into a pen, and some colouring substance equivalent to ink; like Isaiah when he wrote his prophecy in ch. viii. 1. In Ezekiel ix. 2, 3, 11, we read of six persons with scribes' or writers' ink-horns at their sides or girdles, which, though not conformable to our customs, is yet agreeable to those of the East. Thus Dr. Shaw informs us,[d] that among the Moors in Barbary, "the Hojas, that is, the writers or secretaries, suspend their ink-horns in their girdles, a custom as old as the prophet Ezekiel:" and adds in a note, that "the part of these ink-horns (if an

[a] Connex. A.A.C. 332.
[b] Is. xxx. 8.
[c] Prideaux, Connex. A.A.C. 332.
[d] Travels, p. 227.

instrument of brass may be so called) which passes betwixt the girdle and the tunic, and holds their pens, is long and flat; but the vessel for the ink, which rests upon the girdle, is square, with a lid to clasp over it." Hanway, in like manner, says of the Persians, that "their writers carry their ink and pens about them in a case, which they put under their sash."[a] And Sir John Malcolm tells us, that these cases are about ten or twelve inches in length, and three or four inches round, beautifully painted; and that they are also worn by ministers in Persia as an ensign of office.[b]

The ancient form of a book was commonly that of a roll, and hence the frequent mention of rolls in Scripture. The books found in Herculaneum are in the form of rolls, and the ancient Jewish books did not, like ours, consist of distinct leaves bound together, but of long rolls of parchment, with the writing distinguished into columns; like the copies of the Old Testament in the Jewish synagogues. So that what are called leaves in Jer. xxxvi. 23, seem rather to have been the columns into which the breadth of the roll was divided, as many of the eastern rolls are at this day. The skins of which they were made were most carefully joined. Accordingly, Josephus, when describing the introduction of the Seventy-two translators of the Hebrew Scriptures to Ptolemy Philadelphus, says, "But as the old men came in with the presents, which the high priest had given them to bring to the king, and with the membranes or skins, upon which they had these laws written in golden let-

[a] Vol. i. p. 332. [b] History of Persia, vol. i. ch. 10.

ters, he put questions to them concerning these books. And when they had taken off the covers, wherein they were wrapt up, they showed him the membranes. So the king stood admiring the thinness of these membranes, and the exactness of the joinings, which could not be perceived; so exactly were they connected one with another; and this he did for a considerable time."[a] The author of the present work has seen a roll, on which was written the Veda, or Sacred Book of the Hindoos, in the Sanscrit language. It was of silk paper, nine feet ten inches long, and four and three-eighth inches wide. The writing was in two columns, beautifully executed, with ten paintings at top, five and five; and along the columns, at different but unequal distances, were other three and twenty paintings, which were understood to be either incarnations of their deity, or expressive of some parts of their mythology. The edging on the sides and foot were also elegantly designed.[b]

In general, the ancient rolls were only written on one of the sides, but the roll mentioned in Ezekiel ii. 10, was written within and without, to show the abundance of the matter contained in it. These latter rolls were called by the Greeks *οπισθογραφα βιβλια*,[c] books written on the back or outer side; and from them by the Romans, Libri opisthographi,[d] or as Juvenal[e] calls them, Scripti in tergo. And of this kind was the book or roll mentioned in Rev. v. 1, which was written within, and on the

[a] Antiq. xii. 2.

[b] For an account of the four Vedas, see Dow's History of Hindostan, vol. i.: Preliminary Dissert. p. 27—30: and Murray's Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in the East, book ii. ch. 7.

[c] Lucian, Vit. Auct. 9. [d] Plin. Epist. iii. 5. [e] Sat. i. 6.

back, and sealed with seven seals. It is easy to see that rolls of linen, silk, or parchment were liable to the injuries of time, both as to their texture and writing: they seem therefore to have been preserved in chests of wood, or some other durable material. Jeremiah's roll was preserved in an earthen pitcher;[a] and with respect to deeds of no great length, but of great importance, they seem to have been engraved on sheets of lead rolled up. For Pliny informs us,[b] that "writing on lead (plumbeis voluminibus, rolls of lead) was of high antiquity, and came after writing on the bark and leaves of trees, and was used in recording public transactions." Josephus frequently speaks of decrees of states being written on brass.

Besides books in the form of rolls, we also read, in Scripture, of letters being sent from one person to another. These were, in general, in the form of rolls also,[c] and resembling probably those in the East at this day. Thus Niebuhr[d] tells us that "the Arabs roll up their letters, and then flatten them to the breadth of an inch, and paste up the end of them, instead of sealing them." And Hanway[e] tells us, that "the Persians make up their letters in the form of a roll, about six inches long, and that a bit of paper is fastened round it with gum, and sealed with an impression of ink, which resembles our printers' ink, but not so thick."—When letters were written to inferiors, they were often sent open, or in the form of an unsealed roll: but when addressed to equals or superiors, they were enclosed in a bag of silk or satin, sealed and

[a] Chap. xxxii. 14. [b] Nat. Hist. xiii. 11.
[c] Joseph. Antiq. xv. 6. [d] Arab. p. 90. [e] Travels, vol. i. p. 317.

addressed.[a] Hence the insult of Sanballat to Nehemiah, in sending his letter to him by his servant open.[b]

It was just now said, that these letters were sealed; I may remark, as an additional circumstance, that the very ancient custom[c] of sealing them, with a seal or signet set in a ring, is still retained in the East. Thus "in Egypt," says Dr. Pocock, "they make the impression of their name with their seal, generally of cornelian, which they wear on their finger, and which is blacked, when they have occasion to seal with it." And Mr. Hanway[d] remarks, that the Persian ink "serves not only for writing, but for subscribing with their seal: indeed many of the Persians in high office (he adds) could not write: but in their rings they wear agates, which serve for a seal, on which is frequently engraven their name and some verse of the Koran." So Dr. Shaw, in like manner, says,[e] that "as few or none either of the Arab shekhs, or of Turkish and eastern kings, princes or bashaws, know to write their own names; all their letters and decrees are stamped with their proper rings, seals, or signets,[f] which are usually of silver or cornelian, with their respective names engraven upon them on one side, and the name of their kingdom or principality, or else some sentence of the Koran, on the other." It was perhaps to this that the apostle alludes, when he says,[g] "The foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal or impres-

[a] Harm. Ob. vol. ii. p. 129. Niebuhr, Arabie, p. 90. [b] Ch. vi. 5.
[c] Gen. xli. 42. Esth. iii. 10, 12; viii. 2, 8, 10. Jer. xxii. 24.
[d] Travels, vol. i. p. 317. [e] Travels, p. 247.
[f] 1 Kings xxi. 8. Esth. iii. 12. Dan. vi. 17. Ecclus. xlix. 11.
[g] 2 Tim. ii. 19.

sion, on the one side, 'The Lord knoweth them that are his: and on the other, Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity."

The author of this work saw a letter addressed from a governor-general of India to the king of Persia, in Persic, on beautifully glazed white paper, fifty inches long, and twenty inches broad. The written part, however, was only two feet long, and one foot broad; the rest being filled with a beautiful ornamental painting at the head of the letter, and a very elegantly painted border round the whole sheet. The bag in which it was to have been sent, and which the author also saw, was a cloth composed of gold threads and crimson silk. It was tied at the neck with a gold lace, which, after being knotted, passed through an immense seal, four inches in diameter, and about an inch thick, of red wax; which seal of office was entirely covered with Persic characters, containing the titles of the Company; those of the king being at the beginning of the letter. In order to preserve the seal and lace entire, the bag was opened at bottom, to extract the letter, but the natural way of opening it would be either by melting the wax, or cutting the lace between the wax and the bag. Mr. Wortley's courier, whom he sent from Essek, returned with the Bassa's answer, in a purse of scarlet satin, somewhat similar to the above, but, as was to be expected, not so elegant.[a] So much as to their manner of writing in general.

[a] Lady Mary W. Montague's Letters, letter 23d.

SECT. II.

Some Account of their principal Books.

The Old Testament divided into the Pentateuch, former prophets, latter prophets and Hagiographa. Account of the origin of chapters and verses. The Books referred to in scripture, but at present lost. The Septuagint: Josephus. Of the Talmudical writings, the following are the most remarkable. 1st, The Midraschim, or Commentaries. 2d, The Midraschim Rabbot, or Great Commentaries. 3d, The Pirke Abbot, or Sentences of the Fathers. 4th, The Mishna, its origin, author, and contents described. 5th, The Gemara. 6th, The Talmud. 7th, The Targum. 8th, The Commentary on the Old Testament by Aben Ezra. 9th, Maimonides, writings of, described. 10th, Abarbanel's Commentary on the Law.

THE Hebrew Scriptures, which form the most ancient book in the world, are arranged by the Jews in a different manner from what they appear in our translation: for they are classed by them under the four following heads. I. The Pentateuch, containing the five Books of Moses, entitled, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy. II. The Former Prophets, comprehending Joshua, Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel, 1 and 2 Kings. III. The Latter Prophets, comprehending Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi: and IV. The Hagiographa, or Holy Writings, comprehending Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Song of Solomon, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, 1 and 2 Chronicles.—They were first revised and arranged by Ezra, A.A.C. 444.

The other members of the Great Synagogue carried on the work. And Simon the Just completed the Canon of the Old Testament A.A.C. 291, by adding 1 and 2 Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, and Malachi: of which books, 1 and 2 Chronicles, Ezra, and Esther, are supposed to have been written by Ezra; and Nehemiah and Malachi, by those whose names they bear, some time after his death.[a]

In the days of Josephus, Daniel was esteemed one of the greatest of the prophets;[b] but, since that time, the opinion of the Jews hath been changed. For, in order to invalidate the evidence that results from his writings, in support of Christianity; they have, on the authority of a few doctors, agreed to remove him from among the prophets, and class him among the Hagiographa: which division, however, even upon their own rules, does not affect his pretensions to be considered as an inspired writer. The ostensible reason which induced the Jews to this degradation, was, that Daniel lived in the Babylonish court in a style of magnificence, inconsistent with the restrictions observed by the prophets; and that although the divine will was revealed to him by an angel, yet, as the prophet himself calls this revelation a dream, they considered that as a mode of revelation, inferior to any of those specified in God's address to Moses.[c]

In the most ancient copies of the Scriptures there are neither chapters nor verses. The fol-

[a] Prideaux, Connex. A.A.C. 292, 446. [b] Antiq. x. 11, 12.
[c] Num. xii. 6. Gray's Key to the Old Testament, p. 403. Prideaux, Connex. A.A.C. 534.

lowing is a short account of their origin. Some have asserted, that the present division into chapters was invented by Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the reigns of King John, and his son, Henry III.; but the true author was Hugo de Sancto Caro, who, from a dominican monk, was advanced to the dignity of cardinal, and is generally known by the name of cardinal Hugo. He flourished A.D. 1240, and died A.D. 1262. This cardinal was the first who composed a Concordance in the Vulgar Latin, by the assistance of the monks of his order; and divided the Vulgate into chapters, and letters, at regular distances along the margin, for the sake of reference. The subdivision into verses by Hebrew letters, as they stand in the margin of our Hebrew Bibles, was not adopted till two centuries after, by Mordecai Nathan, or, as others call him, Isaac Nathan: who, seeing the utility of Hugo's concordance to the Christians, when arguing with the Jews, composed a Hebrew one for the Jews, to argue against the Christians. But, in place of adopting Hugo's marginal letters, he marked every fifth verse with a Hebrew numeral, thus: א 1, ה 5, י 10, &c.; retaining, however, his division into sections or chapters. This Concordance of Nathan's was begun by him A.D. 1438, and finished A.D. 1445. The last improvement, as to the verses, was by Athias, a Jew of Amsterdam, in his beautiful edition of the Hebrew Bible, printed in 1661, and reprinted in 1667; who marked every verse with our common numerals, except those already marked by Nathan with Hebrew letters, in the manner they now stand in the Hebrew Bibles. And it

was by casting out these Hebrew letters from other Bibles, and putting the corresponding numerals in their place, that all the copies of the Bible, in other languages, have since been marked.[a]

In the Old Testament Scriptures, a reference is often made to other books, such as the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel,[b] and of Judah;[c] of Jasher;[d] of Samuel the seer, Nathan the prophet, and Gad the seer;[e] and of the chronicles of the kings of Persia.[f] But all these are now lost, except some fragments of the last, which are preserved by the Persian poet Ferdosi, who lived in the fourth century of the Mahomedan era, (corresponding with the eleventh of the Christian,) and is reckoned the first of Persian poets. "He is the author of the *Shah Nameh*," (says Sir John Malcolm,) "or Book of Kings, a noble epic poem; which, independent of its poetical merit, contains the only facts the Persians have, of the more early periods of their history. It is formed from some fragments of the chronicles of the kings of Persia, a work which is noticed in Scripture; and which, we are told by the Grecian author Ctesias, existed when he was at the court of Artaxerxes Mnemon."[g]

[a] Prideaux, Connex. A.A.C. 446. [b] 2 Kings i. 18.
[c] 2 Kings viii. 23. [d] Josh. x. 13. 2 Sam. i. 18.
[e] 1 Chron. xxix. 29. [f] Esther vi. 1.

[g] Persia, a Poem, Note (a). Sir John has nearly the same observations in his History of Persia, vol. i. ch. 7.—I shall gratify my readers with his translation of eight stanzas from the introduction of the *Shah Nameh*, published by him among other poems in 1822. They are a hymn to the Deity, far superior to the most celebrated invocations of the western poets, and resembling the enlarged views, and pure morality of the Scriptures.

But, besides the Old Testament Scriptures, the Jews have several writings of human composition, which are in high esteem among them. Of these, the first, in order of time, is the *Septuagint*, procured at the request of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, and valuable as being the sense which the Jews, in those days, put on the Scriptures. It differs often from our present translation, and not unfrequently serves to illustrate obscure passages.[a]

All hail to his almighty name
Who life on man bestow'd,
And, as a guide, bade Reason's flame
Illume his darken'd road.

Thou, Lord of life! thou, Lord of space!
From whom all light doth flow;
Thou, who hast deign'd from wondrous grace,
Salvation's path to show.

Creator of the planets bright;
Lord of the arch divine;
From thy effulgence borrowing light,
Sun, moon, and stars do shine.

Thy name, thy shape, and thy abode,
To man are all unknown;
Betwixt frail beings and their God
A sacred veil is thrown.

For He, who to the human eye
A circle wide has given,
In wisdom did it power deny
To see the ways of heaven.

To where he sits, with glory crown'd,
Not thought itself can stray;
Far, far beyond all earthly bound
Dwells He whom all obey.

Wouldst thou, with potent Reason's aid,
Pierce through the great design?
Say, can the wretch his breath has made,
His Maker's power define?

Weak, erring man! thy duty here
Is gratitude to show;
The Eternal's wisdom to revere,
Nor farther seek to know.

[a] See Leusden's Philol. Hebræo-mixtus, dissert. 2, 3, 4. The principal opponents to the common opinion of the origin of the Septuagint version are Dupin, Dr. Hody, Le Clerc, and Dr. Prideaux in his Connex. A.A.C. 277. But their arguments are refuted by Dr. Brett, in his Dissertation on the Ancient Versions of the Bible, republished in the third volume of the late Bishop of Landaff's Theological Tracts. Dr. Campbell thinks it was called the Septuagint, or Version of the Seventy, because approved by the Sanhedrin. (New Translation of the Gospels, Preliminary Dissertation I. part i.) And Lightfoot thinks that they translated it themselves, for the information of the heathen, that they might see that the Jews, in the various countries where they resided, were governed by laws which were not dangerous to the peace of these countries. (Ch. xi. of the Appendix to the Heb. and Talm. Exer. on 1 Corinthians.)

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The *Apocrypha*, so called from αποκρυπτω, "to hide," because of the uncertainty and concealed nature of their original, were never admitted into the Jewish canon, nor read in the Jewish synagogue. Hence the derivation of the name by some, because they were removed απο της κρυπτης, from the sacred chest, where the canonical books were placed. They have no title to be considered as inspired writings,[a] but they contain many excellent sentiments, and supply many historical facts, in the period between the end of the Old, and beginning of the New Testament.—*The writings of Josephus* are valuable on many accounts. His Antiquities, which extend from the creation of the world till the fifty-sixth year of his age, or A.D. 93, are contained in twenty books, and give a commentary on the whole of the Old Testament, as well as supply the materials that were wanting to explain the latter period of the Jewish history. His Wars of the Jews, in seven books, although placed second in the editions of his works, were written eighteen years before his Antiquities; viz. in the thirty-eighth year of his own age, or A.D. 73; and contain a striking commentary on our Saviour's prophecy concerning the destruction of Jerusalem. Whilst his account of his own life, written, A.D. 100; his two books against Apion; and his Discourse on the martyrdom of the Maccabees, are also useful, either for confirming facts formerly recorded, or exhibiting the state of Jewish sentiment and manners. The above may be called the ancient Jewish writers, or classic authors of the Jewish nation. As for the Hebrew Josephus, by Jo-

[a] Gray's Key to the Apocrypha.

sippon ben Gorion, it is proved to be a forgery by Prideaux.[a]

Of the writings of the Rabbis, which are comparatively modern, the following are much valued. 1. The *Midraschim*, or Commentaries, from a word signifying to inquire, because the commentators sought the sense of Scripture. They are accounted of great authority and antiquity. 2. The *Midraschim Rabbot*, or Great Commentaries, are said to have been written by Nachmanides, who ought to have lived in the end of the third century, but the work bears evidence of a later date. 3. The Sentences of the Fathers, entitled *Pirke Abbot*, and those under the name of Rabbi Eliezer; but they are also less ancient than is commonly thought.[b] 4. The *Mishna* (משנה *Meshenè*) hath always been in very high esteem, and the history of it is as follows: Before the birth of our Saviour, the Jews held that there was a twofold law given to Moses on Mount Sinai; the written law, which is recorded in the Scriptures, and the oral law. This oral law, they say, was never committed to writing, but delivered by Moses, vivâ voce, first to Aaron and his sons, then to the Seventy Elders, and afterwards to a succession of persons in future ages, whose hearts were desirous to receive it.[c] Holding them, therefore, to be both of divine original, they held themselves bound to observe them both alike. But in process of time, the latter came to have much the preference of the former; for an opinion

[a] Connex. vol. ii. preface.

[b] Basnage, Relig. of Jews, book iii. ch. 30.

[c] See a list of them in Surenhusius's edition of the Mishna, Pars Quarta, Præfatio ad Lectorem.

arose, which afterwards universally prevailed, that the written law was in many places obscure, scanty, and defective, and could be no perfect rule to them, without the oral law, which supplied its defects, and solved all its difficulties. Hence it was that they observed the written law, no otherwise than as it was interpreted by the oral law; verifying thereby our Saviour's observation, "That they made the commandment of God of none effect by their traditions."[a] Such is the account which the ancient Jews gave of the origin of their traditions, and something like this is entertained by the Jews even of the present day. But when we lay aside their high-sounding pretensions, and examine the matter impartially, we readily find that these favourite traditions can boast of no such divine ori-

[a] It will readily occur to many of my readers, that a similar cause produced a similar corruption in the Christian church, when, to use the words of Dr. Hill, late Principal of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, "the Church of Rome, in the progress of that influence which she acquired over the Christian world, laid down the following positions, which were received as true, by the members of her communion: That the authority of Scripture, its right to the faith and obedience of Christians, depends entirely upon the testimony of the church: that besides the written word, consisting of the books which Christians receive, in consequence of the judgment of the church, there is also an unwritten word, of which the church are the keepers: that it does not appear to have been intended that the Scriptures should contain a complete rule of faith and manners; but that this defect, which arose unavoidably from their having been written by different authors, upon particular occasions, is fully remedied by those traditions which, although not written in any apostolical book, have been safely conveyed down through the church, from the days of the apostles: that these traditions, pertaining either to faith or to morals, are to be received with the same piety and reverence as the Scriptures: and that the church, by being in possession of this unwritten word, is qualified, in its teaching, to supply the imperfections of the written word." (Lectures in Divinity, book vi. chap. 4.)

ginal, for that the circumstance which gave rise to them was shortly this. After the death of Simeon the Just, which happened in the year before Christ 292, there arose a class of men called by the Jews "the Mishnical doctors," from the Chaldaic word "Shanah," which signifies to deliver by tradition, who made it their business to study and descant upon the traditions which had been received, and allowed by Ezra, and the members of the great synagogue, and to draw inferences of their own from them; all which descants and inferences they engrafted into the stock of the ancient traditions, in order to obtain for them an equal authority. But this liberty, which the first Mishnical doctors took, did not die with them; for every successor in office always thought himself wise enough to add something of his own, till the traditions of the elders became a burden almost impossible for any memory to bear. Thus matters stood in the time of our Saviour; and they always became worse, till the end of the second century, when, as a matter of necessity, it was judged proper to commit them to writing; and the honour was assigned to Rabbi Judah, the son of Simeon, head of the school, and president of the Sanhedrin, which were then at Tiberias, the sanctity of whose life was so generally acknowledged, that he had obtained the appellation of "Hakedush," or "Holy." Nor do they seem to have fixed upon an improper person; for the *Mishna*, (ספר משניות *sepher mesheniut*, or book of traditions,) which he wrote, in consequence of this application, was instantly received with great veneration by the Jews, in all their dispersions, and

commented upon by the learned, both in Judea and Babylon.[a]

[a] See a full account of the oral law, in Prideaux, Connex. A.A.C. 446; and an analysis of the Mishna, with the authors who have translated it into Latin, in the list of Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Arabic authors, at the end of Spencer de Legib. Hebr. Ritual. The whole of the Mishna, as translated by these authors, and accompanied with the commentaries of Maimonides and Bartenora, and the notes of the translators, has been published by Gul. Surenhusius, in three volumes folio, at Amsterdam, A.D. 1702; and is often quoted in this work. The following are the contents of this interesting book, divested of its Hebrew titles.

PART I. is entitled, *On Seeds*: and contains, 1st, The Benedictions: or the time, place, and circumstances, in which thanks and prayers are to be offered to God, who indulged them with the fruits of the earth, and other blessings. 2d, The Angle; of the field, viz. which was to be left to the poor in the time of harvest. 3d, The Doubtful Thing; or when they should pay tithes, and when not. 4th, Heterogeneous Things; or the seeds which were not to be sown together, and the animals and garments that were not to be mixed. 5th, The Seventh Year; when they neither sowed nor reaped. 6th, Oblations; which were spontaneously separated from the rest of the produce, and offered to the priest. 7th, The First Tithes; which were given to the Levites. 8th, The Second Tithes; which the Israelites ate at Jerusalem. 9th, The Cake; which women, when baking, offered to the priest, with its various formalities. 10th, The Prepuce; or concerning the trees which, for the first three years, were called præputiatæ, and their fruit forbidden. 11th, The First Fruits; what they were, and how offered at the Temple.

PART II. *On the Feasts*: contains, 1st, The Sabbath; or the regulations of the fathers concerning it. 2d, Mixtures; or the food which a private family ate together on the evening of the Sabbath. 3d, The Passover; in all its parts. 4th, The Half Shekel; which was paid into the treasury. 5th, The Day of Annual Expiation. 6th, The Tabernacle; or feast of tabernacles, and other solemn feasts. 7th, The Egg; so called from the first word in the treatise; but it treats of the things which on any feast (besides the Sabbath) were lawful, or unlawful. 8th, The Beginning of the Civil Year, with the new moon in September, its regulations and solemnities. 9th, Fastings; the various kinds, and ancient manner of fasting. 10th, The Roll; or the reading of the Book of Esther yearly in the synagogue. 11th, The Small Feast; called also Interfestum, or the

After the Mishna, the next book to be mentioned is,

5. The *Gemara*, (גמרא *Gemera*,) or supplement

middle days between the first and eighth of the feasts of passover and tabernacles. 12th, The Festival; or the feasts of passover, pentecost, and tabernacles.

PART III. *Concerning Women:* contains, 1st, The Levirate; or marrying the brother's widow. 2d, Letters; or writings concerning matrimony; the law of dowry; privileges of wives; office of husband; law of virgins and widows. 3d, Vows; which bind, and do not bind; and of those who could make vows. 4th, The Nazarite; his vow; his separation; and what he abstained from. 5th, The Wife; who violated her marriage vow; and the waters of jealousy. 6th, Divorce; the writing of; how written; and how delivered. 7th, Nuptials; persons united to each other by marriage; prostitutes consecrated to heathen temples; prostitutes of any kind.

PART IV. *On Losses:* contains, 1st, The first gate; or first code of forensian laws, treating of losses by man or beast. 2d, The middle gate; or second code, treating of things found, strifes, &c. 3d, The last gate; or third code, treating of commerce; the right of heritage and succession; buying and selling, &c. 4th, The Sanhedrin; courts inferior to it; judges and witnesses; the four kinds of punishments; the Israelites who are partakers of eternal life, and those who are not; whether there be more Messiahs, and of his approach. 5th, Punishments; of forty stripes. 6th, Oaths; of those fit to swear, and those unfit; and how far four different kinds of keepers should swear; viz. he who keeps a thing gratis, he who asks to keep it, he who accepts a reward for keeping, and he who keeps it in the hope of reward. 7th, Testimony; or the decision of many controversies, collected from the testimonies of the chief Rabbis. 8th, Strange Worship; or many things which regard the idolatry, and superstition of the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans. 9th, The sayings of the Fathers; who received the oral law from Moses, and which they were said to have taught and propagated. 10th, Documents; meaning the statutes of certain judges; how preserved; and of inflicting punishment on the guilty.

PART V. *Concerning Holinesses:* contains, 1st, Sacrifices; what kind they should be; the time when, and place where offered; by whom killed, prepared, and offered. 2d, Presents; the various oblations mentioned in Leviticus, chap. i. ii. 3d, Profane things; animals clean and unclean, in as far as they were lawful or unlawful for the use of man. 4th, Primogeniture; in man, and in animals; how offered; how redeemed. 5th, Estimations; of those things which were devoted to God, in Leviticus, chap. xxvii. 6th, Exchange; of

to the Mishna. There are two productions known by that name, those of Jerusalem and of Babylon. They were both written in the Chaldee language, as being the best understood by the Jews, and are intended as commentaries on the Mishna.

The 6th book we shall mention is the *Talmud,* (תלמוד *Telemud,*) or Doctrine, because it contains the sentiments of the learned on the oral law. This is nothing else than the Mishna and Gemara united, like the text and its commentary. Accordingly, as there were two Gemaras, so there are two

the sacrifices in Leviticus xxiii. 23; whether allowed. 7th, Excision; the sins which deserve it in the future age. 8th, Prevarication; or the abuse of sacred things; and the manner of expiating the offence, in Leviticus v. 14. 9th, The morning and evening sacrifice. 10th, The measures of the Temple; in which are collected also the ceremonies which were in use in it. 11th, Nests; or of the young of birds, which the poor were to offer.

PART VI. *On Purifications:* contains, 1st, The Vessels; including instruments, household-stuff, clothes; how accounted pure, or impure; and how purified. 2d, The tents and houses; their parts; how polluted and purified. 3d, Strokes; of leprosy, namely, and how the pollution arose from it. 4th, The Cow; meaning the Red cow; manner of purifying by it; and way of using the ashes. 5th, Purifications; from lesser pollutions. 6th, Bathings; or the ponds and collections of water, where men and women bathed, to purify themselves. 7th, The Menstruous Woman; and women after child-birth. 8th, Things laid down; or of the various fruits of the earth, and how placed, so as to be polluted by the pouring out of liquids. 9th, Fluxes; Leviticus xv. 1—18; how purified. 10th, Daily Washing; or concerning him who, being purged, could not partake of sacred things till sunset. 11th, Hands; washing of, and the vessels in; quality and quantity of the water. 12th, Little stains; how contracted by the touch of other food.

Such are the contents of the Mishna, as arranged by Judah Hakedush, from the oral traditions of the elders. It is evidently the result of great patience and judgment; and must ever be valuable to the lovers of biblical learning, as the mine from which much valuable ore may be extracted.

Talmuds, the Jerusalem and the Babylonish. The Jerusalem Talmud, consisting of the Mishna and Jerusalem Gemara, was written about A.D. 300; but being considered imperfect, because containing the opinions of only a few of the Rabbis of that place, the Jews at Babylon endeavoured to supply the defect, and completed a larger one, about 200 years after, which is much preferred. This Babylonish Talmud, consisting of the Mishna and Babylonish Gemara, was always in manuscript, till A.D. 1646, when it was published at Amsterdam, in ten volumes; but the best edition is in six volumes, by Gul. Surenhusius, with notes by Maimonides and Bartenora, at Amsterdam, A.D. 1698.[a]

7. The *Targum*, (תרגום *Teregum*,) or Interpretation, is the Chaldee paraphrase on the Old Testament, or written law, as the Talmud is the paraphrase on the oral law or traditions. It received its origin from the seventy years captivity at Babylon, where the Jews learned the language of their masters: for, having returned home, they were better acquainted with the Chaldee than the Hebrew; and, therefore, Ezra and the other priests read the Scriptures in Hebrew, and explained them in Chaldaic. There are three paraphrases of peculiar note, viz. Onkelos on the Law, Jonathan Ben Uzziel on the Prophets, and Joseph Cæcus on the Hagiographa. Others say, Onkelos on the Law, and Akila on the Prophets and Hagiographa. The style of Onkelos is simple, and resembling the Scriptures. He is said to have lived about the time of our Saviour. Jonathan Ben Uzziel was a

[a] Much useful information concerning the Talmud will be found in Leusden's Philologus Hebræo-mixtus, dissert. 12—15.

disciple of Hillel the Elder, who was forty years old at the return from Babylon. But we hear nothing of Cæcus. Spencer makes Onkelos and Jonathan contemporaries with Hillel and Shammai, whose different opinions upon many subjects the Talmud records. There is, however, internal evidence in the Targum on the Pentateuch, falsely ascribed to Jonathan Ben Uzziel, to make us believe it to have been written after A.D. 570; for it mentions the city of Constantinople in Num. xxiv. 19, 24, and Lombardy and Italy in Num. xxiv. 24. Now Constantinople was not known by that name till A.D. 328, when Constantine the Great removed the seat of his empire from Rome to it; and the Lombards did not obtain the dominion of Italy till A.D. 570.[a]

8. *Aben Ezra* (אבן עזרא *Aben Ozera*) wrote a commentary on the Old Testament in Hebrew: he is reckoned among the most learned of the Rabbis. His commentary is literal; but, by labouring to be concise, he hath become obscure. He was born at Toledo in Spain, lived at Rome and Rhodes, and died at Rhodes A.D. 1165.

9. *Rabbi Moses Ben-Maimon*, or *Maimonides*, called also *Rambam*, from the initials of his name, was born at Cordova in Spain, about A.D. 1131,

[a] See a full account of all the eight Targums in Prideaux, Connex. A.A.C. 37. Leusden, however, makes only six, in his Philologus Hebræo-mixtus, dissert. 5, 6, 7; viz. Onkelos on the Pentateuch; the Jerusalem Targum on the Pentateuch; the Targum on the Pentateuch commonly, but falsely, ascribed to Jonathan Ben Uzziel; Jonathan Ben Uzziel on the Former and Latter Prophets; the Targum on the Five books, viz. the Song of Solomon, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther, by an unknown hand; and the Targum on the Psalms, Proverbs, and Job, by Rab. Josè, surnamed Cæcus.

lived long in Egypt as a physician, and died there A.D. 1208. Few authors are more frequently quoted than he. He wrote on most of the subjects contained in the Talmud, and is reckoned the most rational and systematic of their writers.[a]

10. The last author I shall mention is *Don Isaac Abarbanel.* He wrote a commentary on the former prophets, and on Isaiah and Jeremiah, two of the latter;[b] a treatise on the fundamental articles of the Jewish faith, as composed by Maimonides; and a treatise on the beginning of the year, and the consecration of the new moon, according to the Rabbis, against the Karaites; the first fixing it when she became visible, the last at the change. He was born at Lisbon, A.D. 1437; was employed at the court of Alphonsus V.; left his native country as an exile, with the rest of the Jews, A.D. 1492; died at Venice, and was buried at Padua, A.D. 1508. As a writer, his style is pure, elegant, and energetic. In his Commentary, he does not comment on single verses, but takes a considerable number of them together; starts objections which seem, at first sight, unanswerable; and solves them with the greatest facility. In his other writings he adopts the same plan, and wields the weapons of controversy with great dexterity. Let his ראש אמנה *Rash Amenè*, or treatise on the fundamental articles of the Jewish faith, serve as an example. In chap. i. ii. we have a statement of the articles. In chap. iii.—v. twenty-eight doubts are started by

[a] See an analysis of his works, with the names of the translators, in Spencer de Leg. Heb. Ritual. tom. ii. sub finem.

[b] See the Jewish division of the books of Scripture, in the beginning of this section.

himself and others, against their claim to the pre-eminence of essentials. In chap. vi.—xi. nine propositions are explained, which were necessary to the right understanding of the subject. And from chap. xii. to chap. xxi. these propositions are applied with great ingenuity to the solution of the above-mentioned doubts.[a]

SECT. III.

Jewish Notions of Astronomy.

Jewish notion of the figure, motion, and dissolution of the earth. Objections against the Copernican system examined. State of astronomy in Chaldea, Egypt, and Judea. The cases of Joshua, and the dial of Ahaz. Arcturus and Orion described: the Pleiades: the chambers of the south: Mazzaroth. Parkhurst's different explanation of these. Lucifer, or Venus, the only planet mentioned in Scripture. The darkness at our Saviour's death considered. An interesting extract from Ferguson's Tracts.

THE whole of Scripture evidently strikes against the generally received heathen opinion, either of the eternity of the world, or of its formation by chance; for it points out its creation by the power of God, at no very remote period, and its entire dependence on him for its continuance and regularity. As for the particular form of the earth, and the place it holds in the system of nature, the opinions of the ancients were very various: some supposing that it was an extended plane, the extre-

[a] Considerable additional information as to Jewish authors may be obtained in the catalogue given by Spencer; Prideaux, Connex. vol. ii. preface; and Leusden's Philologus Hebræo-mixtus, dissert. 16, 17.

mities of which were surrounded by water; and others that it was a globe, with a surface diversified by land and water: some imagining that it was fixed in its place, while the sun and the stars revolved around it; and others that the sun was fixed, and that the earth and planets revolved around him.

We know little of the ideas of the Jews, concerning the relations of the heavenly bodies to each other, both on account of the distance of time, and because the Scriptures were given for other ends than to teach men philosophy; but, from what we can collect, they appear to have been nearly the same with what is accounted at present the true system of astronomy. For Job [a] speaks of "stretching out the north over the empty place, and hanging the earth upon nothing." The diurnal and annual motions of the earth are not only hinted at, but contained in the word by which they described that body. For ארץ *arets*, the earth, is derived from רץ *rets*, a wheel, which not only revolves round its own axis, but has a progressive motion like that of the earth round the sun. And the dissolution of the world was known to Job, when he said [b] that "man lieth down, and riseth not till the heavens be no more:" and that God "compasseth the waters with limits, till the day and night come to an end:" [c] whilst Peter reveals to us the precise agent that shall be employed in this awful work; for he tells us, [d] that "the day of the Lord shall come as a thief in the night; in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat; the earth

[a] Job xxvi. 7. [b] Job xiv. 12. [c] Job xxvi. 10. [d] 2 Peter iii. 10.

also, and the works that are therein, shall be burnt up."

It hath been objected to this reasoning, that there are other parts of Scripture which speak of the stability of the earth,[a] and of the motion of the sun and heavenly bodies.[b] But it may be answered, that such expressions might only have been used in accommodation to visible appearances; and as they are still used by philosophers in their common conversation every day, who talk of the rising and setting of the sun, and of the stability of the earth, as readily as the unlettered peasant.

From the hints given in the Book of Job, one would be inclined to consider the system of Pythagoras, or, as it is now called, of Copernicus, as only a more complete development of that which was anciently known to that patriarch. Perhaps, also, the same belief was entertained by the more intelligent among the Jews, in the earlier period of their history, who drew their information from the sacred oracles, rather than from the erroneous and extravagant cosmogonies of their heathen neighbours. And who knows but the philosophers who went to the East in search of truth, may have received, while in the neighbourhood of Judea, those hints which, when reported to others, or improved by themselves, may have laid the foundation of those theories, which have excited the admiration of posterity? One thing is certain, that Pythagoras travelled into Egypt and Chaldea in quest of knowledge; and that he resided in these countries many years. In passing and repassing

[a] 1 Chron. xvi. 30. Ps. xciii. 1; xcvi. 10; civ. 5; cxix. 90. Eccles. i. 4.
[b] Gen. xv. 17; xix. 23. Ps. xix. 5, 6. Eccles. i. 5.

from Greece to Chaldea, he could scarcely fail to become acquainted with so singular a people as the Jews; and it is not unlikely that the hints he may have received of their political, religious, and astronomical systems, may have served to perfect those views which he was afterwards pleased to communicate to the world. If the above reasoning be true; the land of Canaan has been the cradle both of religion and philosophy; and from it, as from a centre, have the rays of science and religion diverged among the nations. Nor is it any objection to this reasoning, that we have no written records, stating particularly that this was the case: for the Jews had equal advantages with the Egyptians and Chaldeans, for making observations in astronomy; and there would be some in that country, as well as in the others, whose genius led them to these pursuits; but the reason why we hear nothing of their discoveries is, that their religion prevented them from associating with other nations, and, consequently, prevented strangers from residing among them. Perhaps the real state of the case, then, was: That they had as just views of the great outline of the solar system as any of their neighbours, but that the observations made by the Egyptians and Chaldeans were more within the reach of Pythagoras and other inquiring travellers, and therefore recorded by them in their several writings.

But since we are strangers to the discoveries which the Jews may have made in astronomical science, is there no way to come at an approximation to the truth? Are there no borrowed lights which may serve in some measure to dispel the

gloom, and furnish us with the probable progress of that science among that interesting people? The only reply which can be made to this query is, to state the hints we have in ancient authors, of the astronomy of Egypt and Chaldea, and to suppose that these formed the outlines of the astronomical creed, among the thinking part of the Jews in those times.

Let us begin then with Chaldea. We are informed by the peripatetic philosopher Simplicius, on the authority of Porphyry, that when Babylon was taken by Alexander the Great, Callisthenes collected the astronomical observations of the Chaldeans for 1903 years, and transmitted them to Aristotle, at the desire of the Macedonian king. We know for certain, that three eclipses of the moon were accurately observed at Babylon, in the years 719 and 720 before the Christian era; and it is highly probable that, in the temperate and cloudless climate of Chaldea, these were not their earliest attempts in practical astronomy. Ptolemy, who made use of these eclipses for determining the mean motion of the moon, has recorded other four lunar eclipses, the last of which was observed at Babylon about 367 years before Christ. The astronomical knowledge of the Chaldeans, however, is more unequivocally marked in their luni-solar periods, which must have been deduced from a great number of accurate observations. Their period of eclipses, which they called Saros, consisted of 223 lunations, or 6585 days, 8 hours, at the end of which the moon returned to the very same position, with regard to the sun, and to her own node, and perigee. The eclipses, therefore, which were ob-

served during one period, enabled them to predict those which were to take place in the period which succeeded, and all the other phenomena which resulted from the combined motions of the two luminaries. The accurate tables of Delambre and Mason make this period 6585 days, 7 hours, 42 minutes, and 31 seconds, so that the error of the Chaldean astronomers amounted only to 17 minutes and 29 seconds. The Chaldeans, if we trust to the authority of Albategnius, made the sidereal year 365 days, 6 hours, and 11 minutes; and it appears from their luni-solar periods, that their tropical year was 365 days, 5 hours, 49 minutes, and 30 seconds. Hence we have great reason to believe, that they must have been acquainted with the precession of the equinoctial points; a fact which they might easily have deduced from the heliacal rising and setting of the fixed stars. Aristotle informs us, that the occultations of the planets and stars by the moon had been frequently observed by the Chaldeans; and we learn from Diodorus, that they considered the comets as subject to the same laws with the planetary bodies, but revolving in orbits which receded to a greater distance from the earth. From the occultations of the stars, they conjectured, that the eclipses of the sun were caused by the interposition of the moon; but, though they seem to have been acquainted with the sphericity of the earth, they were ignorant of the cause of lunar eclipses. Ptolemy mentions an observation upon Saturn, which was made about the year before Christ 228, the only one upon the planets which history has recorded; and Diodorus Siculus informs us, that the Chaldeans were acquainted with the periods of

all the planets, and regarded the moon as the smallest of the heavenly bodies, and the nearest to the earth. So much then for the discoveries which are said to have been made by the Chaldeans.

It is difficult to determine, with any degree of probability, whether astronomy was first cultivated in Egypt or Chaldea. The Egyptians, according to Diogenes Laertius, maintained that 48,853 years elapsed between the time of Vulcan and Alexander the Great; and that, during that period, they had observed 373 eclipses of the sun, and 832 of the moon. These numbers represent pretty nearly the proportion between the eclipses of the two luminaries; and though fewer than what really happened, they were those which had been particularly noticed, and therefore recorded by the Egyptians. From the heliacal rising of Sirius, the Egyptians ascertained the length of their year to be 365¼ days; and hence they discovered the Sothic or Canicular period of 1460 years, at the end of which the months and festivals of their civil year of 365 days returned to the same seasons. According to Macrobius, the Egyptians were acquainted with the revolution of Mercury and Venus round the sun, and the order which the planets held in the system; and hence it is probable that Diodorus Siculus is correct in asserting, that they were also acquainted with the stations and retrogradations of the planets. Phenomena, so striking as eclipses of the sun and moon, could not fail to excite the attention of this intelligent people. Conon, the friend of Archimedes, collected many eclipses of the sun which had been observed by the Egyptians; and it is highly probable that they employed formu-

læ resembling those of the Indians and Siamese, for computing their celestial phenomena. Thales appears to have received from the Egyptians his method of predicting an eclipse of the sun; and Diogenes Laertius asserts it as his opinion, that the earth had a spherical form, and that the moon was eclipsed by plunging into its shadow.

These facts, for which I am indebted to the Edinburgh Encyclopedia,[a] clearly prove the great progress which the Chaldeans and Egyptians had made in astronomy: and serve to show what may have been the probable state of that science also among the Jews. One thing they clearly indicate, viz. the source from whence Pythagoras derived his knowledge of the solar system, which he communicated to the world about 500 years before Christ; and which consisted in placing the sun in the centre, and making all the planets to revolve around it.[b] Neither Greece nor Rome, however, was prepared to receive this theory of Pythagoras; and it was accordingly superseded by one diametrically opposite, which was broached by Ptolemy, a

[a] Art. ASTRONOMY.

[b] The school of Pythagoras was no stranger to that declination of the earth's axis from a perpendicular to its orbit, on which the seasons depend.

Thus Philolaus thought γην κυκλῳ περιφερεσθαι περι το πυρ, κατα κυκλου λοξου, that the earth was carried round the fire, or sun, in an oblique circle. (Plutarch de Plac. lib. iii. cap. 13.) And Aristarchus taught that the heaven was immoveable, ἑξιλισσεσθαι δι καταλοξου κυκλου την γην, ἁμα και περι τον αὐτης αξονα δινουμενην, but that the earth moved in an oblique circle, revolving at the same time round its own axis. (Plutarch de Facie in Orbe Lunæ, tom. ii. p. 933.) This declination of the earth's axis, on which the seasons depend, is now known to be 23½ degrees. The interesting fact, that all the planets move round the sun in elliptical orbits, having the sun in one of the foci of these ellipses, was the discovery of Kepler.

native of Egypt, and author of that geography which bears his name, about the year of our Lord 150. His system, commonly known by the name of the Ptolemaic, placed the earth in the centre, and made the sun, moon, and all the planets to revolve around it, and, strange to say, was universally believed and adopted by the learned above 1400 years. But error in the end gave place to truth; and Copernicus, by reviving in the 16th century, the long-despised theory of Pythagoras, has afforded to philosophers the opportunity of demonstrating, by numberless proofs, the falsity of the one, and the truth of the other.

Assuming, then, this position, that the system of Pythagoras, and afterwards of Copernicus, is the true system of the universe, I may observe, that its simplicity and truth recommend it irresistibly to every discerning mind: for the sun is demonstratively proved to be far larger than any of the planets; and it is surely more natural that the less should revolve around the greater, than that the greater should revolve around the less. Besides, common sense tells us, that the scheme which is simple should certainly be preferred to that which is intricate. Now, the Pythagorean or Copernican system is infinitely more simple than the Ptolemaic; and all the motions of the sun, moon, and planets, which, by the one, are intricate and unnatural, are by the other easily explained; philosophers having shown, that the planetary motions are so regulated, that the squares of the times, in which the planets revolve round the sun, are always proportional to the cubes of their mean distances from that body. This is a fact which is

in perfect conformity with the system of Copernicus, but diametrically opposite of that of Ptolemy.

As for those singular cases mentioned in Joshua x. 12, 13, 2 Kings xx. 10, Isaiah xxxviii. 8, of the sun standing still at the command of Joshua, and the shadow of the sun going back ten degrees on the dial of Ahaz; these form no objection to the foregoing reasoning. For it was certainly more natural, that the diurnal motion of the earth, as a single body, should be interrupted or reversed, than that the whole solar system should be arrested. And if the effect could be produced by an increased refraction of the sun's rays, in passing through our atmosphere, as many philosophers have thought, there was then no occasion for the earth standing still, or the sun returning at all.[a]

Few readers are fully aware of the difficulties attending the earth's standing still, or becoming retrograde. The following observations, therefore, transmitted to the author by a friend, will set them in a striking light. "Recollect," says he, "that stopping the earth in its revolution, or turning it in a contrary direction, to produce the appearances described by Joshua and Isaiah, would, without the intervention of other miracles, have had the following dire effects. With the first shock, it would have laid flat every person who was standing on the earth's surface, overturned every building, and broken all the trees of the forests. The atmosphere would have commenced whirling round

[a] See Stackhouse's Hist. of the Bible, book v. chap. i. diss. 1; and Bishop Gleig's Appendix.

the earth, at the rate, near the equator, of about a thousand miles in an hour; which is more than fifteen times the velocity of the greatest hurricane that ever swept the habitations and sustenance of man from the surface of a West Indian island. The rocks would have been shot from their places like cannon balls, and the mountains themselves would not have withstood the horrid bombardment. The waters, too, hurled along with as much velocity as the air, and with above eight hundred times its density, would have carried Andes and Himalayas of iron before them, as cork wood; and sweeping their way to the poles, would have accumulated there to the depth of about fourteen miles, leaving the equatorial regions without a drop, in the deepest recesses of the present ocean. Noah's flood would have been the swelling of a brook, and Milton's battle of the angels, tearing up hills by the roots, would have been the skirmishing of the pigmies and the cranes, when compared with this war of elements, and wreck of matter."

The Jewish historian Josephus[a] seems to have thought, that the shadow on the dial of Ahaz was accelerated at first as much forward, as it was afterwards made to go backward; and, consequently, that the day was neither longer nor shorter than usual; which, it must be confessed, agrees best with astronomy, as the eclipses prior to that miracle were observed at the same times of the day, as if it had never happened. Nor is it any objection to his interpretation, that it was heard of at Babylon; for so remarkable a refraction of the sun's rays might have been told them as a remarkable

[a] Antiq. x. 2.

occurrence: since we find that ambassadors were sent to Hezekiah, not only to inquire after his health, but concerning the wonder that had happened in the land.[a] The words of Josephus are, "He desired that he (viz. Isaiah) would make the shadow of the sun, which had already gone down ten steps in his house, to return again to the same place, and to make it as it was before."[b]

But let us now attend, particularly, to the incidental notices we have in Scripture, of some of those stars and constellations, which, in every age, have attracted the notice of men. They are no exact criterion of the state of astronomical knowledge among that singular people; but they will tend to illustrate those passages where they are to be found. There are two places in Job, and one in Amos, where we have several of them mentioned. Thus, in Job ix. 9, it is said, that God "made Arcturus, Orion, and Pleiades, and the chambers of the south." In Job xxxviii. 31, 32, Jehovah, in order to humble Job, asked him if he could "bind the sweet influences of the Pleiades, or loose the bands of Orion? if he could bring forth Mazzaroth in his season, or guide Arcturus with his sons?" And the prophet Amos, chap. v. 8, enjoined it upon Israel, to leave the calves which Jeroboam had made, and "seek him who maketh the seven stars and Orion." Here, then, we have Arcturus with his sons, Orion, the Pleiades, or seven stars, the chambers of the south, and Mazzaroth; all of which deserve our attention. Let us examine them in their order.

[a] 2 Chron. xxxii. 31. [b] Whiston's Translation and Note.

Arcturus is a fixed star of the first magnitude, in the constellation Arcto-phylax, or Bootes. The word is formed of αρκτος, a bear, and ουρα, the tail; because it is situated near the tail of Ursa Major, or the Great Bear. This star was known to the ancients, and is mentioned by Virgil, as well as by Job. Mr. Hornsby concludes, that Arcturus is the nearest fixed star to our system, in the northern hemisphere, because the variation of its place, in consequence of a proper motion of its own, is more remarkable than that of any other. The original word for Arcturus, in Job ix. 9, is עש *Osh*, and in Job xxxviii. 32, it is עיש *Oish*; which Mons. De Goguet derives from עיש *Oush*, signifying, in the Hebrew, "to gather together, or assemble," and in the Arabic, "to make a circuit;" both of which he explains, not of Arcturus in the constellation Bootes, but of Ursa Major, or the Great Bear; which, being composed of seven stars in the form of a plough, may be said to be "a gathering together," or collection of stars, whose circuit round the pole every night, is a matter of common observation.[a] It was by looking upwards, in a line from the two stars, which form the handles of the plough, that the ancient sailors found the pole star, by which they were guided in their voyages, before the invention of the mariner's compass.

The second mentioned constellation is *Orion*, one of those in the southern hemisphere, and near the foot of Taurus, or the Bull. It is formed of a number of stars, supposed to resemble a man holding a club in his hand; the most remarkable of which, to a common observer, are the three

[a] Origin of Laws, vol. i. dissert. 3.

equidistant stars in his belt, called, by the vulgar, the king's measuring rod, and the other three stars in their neigbourhood, at half the distance from each other, which are in the sheath of his sword. The original word in Job ix. 9, xxxviii. 31, Amos v. 8, is כסיל *kesil*, which signifies "cold;" and De Goguet[a] supposes that, instead of Orion, it must have meant the constellation Scorpio, which introduced winter in the days of Job; a supposition which appears to me extremely probable. For, in the days of that patriarch, the constellation Orion arose heliacally in the middle of June; whereas Scorpio did not arise till the end of October. According to De Goguet's supposition, therefore, the words in Job xxxviii. 31, should run thus: Canst thou loose the bands (not of Orion, but) of Scorpio? Canst thou dissolve the chains which begin to bind the earth when that constellation appears? Art thou able to convert the cold of winter into the heat of summer?

The third cluster of stars mentioned in Job, and Amos, are the *Pleiades*, or *Seven Stars* in the neck of the constellation Taurus, or the Bull. They derive their name from πλειω, navigo, as being terrible to mariners, by reason of the rains and storms which frequently arose with them. The Romans called them vergiliæ, from ver, the spring. The original word in Job ix. 9, xxxviii. 31, is כימה *kimè*, or "heat," and is consequently the opposite of *kesil*, or "cold," already considered. Hence, when Job says, ch. xxxviii. 31, "Canst thou bind the sweet influences of the Pleiades?" the meaning is, Canst thou prevent the constella-

[a] Origin of Laws, vol. i. dissert. 3.

tion *kimè* from dispelling the cold, and covering the earth with flowers and fruits? It is evident, therefore, as De Goguet thinks,[a] that *kimè* means the Pleiades, which in Job's time introduced spring: and in Dissert. 2d he has endeavoured to show, that the precession of the equinoxes is such, as to make it probable that this was the case. In the prophecy of Amos, the power of God is mentioned as a reason why they should depend upon him. "Seek him who made כימה *kimè*, the cold, Pleiades or seven stars, and כסיל, *kesil*, the heat, Orion, or rather Scorpio,"—him who rules over the various seasons. In Josephus[b] we read, that the Jews, when besieged by Antiochus, and in great want of water, were relieved "by a copious shower of rain, which fell at the setting of the Pleiades," the heliacal setting of which, in the days of Antiochus, is computed by Whiston, in a note on the place, to have been in the spring, about February. And this, with an eclipse of the moon, mentioned in the reign of Herod,[c] and an allusion to the eclipse of the sun which happened about the time of Julius Cæsar's death, are the only astronomical characters of time that we meet with in Josephus.[d]

[a] Vol. i. dissert. 3. [b] Antiq. xiii. 8.

[c] Thirteenth of March, Julian period 4710, in the fourth year before Christ, according to Whiston.

[d] Antiq. xiv. 10; xvii. 6. As the heliacal rising and setting of the stars has been often mentioned, and must be understood, in order to judge of the accuracy of the foregoing observations, I shall explain it in the words of the friend alluded to in page 121.

"To make such as have not an opportunity of studying astronomy understand what is meant by heliacal rising and setting, I would observe, that the heavens appear to be a globe, within which we are placed, revolving from east to west. The stars around us appear to be fixed on the surface of this globe. The sun, on the contrary,

The *Chambers of the South*, in Job ix. 9, are opposed to the northern constellations; and, be-

though appearing on the same surface, is not fixed to it, but has a slow motion along it, from west to east. So that, were the sun, to-day, seen along with any of the fixed stars, he would, in a day or two after, be a little to the east of it. In this way the sun appears to traverse the whole circuit of the celestial globe, in the space of a year; after which, he resumes the same course. The sun thus changes his place among the stars only a very little each day; and supposing, as we may do for the sake of illustration, that he were absolutely fixed among them, it is manifest that the revolution of the celestial sphere must cause the sun to set, or descend below the western horizon, in the evening, sooner than the stars situated to the east of him; and rise in the morning, above the eastern horizon, later than the stars on his west. Let now a person, who has observed the rising of the stars during a whole night, note particularly those which were just coming into view above the eastern edge of the horizon, when the approaching light of the sun began to wipe the whole from the face of the heavens, he would say, if he used the language of the astronomer, that these stars *rose heliacally*; and in like manner, if he noticed, in the evening, the first stars which the departing light of the sun allowed to become visible, on the western edge of the horizon, and which were just going to set in his rear, he would say that they *set heliacally*. It may easily be conceived how this heliacal rising or setting alters from day to day. For, as the sun appears to traverse the heavens from west to east, in the space of a year, he advances, each day, a little nearer to the stars on the east of him; leaving those on the west more distant from him than before; that is to say, he advances upon the stars which are setting heliacally, till they are lost in his light; and he allows others to rise heliacally, which are more to the eastward. It was by the heliacal rising and setting of the stars that the ancients ascertained the returns of the seasons, previously to the introduction of a correct calendar. For the sun, in any year, takes his course through among the same fixed stars that he did the year before; and passes them nearly at the same time of the year; the difference amounting to no more than $20\frac{5}{12}$ minutes of time, by which the sun is later in reaching any star than he was the preceding year. Supposing then, that seed-time commenced at the heliacal rising of any particular star, near the ecliptic, it would be more than seventy years before it altered one day with respect to the season: in other words, seed-time, regulated by the rising of the stars, would, after the lapse of seventy years, be only one day later in the season than it was at the beginning of that period.

cause they do not appear at all in our hemisphere, or but for a very short time, they are called by

This difference is occasioned by the precession of the equinoxes, which I shall now explain. In summer, the sun is much higher in the heavens at mid-day, than he is at mid-day in winter. At that moment of time, when he is just half way between his two extreme positions, is the equinox; a term expressing that we have then our days and nights equal. Suppose, when this happens in spring, that the sun is along with any particular star, I say, that next spring, when the moment of equinox happens, the sun will not be along with the same star, but $50\frac{1}{3}$ seconds of a degree to the west of it. This motion of the equinox to the westward, carries it entirely round the celestial sphere in somewhat more than twenty-five thousand years; after which the heliacal rising and setting of the stars will again take place, at the same season, and in the same order as before. Now Job, in whose book the constellations are most fully mentioned, flourished about 1520 years before Christ. To this number add the present year 1824, and we have 3344 years; during which time the equinox must have moved $3344 \times 50\frac{1}{3}$ seconds, or about $46\frac{1}{4}$ degrees to the westward; and the sun's coincidence with any star in the ecliptic must be about 47 days later in the season now, than in the days of Job; for 3344 times $20\frac{5}{12}$, the rate in minutes of time, of the yearly precession of the equinoxes, divided by 60 and 24, give that number. The heliacal risings and settings now, and then, will not, however, differ from one another by exactly this number: but the time will be more or less, according to the situation of the star, with regard to its latitude, and distance from the equinoctial points. It is proper to mention, that in making out the heliacal risings and settings of the following stars, I have, according to Ptolemy, considered the sun as depressed twelve degrees below the horizon at the time when they were observed. Some make it only ten degrees; but really the subject does not admit of great precision, as the state of the atmosphere, the magnitude of the star, and the eyesight of the observer are, any of them, capable of producing a day or two's variation in the time of observation.

Names of the Stars.	At Present, A. D. 1824.		In Job's days, A.A.C. 1520.	
	Heliacal Rising.	Heliacal Setting.	Heliacal Rising.	Heliacal Setting.
Pleiades, or Seven Stars, (כימה *Kimè*) . .	June 1.	May 5.	April 17.	Mar. 19.
Belt of Orion (כסיל *Kesil*)	July 15.	May 14.	June 13.	April 4.
Arcturus in Bootes (עש *Osh*)	Oct. 21.	Nov. 3.	Sept. 1.	Sept. 28.
Antares in Scorpio, supposed by De Goguet to be כסיל *Kesil* . . .	Dec. 14.	Nov. 6.	Oct. 26.	Sept. 17.

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this name, to indicate, that with respect to us, they are in a secret or concealed place.[a]

As for *Mazzaroth*, מזרות, or *Mezerut*, De Goguet,[b] and Suidas,[c] understand it to mean the signs of the zodiac, which appear successively above the horizon. Accordingly, the words in Job xxxviii. 32, "Canst thou bring forth Mazzaroth in his season?" will mean, Canst thou bring forth each of the twelve constellations in the zodiac, in their successive months, so as to produce their attendant diversity in the seasons?

Such is the common explanation of the several constellations, mentioned in scripture; but Parkhurst translates them differently: for he makes *kesil* the heat of an eastern morning, and *kimè* the cold of an eastern night; which are commonly antipodes to each other. His explanation, indeed, of the whole passages in Job and Amos, which we have been considering, is different from what is commonly assigned them. Thus his translation of Job ix. 9, is, "which maketh עש *Osh*, the blight, כסיל *kesil*, the cold, and כימה *kimè*, the genial warmth, and the chambers or thick clouds of the south." His translation of Job xxxviii. 31, 32, is, "Canst thou bind up the delicacies of כימה *kimè*, the genial warmth, or loose the bands or contractions of כסיל *kesil*, the cold? Canst thou bring מזרות *Mezerut*, the poisonous corrupting wind, called Sam, or Samiel, in his season? Or canst thou guide עש *Osh*, the blight, with his sons?"—meaning the insects it produces on diseased plants. And his translation of Amos v. 8,

[a] De Goguet, Dissert. 3. [b] Ibid.

[c] Μαζουρωθ τα συστηματα των αστερων ἁ εν συνηθειᾳ ζωδια καλουνται.

is, "Seek him who maketh כימה *kimè*, the heat, and כסיל *kesil*, the cold." In short, his idea is, that the verses in question do not refer to the constellations, but to the effects of heat and cold, blight and the Samiel, on the productions of the earth.[a]

The only planet mentioned in Scripture is Lucifer,[b] or the morning star, which means Venus, when seen in the morning, before sunrise; as Vesper, or the evening star, means Venus, when seen in the evening, after sunset. This is the most brilliant of the planets, always accompanying the sun, never receding farther from him than 45 degrees; and becoming, as she is on the east or west side, alternately the evening or morning star. Hesiod and Homer, like the Sacred Scriptures, make mention only of this planet; not so much because the others were unknown, as because its brilliancy afforded them the best subject of comparison: for it is generally understood that the five planets, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, being so conspicuous, have been known under different names, from immemorial time. Pliny speaks of them very explicitly in the passage quoted below,[c] where by Lucifer is understood Venus, when seen in the morning, before sunrise; and by Vesper, the same planet seen in the evening, after sunset. The Hesperus and Phosphorus of the Greeks, or evening and morning star, were

[a] Lex. in verb. [b] Isaiah xiv. 12.

[c] Suus quidem cuique color est; Saturno candidus, Jovi clarus, Marti igneus, Lucifero candens, Vesperi refulgens, Mercurio radians, Soli, cùm oritur, ardens, posteà radians. (Nat. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 18.)

at first supposed to be different; and the discovery that they were the same has been ascribed to Pythagoras.[a] If he acquired that information while travelling in the East, it is not very likely that the learned among the Jews would be ignorant of it.

Whilst treating of subjects connected with astronomy, it is natural to notice the preternatural darkness which happened at the time of our Saviour's death,[b] and was so for several reasons. In the first place, all common eclipses of the sun happen at the new moon; but this happened at the full, when the passover was celebrated. And 2dly, The darkness at our Saviour's death lasted three hours, or from the sixth to the ninth hour; meaning from mid-day till three in the afternoon; whereas no ordinary solar eclipse can occasion total darkness, over any place, for more than a few minutes; because the eclipse is occasioned by the body of the moon being in a straight line between that place and the sun; and the body of the sun is so much larger than that of the moon, that the shadow of the moon cannot occasion a total darkness on any one place, for any length of time. In both these respects, therefore, that darkness was extraordinary. But it may still be asked, how that darkness was produced? Was it really by the interposition of the moon between the sun and the earth, or by some other cause? Let us suppose it to have been occasioned by the moon, and see what follows. When the sun was directly south, at the sixth hour, or twelve o'clock, at Jerusalem, the moon, as being full, must have been directly

[a] Playfair's Outlines of Nat. Phil. art. Astronomy, No. 153, 154.
[b] Matth. xxvii. 45.

north. In order, therefore, to obscure the sun, she must have returned from north, by west, to south; or, in other words, she must have traversed the half of her orbit; and when in the south, the sun could not have been obscured for three hours together, or from the sixth till the ninth hour, unless she had travelled along with him all that time. But after the eclipse was ended, what was farther to happen? Nothing less than that the moon was again to outstrip the sun, and in three hours more to hasten through west and north towards the east, that she might appear there, as in her ordinary place, at the twelfth hour, or six in the evening. Here are so many difficulties, that a rational inquirer will discard the idea of the moon being the cause of the darkness, and ascribe it to the immediate agency of God, in darkening the atmosphere, that whilst thoughtless men beheld the sufferings of Christ with indifference, nature herself might put on mourning.

It has been thought that this darkness was not confined to Judea, but was general over the world; or at least extended to countries far distant from Judea. The following are the grounds of this opinion. 1st, The words of the evangelist Luke, who says that "there was darkness over all the earth."[a] 2d, The authority of Phlegon, a freedman of the emperor Adrian, in his Chronicle, as preserved by Eusebius,[b] Origen,[c] and others; where he speaks of a great eclipse of the sun, surpassing all that preceded it, at the sixth hour of the day, so that the stars were seen, in the fourth year of the 202d Olympiad; which is confessedly the year of Christ's death. 3d, The

[a] Luke xxiii. 44. [b] Chron. p. 77. [c] Advers. Celsum, lib. ii. p. 80.

extraordinary darkness which was seen by Dionysius the Areopagite, at Heliopolis in Egypt, when in company with Apollophanes the director of his studies, and which made him exclaim, "Either the God of nature suffers, or sympathises with the sufferer." And, 4th, An extraordinary eclipse of the sun, which is mentioned in the Chinese annals, in the 28th year of the 46th cycle, and last day of the third moon; which the espousers of the universality of the darkness endeavour to make correspond with the time of our Saviour's death.—But there are several things which destroy the credit of these arguments, and render it probable that the darkness was limited to the land of Judea. For, 1st, The phrase "over all the earth," used in Luke,[a] and the parallel phrases "over all the land," and "over the whole land," in Matthew[b] and Mark,[c] are often used in a limited sense, for a particular land or country,[d] and may therefore be so taken here, as denoting only the whole land of Judea. 2d, The words of Phlegon, although they may be brought to prove the existence of a remarkable darkness or eclipse, do not prove its universality over the world; but may naturally be explained of its limitation to the land of Judea; while its surpassing all former eclipses may allude to its happening at an unusual time, (full moon,) and for an unusual length of time, (three hours;) both of which circumstances, as he could not have seen them, from his having lived a hundred years after

[a] Chap. xxiii. 44. σκοτος εγενετο εφ' ὁλην την γην.
[b] Ch. xxvii. 45. επι πασαν την γην. [c] Ch. xv. 33. εφ' ὁλην την γην.
[d] Gen. xiii. 9. 1 Sam. xiii. 3. Jer. iv. 20; viii. 16. Luke iv. 25, 26.

they happened, he might have learned from some Christian, of whom there were many in his days at Rome. 3d, The story of Dionysius the Areopagite would be conclusive, as to the darkness having extended to Egypt, if it could be depended on. But Dr. Lardner, in his Jewish and Heathen Testimonies, rejects it as unworthy of credit; and the late Dr. Findlay of Glasgow, after observing that it is never noticed by any of the early ecclesiastic historians and apologists; that the writings ascribed to Dionysius were never heard of till the sixth century, and are considered spurious by the best Papist and Protestant critics; that in these writings, although a circumstantial account is given of the darkness, not a word is said of his remarkable exclamation; and that the first notice we have of it is by Syncellus, a writer of little authority, who flourished about the year 828; has no hesitation in pronouncing it "a fabulous, legendary tale."[a] 4th, The eclipse mentioned in the Chinese annals, cannot with any certainty be applied to the darkness at our Saviour's death; for it is generally confessed that we know but little of the astronomical knowledge of that country; and there might have been a total eclipse of the sun, in the course of that year, in China, (supposing the Chinese date to correspond with the Christian, which remains to be proven,) and yet that eclipse might have happened at a different time of the year from that on which our Saviour died. Indeed the account certifies this; for the eclipse is said to have happened

[a] Vindication of the Sacred Books and of Josephus from the Misrepresentations and Cavils of Voltaire, part ii. sect. 27; and Appendix p. 556, 557.

"on the last day of the third moon," or at new moon, when eclipses of the sun always happen; whereas the darkness at our Saviour's death happened when the moon was at the full.—After these remarks on the inconclusive nature of the evidence in favour of a universal darkness, we may add, that supposing the darkness to have been confined to Judea, it would have afforded sufficient testimony from heaven, of the innocence and dignity of the sufferer, and a sufficient demonstration of God's wrath against the criminal actors in his execution. Nay, it would have been more convincing in that case, than if it had extended farther; for like those miracles of Moses which affected Egypt, while Goshen was free,[a] it would have given more complete proof of its miraculous nature, and the determinate reason for which it was sent; whilst by confining it to Judea we make it to resemble the other proofs of Christ's mission, mentioned in the Gospels, which, with the exception of the star when it first arose, were all exhibited in that country.[b]

We shall conclude this section with an extract from the *Tracts* of Mr. James Ferguson,[c] well known for his popular writings on various branches of Natural Philosophy. "I find by calculation," says he, "that the only passover full moon which fell on a Friday, from the twentieth year after our Saviour's birth to the fortieth, was in the 4746th year

[a] Exod. viii. 22; ix. 4, 26; x. 23.

[b] Erasmus, Calvin, Gerard John Vossius, Scaliger, Le Clerc, L'Enfant and Beausobre, Doddridge, Lardner, Whitby, and many others, have declared for the darkness being limited to Judea.

[c] Page 193.

of the Julian period, which was the thirty-third year of his age, reckoning from the beginning of the year next after that of his birth, according to the vulgar æra; and the said passover full moon was on the third day of April. Phlegon informs us that in the 202d Olympiad, or 4746th year of the Julian period, there was an eclipse the same as this mentioned here, which could be no other than this; for an ordinary one never totally hides the sun, from any one part of the earth, above four minutes. Besides, it must have been miraculous, because no eclipse ever happens at full moon, it being at that time in the opposite side of the heavens." One is pleased to hear the sentiments of a person so well qualified to judge.

PART X.

LAWS OF THE JEWS, AND THEIR SANCTIONS.

THE laws of the Jews are of three kinds, the Moral, Ceremonial, and Judicial; and they claim our attention on account of their intrinsic worth, great antiquity, and divine authority. Let us then attend to them in succession.

SECT. I.

The Moral Law.

Clearly revealed to our first parents; became obscured through the prevalence of sin; was promulgated anew from Mount Sinai.

THE Moral law is contained in the ten commandments, which are a summary of that law of nature which was written originally on the heart of our first parents. It was then clear and distinct, and capable of being observed by them, had they remained in their state of innocence. But their apostasy obscured it, and it became less and less legible, in the hearts and lives of their posterity; till, at the flood, all flesh had corrupted their way, and the imaginations of their hearts were only evil continually. It was then that God appeared in a visible manner, to punish the universal depravity, and place the subsequent generations of men in more favourable circumstances. He saw that the

rays of knowledge had diverged so much, and become so faint, that they were incapable of guiding men in the way of duty. The light of prophecy, indeed, had been gathering strength, among the few who were favoured of the Lord; but the light of the moral law had become completely darkened, among the multitude, through the ignorance and corruption which were in them. Their fate was therefore fixed. A universal deluge destroyed those who were too wicked to reform; and from Noah and his family, as from a new centre, proceeded the generations of men, the chain of prophecy, and the republication of religion. But Noah and his family stood in very different circumstances from our first progenitor. He himself was indeed a pattern of excellence, setting a comparatively perfect example of piety, to the generation before and after the flood; but it was neither as the federal head of his posterity, nor free from inconsistency. He, who had been firm as a rock, in the midst of a corrupt and degenerate age, fell in solitude, and was guilty of drunkenness; whilst his family but too soon showed the revival of those vices which had been fatal to the antediluvians.

We need not trace minutely the progress of iniquity, between the times of Noah and the giving of the law; but every one in the least conversant with the subject will be ready to acknowledge, that, whatever progress the nations made in science and the arts, they made none in religion and morals. Having left the sublime doctrine of the Unity of God, they created to themselves numberless local deities. The light of revelation accord-

ingly became again obscured; and, though the chain of prophecy had acquired strength by new revelations after the flood, which served to confirm the faith of the pious; the duties which mankind owed to God and their neighbour were generally neglected. Insomuch, that when the Israelites left Egypt, the state before the flood had nearly returned; darkness had covered the earth, and gross darkness the people; so that it became the divine Majesty to appear anew, and show that there was a God who ruled in the earth. Hence those signs which he performed in Egypt, and mighty works in the field of Zoan; where he vanquished the pretended deities of the heathen; brought his people from thence, with a strong hand, and outstretched arm; led them triumphantly by a pillar of fire and of cloud; divided the Red Sea; completely discomfited their enemies, and carried them into the wilderness, to receive a new system of instruction, and place them as a lamp to give light to the nations. There God appeared in a visible manner; delivered in awful majesty, and with an audible voice, from the top of Mount Sinai, the ten commandments; wrote them with his own finger on two tables of stone,* and ordered them to be kept as a sacred deposit. Thus was God pleased to give to man a more sure directory for duty, than that of tradition; which, at best, was uncertain, even when aided by the general longevity of the patriarchs, and visible appearances of the divine Majesty; and was then

* Orpheus seems to have heard of these; for, in the first of the Fragmenta ascribed to him, and entitled Περὶ Θεῶν, he calls them διπλακα θεσμον, vers. 33, 34.

become doubly so by the contracted limits of human life. On the written word, therefore, were they called to depend; to the law and to the testimony were they bound to resort. It is needless, however, to dwell on the meaning of the different precepts in the decalogue, since they are generally known; but we ought to notice the very great importance in which these precepts were held by Jehovah, since they were selected by him, and delivered in so public and solemn a manner. Indeed, when rightly explained, in connexion with the principles from which they proceed, they are a summary of every religious and moral duty. Nor should it be forgotten, that they are universally and perpetually binding; for, although our Saviour came to abolish the ceremonial and judicial laws, he came to confirm and fulfil that which is moral.[a]

SECT. II.

The Ceremonial Law.

1st, Taught the Jews the leading doctrines of religion, in a sensible and impressive manner. 2d, Served to preserve them from idolatry—by removing the principles which supported it—by giving them a full and perfect ritual of their own—by appointing certain marks to distinguish them from idolaters—by restricting most of their rites to particular places, persons, and times—by prohibiting too familiar an intercourse with the heathen nations—and by the

[a] In Doddridge's Lectures, appendix to Prop. cxxvi. is an abridgment of the arguments to prove that Jesus Christ is the Jehovah, who appeared to the patriarchs, delivered the law from Mount Sinai, and was worshipped by the Israelites: and in Principal Hill of St. Andrews' Lectures in Divinity, book iii. chapter v. the same argument is beautifully and forcibly illustrated.

positive prohibition of every idolatrous rite. Here the singular laws of the Jews are explained, such as sacrificing to devils, making the children pass through the fire to Moloch, using divination, observing times, eating with or at the blood, seething a kid in its mother's milk, rounding the corners of their heads, and marring the corners of their beards, making cuttings in their flesh for the dead, confounding the distinctive dresses of the sexes, sowing their fields with divers seeds, plowing with an ox and an ass together, allowing cattle of different kinds to gender, using garments of linen and woollen, condemning eunuchism, bringing the hire of a whore, or the price of a dog, to the house of the Lord. 3d, The ceremonial law served to prepare their minds for a brighter dispensation. Reasons assigned for its comparative obscurity. The gradual abolition of the ceremonial law.

SOME writers on Jewish antiquities have thought, that the ceremonial laws were merely arbitrary, and that the reasons of them were only to be sought for in the will of God, which he has not chosen to reveal; making them thereby to differ essentially from the Christian institutions, which are said to be λογικον γαλα, rational milk, and λογικον λατρειαν, a rational service.[a] But this is surely derogatory to the character of God, and hurtful to that obedience which he required. A more natural reason is therefore to be found in our ignorance of history, and of the relations which existed between the Jews and the neighbouring nations; nor should we overlook the natural language in which laws are expressed, which is authoritative and absolute, in order to give them the greater weight, and prevent those cavils which might be raised against the reasons assigned by the lawgiver. Yet, the study of the ceremonial law is pleasant, both on account of its very great antiquity, its frequent reference to the laws of

[a] 1 Peter ii. 2. Rom. xii. 1.

neighbouring nations, its suitableness to the state of the Jews to whom it was given, and its utility in explaining many parts of the Old Testament, and showing us the liberty wherewith Christ has made his people free. Let us attend, therefore, to it particularly, and see what the intention of Jehovah was in giving it to the Jews.

There are three ends which it evidently served. It taught the leading doctrines of religion, in a sensible and impressive manner; it served as a defence against idolatry, and prepared their minds for a brighter dispensation.

It was said, in the *first* place, that the ceremonial law *taught the Jews the leading doctrines of religion, in a sensible and impressive manner.* Thus, it taught the unity of God by having only one presence; one most holy place as the seat of that presence; one altar at which all the priests were to minister, and all the sacrifices to be offered;[a] and only one tabernacle and temple consecrated to that one Jehovah, the creator of all things, of what power or dignity soever they were conceived to be.—And, as it taught the unity of God, so it also taught the doctrine of a general providence. The throne in the tabernacle and temple was only the figure of his throne in the heavens; and the daily sacrifices, the burnt offerings appointed for the sabbaths every week, for the new moons every month, and for the feast of trumpets, on the first day of the civil year, were all intended to impress the Israelites with a deep sense of the superintending care of God, at all times and in all places.—Nor did the ceremonial law inculcate a general pro-

[a] Lev. xvii. 1—9.

vidence only; it also taught the particular interest which Jehovah took in the works of his hands: for the whole of it encouraged every Hebrew to ask every blessing from Jehovah as his God; and to fear the evils denounced on disobedience, as inflicted by him. Indeed, every sacrifice and offering were constant evidences of this truth, and encouragements to this hope: for they taught that, while God superintended the general affairs of the universe, he took a particular interest in the family of Abraham.—The Hebrew worship also taught the necessity of holiness in every worshipper: for, if we consider the directions for consecrating the tabernacle and temple, for hallowing the sanctuary, for purifying and consecrating the priests and Levites, that they might be hallowed to minister before Jehovah, we shall easily observe, that they all taught holiness to the Lord. Indeed, nothing unholy or unclean was allowed to approach the presence, till cleansed by the washings and sacrifices it directed; and such purity in lesser matters inferred a holiness of a higher nature, and taught the importance of being holy as God is holy, as well as of being holy because he is so.—Let it only be remarked farther, on this part of the subject, that the ceremonial law inculcated the doctrine of rewards and punishments, for it was sanctioned by them. The Hebrew law consisted of three parts, the moral, ceremonial, and judicial; the two last of which were, properly speaking, the law of God by Moses; for the moral law was given, together with the very nature of man, at his first creation. Now the ceremonial and judicial laws had their proper sanction in temporal rewards and punishments: but

the moral law had from the beginning its sanction in future rewards and punishments: and so actually had it at the very time it was promulgated from Sinai, and on the same evidence that had been given to Adam, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, and all the pious patriarchs. I enter not into the dispute how far the doctrine of a future state entered into the design of the Mosaical law, as a constituent part of that constitution. It is sufficient for us at present to know, that the Hebrews did not remain ignorant of these future rewards and punishments, under their ritual: and did actually believe them, from the common principles which made these doctrines the faith of their forefathers, and the belief of all the nations of the earth. Could they not learn, for instance, and did they not infer (as Lowman has justly observed in his Rationale of the Jewish Ritual) from the translation of Enoch, the obedience of Noah, and faith of Abraham, that God is a rewarder of those who diligently seek him? When God appeared to Moses, and sent him to deliver the oppressed Israelites, he revealed himself under this title, "I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob." But these were all dead, and had not received the promises, and yet God makes himself known by the name of their God. If the Hebrews, therefore, believed the immortality of the soul, as we see they did; and if they believed that God was the rewarder of those who diligently sought him, as they accounted Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob to have done, without receiving the promises; might they not have concluded, that God is not the God of the dead but of the living; and that he, as their

God, who had promised to be their exceeding great reward, would give them an inheritance in his heavenly city, and crown them with immortality in that better country, even an heavenly, which they so ardently sought after?[a] Such, then, was the first design of the ceremonial law. It taught the Jews the leading doctrines of religion in a sensible and impressive manner; confirming thus what the moral law had said concerning the unity of God, a general and particular providence, the necessity of holiness in those who approach him, and the doctrine of rewards and punishments.

A *second* use of the ceremonial law was, to *preserve the Israelites from idolatry;* and this it did in various ways. 1st, By removing the principles which supported it. 2dly, By giving them a full and perfect ritual of their own. 3dly, By appointing certain public marks to distinguish them from idolaters. 4thly, By restricting most of their sacred rites to particular places, persons, and times. 5thly, By prohibiting too familiar an intercourse with the heathen nations. And, 6thly, By the positive prohibition of every idolatrous rite. In illustrating these particulars, it will be difficult to keep within proper limits; but the following observations are suggested.

It was said, in the *first* place, that the ceremonial law was a preservative against idolatry, by removing the principles that supported it; viz. ignorance of the true character of God, and ascription of divine honours to inferior intelligences.

[a] See also Bishop Burnet's Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England, article vi.

From the just notions it gave the Israelites of God and his government, it taught them that all other gods besides him were false, vain idols, the works of men's hands. It showed that those beings whom the heathens worshipped, whether the higher intelligences, who were supposed to inhabit the sun, moon, and stars, or the demons, and departed souls of heroes and other great men, were not gods, but the creatures of the one Jehovah, and obedient to him. It taught that God was the fountain of all their blessings, and that he alone gave rain and fruitful seasons; and, by so doing, it prevented them from falling into the error of inferior intelligences, as the guardians and benefactors of mankind. It allowed of no such thing as inferior divine worship, but represented God as a jealous God, who would not give his glory to another, nor his praise to graven images. In these ways, then, it removed the principles which served to support the practice of idolatry.[a]

But it was observed, *secondly*, that it preserved the Israelites from idolatry, by giving them a ritual of their own, every way fitted to their circumstances. At the time it was promulgated, they were in such circumstances (the nations around them having all sensible objects of worship,) that if it had not then pleased God to appoint them a ritual, and by that to make them a separate nation and people, it seems morally impossible to have kept them from idolatry; and then the knowledge and worship of the true God must have been lost in the world. The same reasons which made a ritual convenient, and, in their circumstances, even necessary, made

[a] Lowman, Rationale of the Jewish Ritual.

a full ritual as convenient and necessary; such as should reach to every part of worship, as it was intended to be a hedge against idolatry every way. The numberless variety of ceremonies has often been remarked: many regarding the presence of Jehovah; others the tabernacle and temple; others the priests; others the sacrifices, offerings, and proper rites of each: a vast variety were directed for their festivals, purifications, cleanness of food, births, marriages, deaths, mournings; and, to a superficial observer, all, or at least the most of them, to no purpose. But let him reflect on the consequences of one less minute. They would have supplied its defects, by amendments of their own, and, notwithstanding their own law, would have borrowed from their neighbours what they imagined had not been sufficiently provided for, by their own lawgiver. Thus the law would have failed in one of its designs, to prevent their falling into idolatry. A people so fond of ceremonies as the Jews were, would have been uneasy and impatient without them: and when they saw that their neighbours had rites for every occasion, they would either have adopted them for their own use, or have invented others of their own imagination, of equal danger, or of worse consequence.[a] Another circumstance respecting the Hebrew ritual was, that it was uniformly held out as preferable to every other. From their long abode in Egypt, it is easy to conceive the Jews well acquainted with, and even fond of Egyptian ceremonies. Their reputation, antiquity, and confirmation by miracles, esteemed true, would all add

[a] Lowman, ut supra.

some weight to this assertion. It became, therefore, any rule, if it was to guard them against their influence, to come recommended by a higher authority than the considerations of antiquity, the use of the wisest people, or even the oracles of demons. Accordingly, we find it recommended as the law of God himself, and given to them as his peculiar people. Hence the common preface to each of its laws; "The Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel and say unto them;" and hence a proper answer to the objection of its being unbecoming the wisdom of God to ratify, in so solemn a manner, a bare system of rites and ceremonies.[a]—Nor should we overlook even the burdensome nature of the Jewish ceremonial, as a mean of preserving them from idolatry: for, while it was burdensome by the number of its precepts, extending from the greatest things to the most minute; by their rigour in demanding obedience and punishing disobedience; by their comparative inutility, since they could neither obtain the pardon of moral guilt, nor impart virtue, nor procure admittance to heaven; by their expense, since they demanded all the first-born of animals, the tithes, first-fruits, and much trouble in attending feasts; by the constant attention they required to prevent contracting ceremonial guilt, and the expense of removing it; and by the length of time which was requisite before they could be distinctly understood, and readily acted upon; yet this very burdensomeness, which attended the ceremonial institute, served as a mean to keep them from idolatry. For they could never forget, that

[a] Lowman, ut supra.

it was imposed by the Almighty, as a punishment for their making and worshipping the golden calf; and that, to the conscientious observer, it left little time or inclination for searching after, and adopting the rites of the heathens.[a] Nor should it be forgotten, that it was strictly enjoined them to add nothing to it, or to take any thing from it. In the Hebrew government, the sole authority of making laws was in Jehovah, as their king. No magistrate therefore in that government, whether judge, sanhedrin, senate, congregation of Israel, or popular assembly, either separately or jointly, had power to repeal any of the laws enacted by Jehovah, or to publish new laws in his name; the doing of which would have been to make laws for his kingdom without his authority.[b] Hence the true reason of the temporal rewards and punishments which were attached to the ceremonial ritual. They were suited to the rude state of the Jewish mind, after a long period of bondage: they came from God, and not from the heathen deities: they were suited to his character as their king under the Theocracy: nations can only be punished as nations in the present life; and it would have been raising the value of ceremonial obedience too high, to have sanctioned it with eternal rewards, or eternal punishments.[c] All these observations tend to show, that the ceremonial law kept them from idolatry, by removing their ignorance of the true God, and ascription of divine honours to inferior intelligences; and, by giving them a ritual of their own, every way fitted to their circumstances, superior

[a] Spencer, de Leg. Heb. Ritual. lib. i. cap. 14. [b] Lowman.
[c] Lowman. Spencer, lib. i. cap. 4.

to that of Egypt, leaving them little time for attending to any other, and not to be added to by any person but God.

But, besides defending them from idolatry, by removing that ignorance of God which introduced it, and giving them a perfect ritual of their own, the ceremonial law promoted the same end, 3dly, by appointing certain public marks to distinguish them from idolaters.

The whole ritual was a distinctive mark, but there were some parts of it more so than others. Thus circumcision, while it was a seal of the covenant of grace, was also a sign of the covenant of peculiarity. For, as the worshippers of idols had often some distinguishing mark on their bodies, to show their attachment to the idols they worshipped; so did God cause this to be imprinted on the bodies of the Israelites, to teach them, that as the lusts of the flesh prevailed among heathens, and around their temples, so they should mortify these lusts, and carry on their bodies the distinctive mark of their own God. The sabbath also was another mark to distinguish the Jews from idolaters. For, as the heathens believed in the eternity of the world, and neglected the observance of the sabbath; so God renewed to the Israelites the original observance of his holy day, as commemorative of his having created the world, and consequently of its not being eternal; enforcing it with the additional consideration, that they had once been bondmen among these idolaters in Egypt, when they were not permitted to observe it, either as a day of rest, or of public devotion.[a]

[a] Deut. v. 15.

If it should be said that idolaters, as well as Jews, had the knowledge of a sabbath, it may be observed, that although they knew of a seventh day, they knew but little of a sabbath. And we know that, in later times, the Romans ridiculed the Jews, for their strict observance of it. Thus Seneca says, "they lose almost the seventh part of their time in idleness."[a] Juvenal upbraids them thus: "to whom every seventh day was a day of sloth, and unconnected with any useful part of life."[b] And Martial[c] calls them, by way of contempt, "Sabbatarioi," Sabbatarians.[d]

When God, therefore, renewed the commandment of the sabbath, it taught the Jews that, as the heathens had their ἡμεραι εργασιμοι and ἑορτασιμοι, their working days and feast, or sacred festival days, so should they; but for nobler and better purposes: viz. the six days of the week for ordinary employment, and the seventh for the worship and service of the true God. It is indeed worthy of remark, that in the law of Moses, the institution of the sabbath, and the mention of idolatry, are commonly conjoined, to show that the one was an antidote to the other;[e] and we should also remark, that the worship of idols, and the violation of the sabbath are also conjoined.[f] Nor should it be for-

[a] "Septimam ferè ætatis suæ partem perdunt vacando."—Apud August. de Civit. Dei, lib. vi. cap. 11.

[b] ——— "cui septima quæque fuit lux
Ignava, et partem vitæ non attigit ullam."—Sat. xiv. 106, 107.

[c] Lib. iv. Epigr. 4. [d] See more in Ovid, Art. Amand. lib. i. 417; and Persius, Sat. v. 184.

[e] Exod. xxiii. 12, 13. Lev. xix. 3, 4; xxvi. 1, 2. Ezek. xx. 18—20. Exod. xxxiv. 17, 18, 21. Levit. xix. 29, 30.

[f] Ezek. xx. 16, 24; xxii. 4, 8, 9; xxiii. 37, 38. 2 Kings xvi. 3, 18.

gotten, that the great strictness which was commanded on the sabbath, evidently had two ends in view; the solemnization of the mind for sacred purposes, and striking against the leading violations of it among idolaters: for the Jews gathered no wood on that holy day,[a] kindled no fire in their houses,[b] prepared no victuals,[c] sold no goods,[d] and carried no burdens.[e]—The three public festivals were also public marks which distinguished the Jews from the idolaters. For the Passover, among other ends, showed God's judgment against the gods and idols of Egypt; Pentecost tended to root out idolatry, as being commemorative of the giving of the law; and the Feast of Tabernacles contributed to the same end, by leading them to acknowledge Jehovah as the God of seasons.

Nor should we overlook that public and particular mark, of the appointment of meats and animals into clean and unclean, as articles of food, or destined for sacrifice. Those quadrupeds which were clean, had two distinctive marks: they chewed the cud, and divided the hoof, or had no connecting membrane between the divisions. The birds were rather named than classed; and the fishes which were eaten were all that had both fins and scales.[f] But the question is, why God selected these distinctions, and forbade all to be eaten which wanted them? Some have thought, that the animals were forbidden because injurious to health;[g] many of them being either positively noxious, or not nutritious. But God gave no instructions of this kind, either

[a] Num. xv. 32. [b] Exod. xxxv. 3. [c] Exod. xvi. 23.
[d] Neh. xiii. 20. [e] Jer. xvii. 21. [f] Lev. xi. 9.
[g] Grotius, Comment. Lev. xi. 3.

to the patriarchs, or to the church of Christ; and taste, as to dishes, has exceedingly varied in different ages, and among different nations. Thus hares, and swine, which were forbidden in the Jewish law, are now accounted good; and camel's flesh, which was also forbidden, was formerly eaten by the ancients,[a] and is so still. Some of the forbidden birds, too, were accounted delicates among other nations. Thus the swan is said by Athenæus[b] to be seldom absent from any feast. And Aristotle[c] and Albertus Magnus[d] say, that "the young of hawks were fat, and very much liked."—Others have thought the distinction of meats, into clean and unclean, founded in some natural uncleanness in the creatures, which would defile the man;[e] but this is unsatisfactory.[f] Others, that certain characters and vices were shadowed under these animals; as pusillanimity in the hare, vile desires in the hog, ignorance in the owl, rapine in the hawk; ruminating animals, those who digested truth; dividing the hoof, those who distinguished good from evil; cloven-footed, or having no connecting membrane, those who made no compromise between sin and duty,[g] &c.: but this distinction is more specious than real. Others, like Justin Martyr, have thought, that they were a constant test of obedience to the legislator: but had that been the case, he would have forbidden those which were agreeable to the taste, rather than those which were disagreeable. Others resolve it into the will

[a] Aristotle, Hist. Animal. lib. vi. cap. 26. [b] P. 130.
[c] Hist. Animal. lib. vi. cap. 7. [d] De Animal. lib. xxiii. p. 614.
[e] Matth. xv. 11. [f] Simon de Muis, Var. Sacr. in Exod. xxii.
[g] St. Barnabas, Novatian.

of God, as Spanheim; or to teach them temperance and abstinence, as Tertullian. But the true reasons, according to Spencer, seem to have been, that they might be a peculiar people, as it is expressed in Lev. xx. 24—26; that the observance of that law might be a lesson of sanctity, that they were dedicated to the Lord;[a] that it might mystically signify that the Jews were clean, and the Gentiles unclean, as appears from Peter's vision of a sheet from heaven;[b] and especially that it might keep them from following the practices of the heathen. For Chæremon tells us,[c] that the Egyptian priests abstained from all fish; from whatever animals had solid or divided hoofs, or wanted horns; and from all birds which were carnivorous: nay, that many abstained from all flesh whatever. Now, the Israelites having seen these things in Egypt, and perhaps approved of them, God, in order to check that disposition, appointed a distinction of meats under certain limitations. For, had they been left in uncertainty, they might have shunned the eating of animals, as the Egyptian priests and devotees did, from a superstitious opinion of their holiness or impurity; and as the other ancient nations did, who had their likings and dislikings, but not fixed by divine authority as the Jews. Thus, some abhorred swine, and would neither eat nor sacrifice them, while others did both.[d] The Copts killed and ate the males of goats, but the females were held sacred.[e] Cæsar says, that the ancient Britons accounted it unlawful to eat the hare, the

[a] Lev. xi. 43—45; xx. 24—26.
[b] Acts x. 11—16.
[c] Apud Porphyr.
[d] Lucian, de Syria Dea.
[e] Elian, Hist. lib. x. cap. 23.

hen, or the goose.[a] Porphyry says, that the Phœnicians and Egyptians would rather eat human flesh than that of a cow.[b] The Egyptians ate none of the woolled animals, nor the young of the goats.[c] Plutarch says, that the ass and the red cow were exceedingly hated.[d] Porphyry[e] tells us that the Egyptians refused eating turtle; and we have seen before, that they refused fishes, either because sacred or polluted. Amidst that diversity therefore of tastes as to food, it was of importance to teach the Israelites, the things which were lawful and unlawful: and it ought not to be overlooked, that many of the animals which they were allowed to eat, were accounted sacred by idolaters; and therefore fitted to keep them at a distance from each other.

But, whilst treating of meats, clean and unclean, it may naturally be asked, what was the origin of the Jewish antipathy to swine's flesh? Tacitus says, it was because "the same itch which affects the swine, affected the Israelites, and was the cause of their expulsion from Egypt."[f] Porphyry asserts, it was because "they were not reared in their country:"[g] but the history of the demons which entered into the swine in Matth. viii. 32, disproves his assertion. Petronius thinks it was because "they adored them."[h] And most of the heathens ascribed it to their obstinacy.[i] The true reasons, however, were 1st, that swine dividing the hoof, but

[a] De Bello Gall. lib. v. [b] De Abstinen. lib. ii. p. 58.
[c] Juvenal, Sat. xv. [d] P. 362. [e] Lib. iv.
[f] Hist. Lib. v. sub init. [g] De Abstinen. lib. i. sec. 14.
[h] "Judæus licet et porcinum numen adoret."—In Fragment. C. 116. [i] 2 Macc. vi. 18; vii. throughout.

not chewing the cud, were, thereby, legally unclean. 2dly, They are naturally unclean above others, in their taste and habits, 2 Pet. ii. 22, and therefore were disliked both by Jews and Gentiles. And 3dly, They were hated, because "those who apostatized from their religion in persecuting times, ate swine's flesh as a mark of abjuring Judaism;[a] and because "they were used by the heathens in purifications, sacrifices, magical rites, at festivals, and the ratification of covenants."[b] The Jewish hatred, therefore, of these animals, was evidently connected with that horror which God wished to inspire against all idolatry.[c] So much for meats clean and unclean.

A 4th defence which the ceremonial law afforded against idolatry, was the confining of most of the sacred things to certain places, persons, and times. Before the giving of the law, they worshipped where they pleased, but after the giving of the law, that liberty was withdrawn. The tabernacle, and afterwards the temple,[d] were enjoined as the places where they were to offer the first-fruits, pay their vows, observe their sacred rites, and make known their requests, in a public and national manner. This regard to place, was certainly a mean of preventing idolatry: for, since they might not sacrifice but at Jerusalem, they were hindered, even when at a distance from that place, from frequenting the idols and altars of the heathens, which were commonly in groves or fields, on high places or on

[a] 2 Maccab. vii. 1. [b] Varro, de re rustica, lib. ii. cap. 4. Ovid. Fast. lib. i. 349. Horat. Serm. lib. ii. 264. Is. lxvi. 17; lxv. 4. Juvenal, Sat. xi. 83, 84. Virgil, Æn. viii. 640. [c] Spencer, de Legib. Heb. Rit lib. i. cap. 7. [d] Levit. xvii. 3—5. Deut. xii. 5—13.

hills.—But, if binding their sacred rites to the tabernacle and temple, was a defence against idolatry, so also was the confining of the priesthood to particular persons. In no nation was there a priesthood like that of the Jews. Others were called individually by the people, or recommended by their dexterity, or rank, or connexions; but theirs was from birth, and confined to the tribe of Levi. They were chosen in place of the first-born of Israel, and had their office confirmed to them by the blossoming of Aaron's rod;[a] and the infliction of leprosy on Uzziah the king, when he attempted to encroach upon it.[b] Before the law, the heads of families were the priests; but this choice of the tribe of Levi excluded all others, and was productive to Israel of many advantages. For it prevented sacrifices anywhere else than at the temple, since they were accountable; it created an host to fight for the glory of God, and the honour of their order, against idolatry; it acted both on a regard for principle, and the esprit de corps; whilst the instructions they communicated, and the example they exhibited, would naturally tend to check their countrymen in their desire for idolatry.—The confining of many of their sacred things to certain times, was also a mean to promote the same end. Thus, all their feasts depending on the appearance of the moon, tended to show them that she was only a creature; since, whilst idolaters paid her homage, they were worshipping the true God. The Jewish sabbath also, and their solemn times, being defined by the number seven, was against idolatry. For the sabbath of days, or weekly sabbath; the sab-

[a] Numb. xvii. 8—11. [b] 2 Chron. xxvi. 18—20.

bath of weeks, or pentecost; the sabbath of months, or the fast of the seventh month; the sabbath of years, or the sabbatical year; and the sabbath of seven times seven years, or the jubilee; all reminded them of the creation, when the planets, the objects of worship, were created by God. The beginning of the civil year, likewise, was much employed in heathen rites. Thus, the Zabians, or worshippers of the heavenly host, among the Chaldeans, offered sacrifices on the first and second day, had a fast on the eighth, and on the fifteenth they had a feast to Sammael, the angel of death, the prince of the air, and that ancient serpent who deceived Eve. The Egyptians also honoured September, or the beginning of the year, because then the Nile had retired, the soil had become dry, and labour was renewed. Now God, to counteract these, appointed the feast of trumpets on the first day; the 10th was the day of annual expiation; and from the 15th to the 23d were the feast of tabernacles. The Jews had, therefore, more feasts in this month to the true God, than the heathens had to their false deities. Perhaps even their morning and evening sacrifices were, among other reasons, appointed in opposition to those heathen sacrifices in the night, to the dead and the dii infernal, which were not always the most chaste. One thing is certain, that by this limitation of sacred rites to particular places, persons, and times, the Jews were greatly prevented from imitating the practices of their heathen neighbours. They had a splendour in their worship which struck the senses; an order which pleased the mind; and a purity becoming the Being they were called upon to address, which

was very different from the obscene rites of other nations.[a]

A 5th defence which the ceremonial law afforded the Jews against idolatry, was the prohibition of too familiar an intercourse with heathen nations. It was impossible for them to avoid the common intercourse of life, when business required; but that was different from making heathens their bosom friends, or connecting themselves with them by marriage. Accordingly such intimate connexions were expressly forbidden, lest they should be led after their idols; and a national antipathy was created against all strangers, which was noticed and condemned by heathen writers, who were ignorant of the cause. Thus, Justin, lib. xxxvi. mistaking the cause, but acknowledging the fact, says, that "the Jews were expelled Egypt for the leprosy, and contracted thereby a hatred to all nations." Juvenal adverts to the same thing.[b] Tacitus speaks also of this hatred in the following words: "Among themselves subsist inflexible fidelity, and a ready compliance with the calls of pity; but towards every other nation they entertain a deadly hatred."[c] And St. Paul says, that they were "contrary to all men."[d] It is upon this principle of forbidding intercourse with strangers, that Spencer[e] explains the exclusion of a bastard, from the congregation of

[a] Spencer, de Leg. Heb. Ritual. lib. i. cap. 8, 10.

[b] Romanas autem soliti contemnere leges,
Judaicum ediscunt, et servant, ac metuunt jus,
Tradidit arcano quodcunque volumine Moses.
Sat. xiv. 100—103.

[c] "Apud ipsos fides obstinata, misericordia in promptu, adversus omnes alios hostile odium." Hist. lib. v. sub initium.

[d] 1 Thess. ii. 15.

[e] De Leg. Heb. Rit. lib. i. cap. 6.

the Lord, to the tenth generation.[a] It was calling in the love of offspring to keep them from connexion with strange women, since an indelible stigma was fixed on the fruit of that intercourse. Heathens were never allowed to enter the precincts of the first temple, for it had no court of the Gentiles attached to it; and they never entered within the sacred fence of the second temple, which was devoted to Israelites, and those who, being proselytes of righteousness, were accounted as Israelites. Intercourse with heathens in common life was dangerous; but intercourse in religion was more so. There was a politeness, in consortiis, which was dangerous to the Jew, if going to the heathen temple; and not profitable to heathens, when entering the sacred ground. Their taste and habits were widely different from those of the Jews; and idle curiosity, or visible levity and contempt, were unfit to be seen by those who, in the court of the women, were engaged in prayer; or who, in the courts of Israel and of the priests, were solemnly employed in sacrifices and praise. A dereliction of idolatry, therefore, and a visible change of sentiments and conduct, together with a submission to the national rite of circumcision, were required of such, before they could be admitted to the full participation of Jewish privileges. It is for want of proper attention to this end of the Jewish law, that some have aspersed it, as encouraging a sour and unbenevolent temper; whereas, when rightly understood, it was directly the reverse. It enjoined the love of their neighbour, in the strongest manner, but forbade intercourse with those who would make them

[a] Deut. xxiii. 2.

forget the principles of their religion, and thereby subject them to the displeasure of God.

The 6th and last defence I shall mention which the ceremonial law afforded the Jews, for keeping them from idolatry, was the positive prohibition of every idolatrous rite. Thus, in Lev. xvii. 7, they were forbidden to offer sacrifices to the devils, שעירם, *shorim*, or hirci-footed deities of Egypt, (which were described by us when treating of the false gods of the heathen,) because it was most debasing to human nature, and dishonouring to God.—They were forbidden to make their children pass through the fire unto Moloch,[a] because some burnt them alive in honour of the sun; and others shook them over, or threw them through the flames, by way of lustration, to insure the favour of the pretended divinity, and devote them to his service. We noticed the cruelty of the first of these, when surveying the objects from the outside of the temple; and in confirmation of the last, we may remark, that Maimonides[b] says he had "seen midwives take the new-born children wrapt up, and having placed them above fire, with smoke of a disagreeable smell, move them backwards and forwards through the smoke."[c] Varro tells us,[d] that in the Palilia, at Rome, they did the same thing for the purpose of expiation; and Ovid informs us of their manner of doing it in the passage quoted below:[e] whilst Maimonides, in the above-quoted place, mentions, as an inducement to parents, to

[a] Lev. xviii. 21. [b] Mor. Neb. part iii. ch. 37.
[c] See also Ezek. xx. 26; xxiii. 37. [d] Apud Scholia Horatii.
[e] Moxque per ardentes stipulæ crepitantis acervos
Trajicias celeri strenua membra pede.—Fastor. lib. iv. 781.

make their children pass through the fire to Moloch, that the worshippers of fire asserted, that all the children who were not so treated, would die in infancy. These, no doubt, were the remains of those sentiments which actuated idolaters in Moses' days, and against which Jehovah saw it needful to provide.

But besides this visible countenance, which they were forbidden to give to idolatry, we find God also providing against the approaches to it, by prohibiting every kind of divination and magic. Divination and magic are two different things; the one being a pretension to more than human knowledge, and the other to more than human power. Both were known among the heathens, and prohibited to the Jews. In Levit. xix. 26, we are told, that they were not to use divination by means of serpents, as the original words signify; which Heinsius,[a] Bochart,[b] Selden,[c] and others, have shown to be one of the most early kinds of enchantment. Hence Ophion is the name of the most ancient diviner among the Greeks. Pythius and Python were the names of those who presided over auguries. Balaam used this kind of enchantment when called against Israel, for it is said in Num. xxiv. 1, that "he went not out as at other times, to seek for enchantments." (נחשים *nehushim.*)—At last, however, it came to mean any omen taken from accidental circumstances. Accordingly, Maimonides[d] says, that "the divination by serpents, (or augury, for the Hebrew word includes both,) in the later Jewish writings, meant all

[a] Aristarch. Sac. p. 18, 19. [b] De Animal. Sacr. P. i. col. 21, 22.
[c] De Diis Syr. Synt. ii. cap. 17. [d] De Idololat. cap. vii. sect. 4.

if, when a morsel of meat fell from one's mouth, or his staff from his hand, he would not go to such a place that day; since, if he went, he would be unfortunate in business." It therefore corresponded with another injunction in the Mosaic law, that "they were not to observe times."[a] Indeed, in the law they are joined together, as being near akin; for in beginning journies, contracting marriages, engaging in war, &c. the heathen nations, from the earliest times, appear to have used divination by birds, serpents, clouds, the viscera of animals, and staves, to learn whether they would be successful or not. Such a conduct engendered superstition, prevented often the transaction of public and private business, and was a virtual want of acknowledgment of, and dependence on, God as the sovereign of the universe. The Jews, therefore, were forbidden to imitate the nations in these respects.[b]

In the above-mentioned Levit. xix. 26, besides being forbidden to use enchantments and observe times, they were also forbidden to eat with the blood, or rather (עַל *ol*,) "at the blood." For the Zabians, or worshippers of the host of heaven, among the Chaldeans and Egyptians, when they sacrificed an animal to their demons, poured out the blood, and ate a part of the flesh, at the place where the blood was poured out, and sometimes a part of the blood also, believing that they thereby held communion with the demon. The words of Maimonides are, "Know, that although blood be reckoned unclean by the Zabians, yet it was eaten by them; for this reason, that they thought it to

[a] Lev. xix. 26. [b] Deut. xviii. 14.

be the food of the demons, and that he who ate it had, by so doing, communion with them; so as to converse familiarly with them, and to learn future events; since the common people are wont to ascribe these things to demons. There were some among them, however, to whom the eating of blood was very disagreeable; these, slaying some animal, and receiving its blood into some vessel, or hole, ate the flesh of the slain animal, sitting round the blood in a circle; imagining, that whilst they were eating the flesh, the demons feasted on the blood, as their food; and that by these means, friendship, brotherhood, and familiarity were contracted between the worshippers and them, since they all ate at one table, and reclined on one couch. They besides thought, that this was of much avail, in procuring a vision of the demon in their sleep, and the knowledge of future events."[a] Accordingly, Jehovah alludes to this when he says in Ezek. xxxiii. 25, 26, "Ye eat with (or rather at) the blood, and lift up your eyes towards your idols; and shed (or pour out) blood (into a vessel or ditch for their food): and shall ye possess the land?" And to this does the apostle refer, when he says, "I would not that ye should have fellowship with devils (or demons). Ye cannot drink the cup of

[a] Mor. Neb. part iii. chap. 46. The author of the book Zohar, who lived several ages before Maimonides, says the same thing; as appears by a quotation from it, in Spencer de Leg. Heb. Rit. lib. ii. cap. 15. And Plutarch, when describing the rites used at the celebration of the anniversary of those who died at Platæa, says, that "the Archon of that city killed a bull upon a pile of wood, and having made his supplication to the terrestrial Jupiter and Mercury, invited those brave men who fell in the cause of Greece to the funeral banquet, and the steams of blood." (Vita Aristidis.)

the Lord, and the cup of devils; ye cannnot be partakers of the Lord's table, and of the table of devils."[a] There were times, indeed, when they were commanded to pour out the blood of the animals they slew; but it was either to be like water, that is, as a common thing, when they killed animals for food;[b] or to be covered with dust, when they killed venison, in opposition to the heathen sportsmen, who left it exposed as food to the god of the chase.[c] What classical scholar does not recollect the sacrifice which Ulysses offered to the dii inferi? a part of the blood of which, the shade of Teresias the seer quaffed, before he could tell Ulysses his destinies; the shade of Anticlea, his mother, tasted before she could speak to her son; and the shade of Agamemnon had also to taste, before he could declare the cause of his death.[d]

The precept, prohibiting the "seething a kid in its mother's milk," which is no less than thrice repeated,[e] has often been quoted with ridicule by the thoughtless, and has been variously explained by commentators; some thinking it innutritious, and others that it was to keep them from inhumanity to animals. But the true reason was, that it was applied by the Zabians, and other heathens, to idolatrous purposes: for they were wont to boil a kid in its mother's milk, in honour of the dii rustici, who presided over trees, to insure their fertility. Accordingly, we are informed by Dr. Cudworth, in his Treatise on the Lord's Supper, and on the authority of an old Karaite writer, that "it was a

[a] 1 Cor. x. 20, 21.
[b] Deut. xii. 15, 16, 24.
[c] Levit. xvii. 13.
[d] Odyss. xi. 97, 152, 389.
[e] Exod. xxiii. 19; xxxiv. 26. Deut. xiv. 21.

custom of the ancient heathen, when they had gathered in all their fruits, to take a kid and boil it in the dam's milk, and then, in a magical way, to go about and besprinkle with it all their trees, and fields, and gardens, and orchards; thinking, by these means, to make them fruitful, and bear again more abundantly the following year." Horace mentions the ancient farmers doing something of the same kind, after the ingathering of their fruits.[a] On which Abulensis thus remarks: "The Gentiles, that they might propitiate Silvanus, (whom they had set over the woods and fields,) in order to obtain an abundant crop, offered milk to him, as they did a hog to Ceres. But whether a kid or a lamb was boiled in that milk, which was offered to Silvanus, does not appear from the poetical writings, although it is very probable."[b] Ovid[c] has mentioned the same thing with respect to Pales. And we know that several others of the rural deities were worshipped in this way. Thus Faunus had a kid. Milk made a part of the sacrifices to Pan, and in the ambarvalia of Ceres; and milk and a kid were used in the sacrifices to Bacchus. All these, therefore, seem only to be the

[a] Agricolæ prisci, fortes, parvoque beati,
Condita post frumenta, levantes tempore festo
Corpus, et ipsum animum, spe finis dura ferentem,
Cum sociis operum, pueris et conjuge fida,
Tellurem porco, Sylvanum lacte, piabant.
Epist. lib. ii. epist. i.

[b] "Gentiles ut Silvanum (quem silvis et campis præponebant) placatum haberent, ad habendum frugum multitudinem, ei lac, prout et porcum Cereri offerebant. Utrum autem, in illo lacte quod Silvano offerebatur, hœdus aut agnus coquebatur, non constat ex libris poeticis, sed satis est verisimile." In Exod. xxiii. Quæst. 37.

[c] Fast. lib. iv. verse 742.

remains of that magical rite, which Cudworth speaks of, and which is also noticed by Rabbi Menachim, as quoted by Spencer.[a] "I have heard," says he, "that it was a custom among the heathen, to boil flesh with milk, especially the flesh of kids and lambs; and when they planted trees, to make a fumigation with the smoke of the seed of the tree, and to pour out milk, to make them more fruitful, and sooner ripe." It appears, then, that this rite was performed, first at the planting of fruit trees, to consecrate them to the deities, who were thought to preside over that part of nature; and then annually, as a token of gratitude for the past, and a mean of procuring future fertility. As an additional proof, that the above is the true explanation of the Mosaic precept, it may be noticed, that in the first two places where it is found, it is joined to the command of bringing the first-fruits, and in the last to the payment of tithes; evidently making it synchronize with the heathen rite. I might add, that when God appointed the three great annual feasts of the Jews, he appointed three things to be observed; viz. that they should not offer the blood of the sacrifice of the passover with leavened bread, or allow the fat of it to remain till the morrow: that the first-fruits should be brought to the house of the Lord only; and that they should not seethe a kid in its mother's milk.[b] Spencer has shown,[c] that the first applied to the passover, the second to the feast of pentecost, and the third to the feast of tabernacles or of ingathering; and that as the rest had a refer-

[a] Lib. ii. cap. 9. [b] Exod. xxiii. 17—19; xxxiv. 23—26.
[c] Lib. ii. cap. 9.

ence to certain heathen rites, which he mentions, so had this. It is probable that Isaiah refers to this heathen practice, when he says, ch. lxv. 4, that "broth of abominable things was in their vessels;" and in ch. lxvi. 17, that they "purify themselves in the gardens behind one tree, (or the image of their god Ahad,) in the midst, eating swine's flesh, the abomination, or abominable broth, and the mouse."

As for the injunction in Levit. xix. 27, that they "should not round the corners of their heads, nor mar the corners of their beards," it was evidently against some idolatrous customs. For, in the first place, when the heathens stood by the pile, or sepulchre of departed friends, they tore or cut their hair, and laid it on the body or tomb, to appease the dii inferi;[a] and afterwards wore their hair cut round, and the corners of their beards marred, as a token of mourning;[b] and, in the second place, even where there was no grief, they often made a vow of their hair to the Sun, Saturn, or some other deity, in token of gratitude for some signal benefit or deliverance. The LXX. render it, "Thou shalt not make a sisoe (σισοην) of the hair of thy head," which sisoe was a lock of hair left on the hinder part of the head, the rest being cut round in the form of a ring,[c] as the Turks, Chinese, and Hindoos do at this day. The Thracians shaved their temples, and the fore and hinder parts of their heads, leaving a little hair on the top, which they tied in a knot; whence they were called ακρωκομαι.

[a] Maimonides de Idololat. cap. xii. sect. 12, 13; cum Notis Vossii. [b] Homer, Il. xxiii. 141. Odyss. iv. 197. Ovid, Epist. xi. Statius, Thebaid vi. Euripid. in Orest. vers. 94. [c] Scholia in Levit.

The Dacians and Phœnicians did the same. Herodotus tells us that the Maci, a people in Arabia, shaved the top of their heads, leaving a little tuft in the middle,[a] which in another place he says was done after the example of Bacchus.[b] And Julius Pollux says, that "the Hectorean tonsure consisted in cutting the hair around the forehead, but leaving that which was behind, to flow on the shoulders." That kind of tonsure was also called Thesean, from Theseus:[c] and hence Plutarch, in the Life of that person, says, that "he went to Delphi, at the time when the boys, having left the class of boys, went to that place, according to custom, to consecrate the first-fruits of their hair to the god." In short, this rounding the corners of their heads, and marring the corners of their beards, was either a mark of idolatrous grief by those who mourned, as if they had no hope; or of idolatrous dedication to some fancied divinity, and therefore to be detested by every worshipper of the true God.

Another idolatrous rite, which they were forbidden to imitate, was that "of making cuttings in their flesh for the dead, making baldness between the eyes, or imprinting any marks upon their bodies,"[d] which the Zabians and other heathens did. Herodotus tells us, that the ancient Scythians, "when their king died, cut off their ear, cut their hair round about, cut their arms, wounded their forehead and nose, and pierced their left hand with arrows;"[e] and Ovid,[f] Tibullus,[g] and Virgil,[h] tell us,

[a] Melpom. cap. 175. [b] Thalia, cap. 8.
[c] Maimonides de Idololat. cap. xi. sect. 2; xii. sect. 1; cum Notis Vossii. [d] Levit. xix. 28. Deut. xiv. 1. [e] Lib. iv. cap. 71.
[f] Trist. lib. iii. eleg. 3. [g] Lib. i. eleg. i. [h] Æn. xii. 606.

that the Romans were guilty of the same. Indeed one of the laws of the twelve tables was, forbidding women to disfigure their faces;[a] and the same violent expressions of grief were common among most heathen nations, as respectful to the dead, and pleasing to the dii manes.[b] It appears that the Jews, in the later periods of their history, forgot the divine injunction, and were guilty of cutting their flesh for the dead, for it is spoken of by two of their prophets.[c] As to the marks which they were forbidden to imprint on their bodies, there were various kinds of them in use. Thus some were accounted marks of nobility. Accordingly Mercerus[d] says, that it was honourable among the Babylonians to have some mark impressed on their bodies. Herodotus,[e] when speaking of the Thracians, says, "they judged it noble to have the forehead punctured with marks, and ignoble to want them." Claudian says the same of the Geloni.[f] And the ancient Britons painted themselves, of whom Tertullian says, that "their ensigns of dignity were marks imprinted on the body, like the feathers of the Garamantes, the crobyli of Barbarians, and the grasshoppers of the Athenians."[g] But if these were honourable, there were others which were the reverse. For slaves had the names

[a] "Mulieres genas ne radunto."—Cicero, Tuscul. lib. iii.

[b] Virgil, Æn. iii. 65; iv. 673; vi. 212, &c.; ix. 485—489; xii. 870. Plutarch, in Vitâ Solonis.

[c] Is. xv. 2, and Jer. xvi. 6; xli. 5; xlvii. 5; xlviii. 37.

[d] Thesaur. ling. sacr. voce יעפ. [e] Lib. v. cap. 6.

[f] Membraque qui ferro gaudet pinxisse Gelonus.
Lib. i. in Rufin. vers. 315.

[g] "Insignia eorum fuisse stigmata, ut pennas Garamantum, crobylos Barbarorum, cicadas Atheniensium."—De Veland. Virgin. cap. 10.

of their masters imprinted on their hand, or forehead; and malefactors a mark denoting their crime. Soldiers also had marks, to show to what general they belonged, and to detect them if they deserted.[a] And idolaters imprinted on themselves marks, to show their devotedness to their favourite divinity. Thus a thunderbolt was their mark for Jupiter; a helmet or spear for Mars; a caduceus for Mercury; a trident for Neptune; a sprig of ivy for Bacchus, &c. It was this last kind of mark which God had in view, when he forbade the Israelites to make marks on their bodies; for it was an evidence of apostasy, and prevented return. Accordingly, it was fixed upon by those who endeavoured the apostasy of the Jews, as the most effectual mean to prevent them from returning to the Jewish worship. Thus Prideaux[b] tells us, that Ptolemy Philopater, to degrade the Jews of Alexandria, ordered that "all of them that should come to be enrolled, in the third rank, among the common people of Egypt, should, at the time of their enrolment, have the mark of an ivy-leaf, the badge of his god Bacchus, by a hot iron impressed on them; and that all those who should refuse to be thus enrolled, and stigmatised with the said mark, should be made slaves; and that if any of them should stand out against this decree, he should be put to death." Antiochus Epiphanes too, that cruel persecutor of the Jews, imposed this among other hardships, *that* "when the feast of Bacchus was kept, they were compelled to go in procession to Bacchus, carrying ivy."[c] But, besides burning, another manner of

[a] Vegetius, de Re Milit. lib. ii. cap. 2.
[b] Connexion, vol. ii. book 2, A.A.C. 216. [c] 2 Maccab. vi. 7.

making these marks was by sharp points, filled up with ink,[a] as Theodoritus says[b] the Greeks did, who pricked some parts of their bodies with needles, and filled them with ink, in honour of demons. I need scarcely add, that this practice is several times alluded to in Scripture. Thus the worshippers of the beast had either the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name, in their right hand or foreheads.[c] The worshippers of the Lamb had his father's name in their foreheads.[d] The Jews in Isaiah's days marked themselves with the name of God, to show their antipathy to idolatry;[e] and Christians, in the first ages of Christianity, had the name of Christ, or the sign of the cross. Hence the words of Tertullian, when he inculcates consistency,[f] "The mark of Christ and the mark of the devil do not agree;" and of Augustin, when he is describing apostasy,[g] "He hath lost the mark of Christ, and received the mark of the devil."—Even to this day, marks of a similar kind are used in the east. For "after performing their religious ablutions," says Forbes, "the Hindoos receive on their forehead, the mark either of Vishnoo, or Siva. This mark, affixed by a Bramin, varies in form and colour, according to the sect they profess; the one being horizontal, the other perpendicular. It is made from a composition of sandal-wood, turmeric, and cow-dung. The latter is deemed peculiarly sacred."[h]

[a] Maimonides de Idololatriâ, cap. xii. sect. 10.
[b] Quæst. 28. in Levit. [c] Rev. xiii. 17. [d] Rev. xiv. 1.
[e] Is. xliv. 5. [f] "Non convenit signo Christi, et signo diaboli."
[g] "Perdidit signum Christi, accepit signum diaboli."
[h] Oriental Memoirs, vol. i. c. 10.

Another idolatrous rite, from which they were to abstain, was the confounding the peculiar dresses of the sexes, in their sacred rites; for the injunction in Deut. xxii. 5, was something more than a regulation concerning decency, or an exchange of dresses in the times of war.[a] Maimonides tells us, that "the Scriptures say, that a woman shall not receive the arms of a man, nor a man put on the garment of a woman; for you will find it commanded in the book entitled טומטום *Thumethum*, or the Art of Magic, that a man shall clothe himself with a painted woman's garment, when he stands before the star of Venus; and a woman must put on a coat of mail, and warlike arms, when she stands before the star of Mars." This interpretation of Maimonides places the injunction in a new light, and is confirmed, in the first place, from an examination of כלי *keli*, which signifies both clothes and armour.[b] 2dly, It is not said that the woman shall take the clothes of a man (כלי איש *keli aish:)* but the armour of the warrior (כלי גבר *keli geber;)* and, 3dly, we have abundant evidence from history, of an exchange of dresses by the heathens in their worship. Thus Servius[c] says, that "there is in Cyprus an image with the body and dress of a woman, but with the sceptre and features of a man, whom they call Aphroditè, to whom the men sacrifice in a woman's dress, and the women in a man's dress." Julius Firmicus,[d] when speaking of the Assyrians, says, that "the chorus of their priests cannot serve at the rites of Venus, unless they effeminate their countenances, polish their skin, and disgrace the

[a] Joseph. Antiq. iv. 8.
[b] Gen. xxvii. 3. Judg. ix. 54.
[c] Æn. lib. ii. 632.
[d] De Error. profan. relig. p. 6.

male sex by a female dress." Philochorus[a] affirms, that "Venus is the moon, and that the men did sacrifice to her in women's clothes, and the women in men's." And both Julius Firmicus and Philostratus do not hesitate to affirm, that this adoption of the dresses of the opposite sex paved the way to the grossest obscenities. It was no wonder, then, that a holy God positively forbade it, as contrary to decency, and a shameful appendage to heathen idolatry.[b]

The prohibition against sowing their fields[c] or vineyards, as they are defined in Deut. xxii. 9, with divers seeds, was evidently intended against an heathen custom; and not to prevent the crop from being spoiled, or to show God's sovereignty, as some have supposed. For it was a custom among the heathen, to sow a mixture of wheat and barley among their vines, to insure the protection of Bacchus and Ceres. Thus Maimonides cites a passage from one of the Zabian books, where "they were wont to sow barley and bruised grapes among their vines, thinking that they would not be fruitful without it;" and gives a saying of Rabbi Judah, that "they mixed wheat, barley, and bruised grapes, and sowed them together for the above purpose." Thus do we see, then, what the sowing of their fields or vineyards with divers seeds probably meant. It was a magical or idolatrous rite, to insure the protection of their heathen divinities; and it is not improbable, that while they sowed these seeds, they used a certain invocation to the deities they wished to render propitious; for we find Varro, when he

[a] Apud Macrob. Saturnal. lib. i. cap. 8.

[b] See also Parkhurst, Heb. Lex. verb. כִּלְאַיִם.

[c] Levit. xix. 19.

is discoursing on the best way of cultivating fields, recommending that they should invoke no fewer than twelve of the gods, six males and six females, viz. Jupiter and Terra, Sol and Luna, Bacchus and Ceres, Robigus and Flora, Bonuseventus and Lympha, Minerva and Venus.

The law which forbade the Jews to plough with an ox and an ass together, was also pointed against idolatry.[a] For the ancient idolaters, when ploughing the ground, yoked these together, that by this unequal conjunction, as by a certain sign and sacrament, they might profess that they implored the influence of the divinity on their weak exertions. Indeed, an ox and an ass are so dissimilar in strength and natural habits, that although Niebuhr, p. 137, saw two ploughs of that kind near Bagdad, few would have yoked them but from superstitious motives; and accordingly such a conjunction, unless with that view, became a proverb among them for the height of absurdity.[b] Some indeed say, that it was to prevent inhumanity, by yoking animals of different strength; or unnatural connexions; or in mystical language, to say like the apostle, that we should not be unequally yoked with unbelievers; but the other seems to be the juster reason of the law.

To the same origin, of an antidote to idolatry, may we refer the law in Levit. xix. 19, which prohibited them from allowing cattle, of divers kinds, to gender with each other. For it is placed among laws confessedly Zabian,[c] and was perfectly conge-

[a] Deut. xxii. 10.
[b] Plaut. in Aulular. act. 2, scen. 2. Paulin. ad Auson. p. 472.
[c] Levit. xix. 19. Deut. xxii. 10.

nial to that superstition which confounded all natural distinctions, and delighted in the indulgence of fleshly lusts, even the most unnatural. Spencer tells us, that they considered such connexions, during the ploughing season, as the means of making their labours more successful.[a]

Along with the former antidotes to idolatry, is joined the prohibition of garments of linen and woollen woven together,[b] because, as Spencer informs us,[c] the Zabians used them in a superstitious way, in their nocturnal ceremonies; ascribing great virtue to them, in procuring from the host of heaven, which they worshipped, a plentiful crop of wool and flax. Maimonides, in speaking of the same thing, says, that "they added plants, (meaning flax) and animals, (meaning wool) in one garment, and were wont to wear a ring of some metal upon their fingers." Herodotus,[d] speaking of the Babylonians, who were Zabians, or worshippers of the host of heaven, says, that they use a similar clothing, only the linen and woollen are kept distinct, for at their ceremonies "they are clothed in two coats, one of flax, flowing down to the feet, over which is another of wool; and after that, they throw a white thick coat around them." The Egyptians, who were also Zabians, used these garments to imitate the conjunction of the stars. And Jamblichus, in his Life of Pythagoras,[e] says of the scholars of that philosopher, that "they used garments white and clean, but composed of a cloth of wool and flax." There is only one place in Scrip-

[a] De Leg. Heb. Rit. lib. ii. cap. 32. [b] Deut. xxii. 11.
[c] Lib. ii. cap. 33. [d] Lib. i. cap. 105. [e] Cap. xxi.

ture where these garments are spoken of, viz. in Zeph. i. 8, where it is said that God would "punish those who were clothed with strange apparel." We find no prohibition of the Jews wearing a linen robe, or a woollen one, or the one of these above the other: for flax and wool were both used as articles of dress.[a] Neither were they prevented from sewing woollen cloth to linen, for the ציצית *tsitsit*, or phylacteries, were of that kind. But the essence of the crime seems to have been in the woollen and linen when woven together, as resembling the dress of the Zabians in their idolatrous rites, and as tending to lead the Jews into idolatry.

It is natural to suppose, that along with these laws, to the people in general, as preventives against idolatry, particular attention would be paid to the purity of the priesthood, lest they should adopt the practices of the heathen priests. The law concerning eunuchism, therefore, in Levit. xxi. 20, and Deut. xxiii. 1, is especially considered by Spencer, in this point of view;[b] and their exclusion from the congregation of the Lord, he explains as relating to their exclusion from officiating in the tabernacle and temple. This is indeed evident from the words of Moses, who says, that such persons should not approach to offer the bread of his God;[c] and the impropriety of employing them in that sacred capacity, seems to have been the general opinion, even of the modest part of the heathens.[d] Yet there were some deities, to whom these kinds of priests were considered as more acceptable. Seneca,

[a] Hosea ii. 9. [b] Lib. ii. cap. 34. [c] Levit. xxi. 17, 21.
[d] "Hi nullas meriti vittas, semperque profani."—Claudian.

as quoted by Augustin,[a] says so of a heathen priest.[b] Lucian[c] mentions some ministers of religion called Galli, who were wont to emasculate themselves in honour of Rhea. The priests who worshipped Cybele had also the same names, and underwent the same rite.[d] Strabo[e] tells us that the priests who ministered to Diana at Ephesus were emasculated, to qualify them to take charge of the sacred virgins. The Egyptian priests at Heliopolis were eunuchs.[f] And Hieronymus[g] says that the Hierophants of the Athenians, even in his day, were emasculated by a draught of poison (sorbitione cicutæ) to qualify them for the pontificate. It is evident then that the law in question had two objects in view. 1. To preserve a respect for the priesthood among the Jews, since eunuchs are generally despised; and it would have been wrong for those to officiate, who, by cutting off the virile part, which was one species of eunuchism, were thereby deprived of the sign of that covenant which distinguished their countrymen. And 2. To distinguish them from the priests of the heathen temples, where both the kinds of eunuchism mentioned in Deut. xxiii. 1, were but too frequently to be found.

Every one in the least acquainted with the history of heathen worship, knows that their temples were the very centre of iniquity, by having females and even males attached to them. It is therefore not without probability that Spencer[h] explains the

[a] De Civit. Dei, lib. vi cap. 10.
[b] "Ille viriles sibi partes amputat, ille lacertos secat."
[c] De Dea Syr. [d] Vossius de Origine et Progressu Idololatriæ, lib. i. cap. 20. [e] Geog. lib. xiv. [f] Herodot. lib. i.
[g] Advers. Jovinian. lib. i. [h] Lib. ii. cap. 35.

law in Deut. xxiii. 17, which forbade a whore of the daughters of Israel, or a sodomite of the sons of Israel, as referring to that abominable practice: and he and Parkhurst[a] have given sufficient proofs of its frequency among the heathen.

I shall only add one law more, which is connected with, and explained by the fore-mentioned practices. It is recorded in Deut. xxiii. 18, immediately after that we have been considering, and forbade them "to bring the hire of a whore, or the price of a dog, into the house of the Lord their God, for any vow." This law was evidently intended to counteract that abominable practice among the heathens, of consecrating the money which they got for their violated chastity, to their gods, and to other sacred purposes; such as repairing the temple, supporting the priesthood, and purchasing victims. Micah i. 7, mentions these hires as common in Samaria. And in the apocryphal Book of Baruch, vi. 43, we have the manner in which the women sat at these heathen temples. "The women also with cords about them," says he, "sitting in the ways, (or avenues to them,) burn bran for perfume: but if any of them, drawn aside by some that passeth by, lieth with him, she reproacheth her fellow, that she was not thought as worthy as herself, nor had her cord broken." The best paraphrase on these words will be found in Herodotus,[b] of which a translation is given in Part viii. sect. 2; when describing the manner in which they worshipped Succoth-benoth. The law then, forbidding the hire of a whore to be brought into the house of the Lord, for any vow, evidently

[a] Heb. Lex. קדש.

[b] Lib. i. cap. 199.

referred to these violations of chastity by persons otherwise chaste; who considered their appearance at a heathen temple, once in their lives, as a religious duty.

As for the price of a dog, which was also forbidden to be brought, it hath been explained variously: some taking it to mean a sacred sodomite, and others a favourite dog, which, being the first-born, they were anxious to redeem. But the words allude to Egyptian idolatry; and as they worshipped a dog, so a dog and its gifts were abhorred by Jehovah. Diodorus Siculus[a] says that "the Egyptians, above measure, venerate not only some living animals, but also some dead ones, as cats, ichneumons, rats, and dogs." Plutarch[b] says that "anciently the dog was chiefly honoured in Egypt." Juvenal[c] asserts that every city worshipped a dog, but none Diana.[d] Herodotus[e] says that "in whatever temple the cat dies, the inhabitants of it shave their eyebrows only; but in that where the dog dies, they shave their whole body and head." In their religious festivals, dogs consecrated to their idols, in great pomp, headed the procession. And two reasons are assigned for that honour: 1. That as the Nile rises at the time the Dog-star rises, so they worshipped a dog, as its symbol, because the Nile was the fertilizer of their country.[f] 2. That this honour was paid to the dog, as a lively emblem of Anubis or Mercury. For Diodorus Siculus[g] tells us that "the Egyptians were wont to worship

[a] Biblioth. Hist. lib. i. p. 74. [b] In Isid. p. 368.
[c] Sat. xv. 7, 8. [d] "Oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam."
[e] Euterpe, cap. 66. [f] Ælian de Animal. lib. x. cap. 45.
[g] Lib. i. p. 77.

Anubis under an image with a dog's head." Lucian[a] calls Anubis or Mercury the dog-faced Mercury: κυνοπροσωπος Ερμης. Athanasius and others call him "the dog-headed Anubis:" κυνοκεφαλος Ανουβις. And Virgil[b] says the same thing.[c] It was no wonder, then, that God forbade the price of a dog to be received among the gifts of animals which were redeemable. It was to inspire them with hatred against the Egyptian idols, and their impure worship. They might redeem a horse, ass, camel, or ape, but were on no account to redeem a dog. God would not allow it to enter his treasury.—Should it be asked, what connexion there was between the price of whoredom and the price of a dog, I answer, that at the temple of Isis, or Venus, the women sat as described formerly; and at the temple of Anubis or Mercury, that dog-headed deity, there was probably a similar practice. They were connected together as Egyptian deities, and the prohibition was also connected, to prevent the Israelites from worshipping them. Spencer mentions an Egyptian column dedicated to Isis, which shows their connexion: "I am Isis, the queen of this country, educated by Mercury; I am she who arises in the Dog-star," &c.[d]

We have been thus particular concerning the laws in the Mosaic ritual, which were intended to

[a] Lib. de Sacrif. p. 186. [b] Æn. viii. 689.

[c] Omnigenûmque Deûm monstra, et latrator Anubis. The author has seen two little images of that deity: one of them $1\frac{3}{16}$ inch long, by half an inch thick; the other $1\frac{7}{8}$ inch long, by half an inch thick. They were found at Thebes A. D. 1810; were of a greenish colour; and from the small hole through the back of each of their necks, they seem to have been suspended from the neck, as amulets, or charms.

[d] Lib. ii. cap. 36.

be a defence against idolatry, both because of their singularity and importance. Against them have the shafts of ridicule been chiefly directed, and it became us to show their reasonableness and utility. Living, as the Jews did, in the midst of idolaters, it was necessary to defend them against idolatry, and to secure their allegiance to the true God. The words therefore of Tacitus are strictly true, if, instead of Moses, we substitute God. "Moses, that he might attach the nation of the Jews for ever to himself, instituted new rites, and contrary to the rest of men. For all things are profane to them, which are accounted sacred by us: and all things are permitted to them, which are prohibited to us."[a]

Hitherto we have been considering the first two ends of the ceremonial law: viz. that it was intended to teach the Jews the leading doctrines of religion, in a sensible and impressive manner; and to be a defence against idolatry: let us now attend to the *third* end for which it was given, viz. *to prepare their minds for a brighter dispensation.* St. Paul, in his epistle to the Hebrews, calls the Jewish ritual the shadow of good things to come,[b] figures or antitypes of the true,[c] an example and shadow of heavenly things,[d] a parable of the time to come;[e] the whole law a schoolmaster to bring men to Christ;[f] and its institutes the elements of the world,[g] or rudiments to teach the world the first principles of piety, and of the gospel, in a manner

[a] "Moses, ut sibi in posterum Judæorum gentem firmaret, novos ritus, contrariosque cæteris mortalibus indidit. Profana illis omnia, quæ apud nos sacra. Rursum concessa apud illos, quæ nobis incesta." (Hist. lib. v. sub init.)

[b] Heb. x. 1. [c] Heb. ix. 24. [d] Heb. viii. 5.
[e] Heb. ix. 9. [f] Gal. iii. 24. [g] Gal. iv. 3.

adapted to the childhood of the world. Nor are there wanting sufficient reasons why God delivered gospel truths in this mysterious manner. It suited the state of the Jews, to whom, as to an early and rude people, types, symbols, fables, and parables, were the common modes of instruction. It was consonant to the education of Moses, who was taught in all the hieroglyphics of Egypt. It was fitted to the intermediate nature of the Jewish dispensation; giving it more light than the patriarchal, but less than the Christian. It was placing the old covenant and its mediator, below the new covenant and its mediator. And as the Jewish law was given to the whole Jewish nation, learned and unlearned, it was proper that there should be τα αισθητα for the common people, and τα νοητα for the wise; doctrines exoteric and esoteric;[a] truths for the carnal, and truths for the spiritual-minded Jews. Hence hath the ceremonial law been often termed the Jewish gospel; because it exhibited to those who were exercised to godliness the leading doctrines of the covenant of grace; faith in the Lamb of God who took away the sin of the world; acceptance with God through the blood of atonement; holiness of heart, and holiness of life, through the gracious aids of the Holy Spirit; and a future state of rewards and punishments. On all these points the Epistle to the Hebrews forms a beauti-

[a] 2 Esdras, xiv. 26, 44—48. This kind of teaching was not confined to the Jews. The followers of Pythagoras were so divided. And when Capt. Light visited Lebanon in 1814, he found the religion of the Druzes divided into *aallem* and *jahel;* or the doctrines taught to the initiated and uninitiated. (Travels, p. 223.) A distinction which also obtains among the Hindoos. (Vide Crauford on the Hindoos, vol. i. p. 19.)

ful commentary. A religion then, that had such advantages as these to boast of, ought not to be too hastily decried. It was perfect, in that it was suited to the situation and circumstances of the people to whom it was given; it was only imperfect when compared with the more complete economy of the gospel.

One cannot contemplate the ceremonial law without also reflecting on its gradual abolition. For it was positively binding on every Jew till the death of Christ, in whom its spiritual meaning was fulfilled. Its observance became a matter of indifference, between the death of Christ and the destruction of Jerusalem, and hence those prudential maxims and regulations which are to be found in the Acts of the Apostles, and the several Epistles, with respect to those converts from Judaism to Christianity who had still an attachment to it. But it became criminal after the destruction of Jerusalem, because then it could not be legally observed, since the temple and altar were then destroyed.*

* Leusden's Philologus Hebræo-mixtus, disuert. 37.

SECT. III.

The Judicial Law.

The forms of government in the different periods of the Jewish history; patriarchal, the theocracy, an elective monarchy, an hereditary monarchy till the captivity: governors after it; the Asmonæan family; Herod; the Romans. The revenue of the Jewish kings.

THE judicial law comprehends two distinct branches. 1st, The form of government in the different periods of the Jewish history; and 2dly, The civil and criminal laws by which justice was administered.

The first form of government among the Jews was the patriarchal, when the father of the family exercised that power which God, and his superior age and experience had given him. This was the sway that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob had over their respective families. And when their posterity became more numerous after their death, the heads of the tribes supplied their places; were their counsellors in peace, and their leaders in war. We find traces of this kind of goverment, as far as circumstances permitted, at the time when Moses was commissioned to free them from the bondage of Egypt. But when God effected that deliverance, their government assumed a new character; the patriarchal form was exchanged for a theocracy. The Ruler of the universe became the king of Israel. He assumed a visible relation to, and took a particular interest in his chosen race. He became their king, their lawgiver, and their judge;

and never dealt so with any other people.[a] It was in this character of king, that he gave them his law from Mount Sinai; supplied its defects in cases unprovided for;[b] went before them by a pillar of cloud and of fire;[c] fought their battles;[d] appointed judges; sanctioned treaties; and received the half shekel as a tribute or revenue. In this point of view also, the splendid tabernacle and temple were his palace; the priests and Levites were his attendants; the show bread, the sacrifices, and the libations of wine, were the daily allowance of food for himself, and his servants; the mercy-seat was his royal throne; and the incense which was daily burnt in the holy place, on the altar of incense, was in conformity to the usage of eastern princes, who delight in perfumes. It is true that he was their king both in a temporal and spiritual sense; for he was worshipped as well as obeyed; but the one tended to strengthen the other, and appears to have been necessary to suit the character of the times. It prevented all competition for power, and, unlike the despotic government of the neighbouring nations, this singular theocracy was distinguished for mildness, security, and despatch.

This order of things has been considered by some to have continued till the latter end of Samuel's life, when they foolishly asked for a king, that they might resemble the other nations:[e] and when God, in compliance with their wishes, put an end to the theocracy, and gave them first an elective, and then an hereditary monarchy. But the justest

[a] Judg. viii. 22, 23. 1 Sam. viii. 7.
[b] Exod. xviii. 19. Num. vii. 89; xv. 34; xxvii. 5.
[c] Num. xiv. 14. [d] Josh. xxiii. 3, 10. [e] 1 Sam. viii. 5, 19, 20.

idea seems to be, that the theocracy lasted till the coming of Christ; and that kings were only his viceroys, bound to govern by the laws he had given, and accountable to him for their conduct: whilst a succession of prophets was established, to keep up the intercourse between Jehovah as their almighty sovereign, and them as his peculiar people. According to this view of the subject, the changes which took place in the form of their government, at different times, seemingly interrupted, but did not destroy the theocratic relation which subsisted between them.[a] They suffered severely, however, for their folly in preferring temporal rulers, to an immediate dependence on their heavenly king. For they were oppressed by their kings as God had foretold.[b] Instead of checking idolatry, these kings set the example. And the nation, in place of remaining united, vigorous, and happy, became divided into two parts, which wore out each other by continual wars, till both were carried into captivity, the one for seventy years, and the other till the present time. It is needless to dwell minutely on the various forms which the Jewish government assumed, between the time of the captivity, and the destruction of Jerusalem; but we may state, in general, that during the seventy years captivity, the ancients of the people were their judges.[c] After the seventy years captivity, the tribes of Judah and Benjamin returned to their own land, and were ruled 128 years by Zerubbabel, Ezra, and Nehemiah, or from the year before Christ 536 till 408. For 242 years after that, or

[a] Bishop Warburton's Divine Legation of Moses, book v. sect. 3.
[b] 1 Sam. viii. 11—18. [c] Hist. of Susanna, verses 5—7.

from the year before Christ 408 till 166, their high priests were their governors, and the nation was successively tributary to the Persians, Greeks, Egyptians, and Syrians. For 129 years, or from the year before Christ 166 till 37, they were under the Asmonæan family, either as princes, kings, or priests. From the year before Christ 37 till the year of our Lord 12, they were under the Romans partially, because ruled by Herod and the governors of Judea by their own laws. But from that time, till the destruction of Jerusalem, they were publicly reduced to a Roman province. Such is a summary of the forms of government, under which the Jews were placed between their deliverance from Egypt, and the complete destruction of their city and temple.[a]

We know very little, however, of the funds which the Jewish kings had to enable them to support the expenses of government. The following short notices are all that I have met with.—At the introduction of monarchy under Saul, the ordinary revenue seems to have been a tenth of the produce.[b] But that was afterwards augmented by war, commerce, or rapacity, according to the temper of the monarch. Thus David derived much wealth from the spoils of the nations he conquered:[c] and Solomon, who delighted rather to cultivate the arts of

[a] On the kings of the Jews, their power, and the fundamental laws they were commanded to observe, see Mishna, Tractat. de Synedriis, cap. ii. sect. 2—5. Leusden's Philologus Hebræo-mixtus, dissert. 24, 25, 26.

[b] 1 Sam. viii. 15. In India, the same proportion is mentioned in their sacred books, as having been established at the commencement of monarchy, for the support of the monarch. (Memoir on Central India by General Sir John Malcolm, vol. ii. p. 2.)

[c] 2 Sam. viii. 1—14. 1 Chron. viii. 1—11.

peace, got from Ophir 420 talents of gold, once in three years, which at 125 lbs. Troy, or 1500 ounces to the talent, and L.4 to the ounce, made L.2,604,000, or L.868,000 yearly. The queen of Sheba presented him with 120 talents of gold, or L.720,000. And the whole weight of gold that came to him in one year is stated to have been 666 talents, equal to L.3,996,000. But these were far from being the full amount of his revenue, for it is added, that he had these, "besides that he had of the merchantmen, and of the traffic, and of the spice merchants, and of all the kings of Arabia, and of the governors of the country:"[a] independently of the revenue which he drew from his subjects in Judea, which must have been very considerable, since, after his death, we hear them requesting of his son to alleviate their burdens.[b] And if he exacted money of them, not only by regular taxes, but in a rigorous and frequent manner, as Menahem king of Israel afterwards did, there was reason for the complaint. For Menahem, to pacify the wrath, and purchase the friendship of Pul, king of Assyria, gave him a thousand talents of silver, which he raised by a contribution on the monied men, of fifty shekels apiece:[c] and perhaps Solomon did something of the same kind, to complete his buildings, and defray the expenses of his government.

We hear nothing more of the revenue of the Jewish kings till the reign of Archelaus, the son of Herod the Great, who obtained the half of his father's kingdom as a grant from Cæsar; and whose

[a] 1 Kings ix. 28; x. 10, 14, 15.
[b] 1 Kings xii. 4.
[c] 2 Kings xv. 20.

revenues stood thus. Perea and Galilee paid annually 200 talents of silver: Batanea, Trachonitis, Auranitis, and a certain part called the House of Zenodorus, paid 100 talents; and the rest paid 300 talents; making in all 600 talents of silver annually; which, at 1500 ounces to the talent, and 5 shillings to the ounce, made L.225,000. But, if this was the revenue of Archelaus, it will enable us to ascertain the revenue of his father Herod the Great; who, having had double the possessions of his son, may be supposed to have had double his income, or 1200 talents, besides the fourth part, which had been abated by Archelaus, when he came to the kingdom, and which was equal to 400 talents. So that the whole revenue of Herod the Great, might have been 1600 talents of silver, of L.600,000;[a] a sum scarcely adequate, one would think, to bribe Pompey, Cæsar, and their minions, and to build the cities and edifices which distinguished his reign. The only other notice which I have met with, is in the days of Herod Agrippa, who killed James with the sword.[b] His revenues are said to have been 12 millions of drachmæ, equal to three millions of shekels, which, at half an ounce each, and 5 shillings to the ounce, came to L.375,000.[c] Thus have we seen a gradual decrease. The Jewish glory as a kingdom was at its height in the days of Solomon. It sank very low during the seventy years captivity.[d] It rose on its return like a phœnix from its ashes. It was again at its height in the days of Herod the Great: but

[a] Joseph. Antiq. xvii. 11. [b] Acts xii. 2. [c] Joseph. Antiq. xix. 7.

[d] Dr. Lightfoot thinks that these seventy years are what Habakkuk alludes to in ch. iii. 2, when he says, "Revive thy work in the midst

after his death it gradually declined, till it ceased to be reckoned in the list of nations.

With respect to the second part of this section, or their civil and criminal laws, we need not be long. For, having formerly, when describing the chamber Gezit, in the south-east corner of the Court of Israel, mentioned the Council of Three, which held its sittings in an apartment adjoining to every synagogue, every lawful day, between the end of the morning prayers and the sixth hour;[a] the Council of Twenty-three, which sat for the same length of time as the former court, in the gate of those cities which could boast of an hundred and twenty families at the least, and decided

of the years;" because from the beginning of Samuel's rule to the beginning of the captivity were 490 years; and from the end of the captivity till the death of Christ were 490 years. (Gleanings out of Exodus, sect. 6.) Consequently the prayer will mean, Revive thy work during the time of the captivity, (when the state of religion both in Judea and Babylon was extremely low. Let them see thy glory, as they were wont to see it in the sanctuary.

[a] Besides the Bench of Three, mentioned in the text, there were two other Benches of Three, of less note. One the *authorized Bench*, which judged of the fitness or unfitness of the first-born of cattle to be offered to the Lord, the state of the knives belonging to the priests, &c. This was permanent, and received its name from being appointed by the Sanhedrin. The other was the *unauthorized Bench*, which acted as arbiters in cases of difference. It was only temporary, ceasing with the occasion; and derived its power, not from the Sanhedrin, (hence its name,) but from the parties. Its sentence, however, was commonly final. Lightfoot supposes, with much probability, that the Apostle Paul alludes to this court in 1 Cor. vi. 4—6, when he says, "If ye have judgments of things pertaining to this life, (or civil matters,) set them to judge who are the least esteemed in the church;" (or compose the lowest court in the church;)—choose from among yourselves three honest men as arbiters in your civil differences, and go not to heathen tribunals. "I speak to your shame (continues the Apostle): Is it so that there is not a wise man among you? no, not one that shall be able to judge among his brethren;

in causes of greater moment; and the Council of the Sanhedrin, which sat every lawful day, between the end of the morning and beginning of the evening sacrifice, and was the Supreme Court of the Jewish nation, it is needless to enter upon them again in this place.* It will be sufficient, therefore, now to refer to the pentateuch, as the code of laws by which they were guided in their decisions; and to describe the sanctions, civil and ecclesiastical, by which they were enforced.

SECT. IV.

Civil Punishments among the Jews.

1st, Inferior—as restitution, depriving them of their beards, destroying their houses, imprisonment with various aggravations, confinement in the cities of refuge, whipping, cutting off the hands and feet, putting out the eyes, sealing them up, fighting with wild beasts, slavery, selling children for their parent's debt, like for like. 2d, Capital—strangling, hanging, stoning, burning, beheading, crucifixion, dashing to pieces, drowning, tearing to pieces, sawing asunder, murdering in the dungeon, hewing in pieces, braying in a mortar, casting into a tower full of ashes.—An account of eastern prisons—the executioners of the law—and the ceremonies used before execution.

THE civil punishments among the Jews were either inferior or capital.

but brother goeth to law with brother, (or Christian with Christian,) and that before the unbelievers (or heathens)? (Heb. and Talm. Exer. on 1 Cor. vi. 4.)

* On the powers possessed by these different courts, see Mishna Tractat. de Synedriis, and Leusden's Philologus Hebræo-mixtus dissert. 46.

The inferior were, 1. Restitution for theft, in certain proportions.[a] 2. Depriving them of their beards.[b] 3. Destroying their houses.[c] 4. Imprisonment simply;[d] or aggravated by the dungeon;[e] by fetters;[f] by a wooden yoke round the neck;[g] by the stocks;[h] by hard labour;[i] and by the bread of affliction, and water of affliction.[k] 5. Confinement in the cities of refuge for manslaughter, till the death of the high priest.[l] 6. Whipping with a scourge of three cords, and thirteen strokes for one offence, so as to give the culprit forty save one:[m] as it is particularly described in Part ii. sect. 13, near the end. 7. Cutting off the hands and feet.[n] 8. Putting out the eyes:[o] a custom very frequent still in the East. In Persia particularly, as I am informed by one who was an eye-witness, it is no unusual practice for the king to punish a rebellious city or province, by exacting so many pounds of eyes, and his executioners accordingly go and scoop out from every one they meet, till they have the weight required.[p] 9. Sealing up the eyes. This is alluded to in Is. xliv. 18, where it is said, that "God hath shut up the eyes of idolaters, that they cannot see." In the margin it is rendered "daubed," and the ori-

[a] Exod. xxii. 1—4. [b] 2 Sam. x. 4. [c] Ezra vi. 11. Dan. ii. 5; iii. 29. [d] Gen. xlii. 19. [e] Jer. xxxviii. 6. [f] Gen. xxxix. 20. Judg. xvi. 21. [g] Jer. xxvii. 2; xxviii. 13. [h] Job xiii. 27. Prov. vii. 22. Jer. xx. 2. [i] Judg. xvi. 21. [k] 1 Kings xxii. 27. [l] Num. xxxv. 25—28. [m] 2 Cor. xi. 24, 25. [n] Judg. i. 6, 7. 2 Sam. iv. 12. 2 Macc. vii. 4. [o] Judg. xvi. 21. 1 Sam. xi. 2. 2 Kings xxv. 7. Is. xlii. 7. Jer. xxxix. 7. [p] This is abundantly confirmed in many parts of Sir John Malcolm's History of Persia, and especially in vol. ii. ch. xix. p. 198, note.

ginal word טח *theh* signifies to daub, plaster, or seal up. Strange though this punishment may appear to us, we have sufficient evidence that it was sometimes practised in the East.[a] 10. Fighting with wild beasts, which was sometimes not mortal, as in the case of Paul;[b] but oftener mortal. 11. Slavery till the sabbatical year, or till compensation was made for theft.[c] 12. Selling children for their fathers debts.[d] 13. Tallio, or like for like, either literally,[e] or by compensation with money.[f] In cases of bodily pains, therefore, the Hebrew doctors taught that the party offending was bound to give a five-fold satisfaction. 1. The hurt in the loss of the member. 2. The damage for the loss of labour. 3. The damage for the pain or grief occasioned by the wound. 4. The damage for the charge of curing it. And 5. For the blemish or deformity it occasioned.[g] Hence Munster, on Exod. xxi. has rendered these five by the following words: Damnum, læsio, dolor, medicina, confusio. Such were the inferior civil punishments among the Jews.

The capital civil punishments were the following: 1. Strangling by two persons with a handkerchief: for the six following offences: adultery, striking of parents, man-stealing, old men who were notoriously rebellious against the law, false prophets, and those who prognosticated future events by using the names of idols.[h] 2. Hanging

[a] Harmer's Observ. vol. ii. p. 277, &c. [b] 1 Cor. xv. 32.
[c] Exod. xxi. 2. [d] 2 Kings iv. 1. Matth. xviii. 25.
[e] Exod. xxi. 23—25.
[f] Lightfoot's Heb. and Talm. Exer. on Matth. v. 38.
[g] Mishna, Codex primus De Damnis, cap. viii. sect. 1.
[h] Mishna, Tractat. de Synedriis, cap. x. sect. 1.

till the person was dead;[a] or exposing the body after death on a gibbet, either till the evening,[b] or till devoured by fowls and other ravenous beasts.[c] We find a punishment of this kind inflicted on the heads of the people who had gone over to Baal-peor, in Num. xxv. 4; and on seven of Saul's sons for his having slain the Gibeonites.[d] But these appear to have been as a national expiation, and were called "hanging them before the Lord."[e] 3. Stoning,[f] which, having been described already, when treating of the punishments inflicted by the Sanhedrin, need not be repeated in this place. The following nineteen offences subjected to it. Incest with a mother, or mother-in-law, or daughter-in-law; adultery with a betrothed virgin; sodomy, bestiality, blasphemy, idolatry, offering to Moloch, he who had a familiar spirit, the wizard, the private enticer to idolatry, the public withdrawer to idolatry, magicians, profaners of the sabbath, cursers of father or mother, and the dissolute and stubborn son.[g] 4. Burning—either by roasting in the fire, as Zedekiah and Ahab, by the king of Babylon,[h] or in a furnace,[i] or by pouring melted lead down their throats. The following ten offences subjected to it. The adultery of a priest's daughter, incest with a daughter, a son's daughter, a daughter's daughter, a wife's daughter, a wife's daughter's daughter, a wife's son's daughter, a wife's mother,

[a] Josh. viii. 29. Esther vii. 9, 10. [b] Josh. x. 26. Josephus War, iv. 5. [c] Gen. xl. 19. [d] 2 Sam. xxi. 9.

[e] See some sensible observations on this transaction, in Stackhouse's Hist. of the Bible, book v. ch. 5. Answer to objections.

[f] Acts vii. 59. [g] Mishna, Tractat. de Synedriis, cap. vii. sect. 4.

[h] Jer. xxix. 22. [i] Dan. iii. 23.

the mother of her father, and the mother of her father-in-law.[a] 5. Beheading[b]—which was the punishment affixed to the two following offences, viz. the voluntary man-slayer, and the inhabitants of a city who fell into idolatry.[c] The same person who mentioned to the author of this work the scooping out so many pounds of eyes, as a Persian punishment, in the case of rebellion, also added, that for the same offence, a pyramid of heads, of a certain number of feet diameter, is sometimes exacted, (like the two heaps which Jehu made of the heads of the seventy sons of Ahab, 2 Kings x. 8.) and so indifferent are the executioners to the distresses of others, that they will select a head of peculiar appearance, and long beard, to grace the summit of the pyramid. Sir John Malcolm, in his History of Persia,[d] says, that "when Timour stormed Isfahan, it was impossible to count the slain, but an account was taken of seventy thousand heads, which were heaped in pyramids, as monuments of savage revenge." When Clavijo was sent on an embassy to the same monarch, by the king of Spain, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, he tells us, that "the chief ornament of Daumghaun, near Teheran, consisted in four towers, raised as high as a man could throw a stone, and composed of human heads; a layer of mud and of heads being placed alternately. The materials of this structure were afforded by the race of Turcomans, called there white Tartars, a people inha-

[a] Mishna, Tractat. de Synedriis, cap. ix. sect. 1.
[b] Gen. xl. 19. 2 Sam. iv. 7. 2 Kings x. 7. Matth. xiv. 8, 11.
[c] Mishna, Tractat. de Synedriis, cap. ix. sect. 1.
[d] Vol. i. ch. 13.

biting the eastern districts of Syria and western Persia. After they had been vanquished in the field, orders were given for a general hunt after this unfortunate race; and upwards of sixty thousand are said to have been sacrificed, in order to afford materials for this savage erection."[a] And Hanway, who set out from Petersburg, 1st Sept. 1743, carrying with him a caravan of goods for the Persian market, says that, "on approaching Astrabad, the first object that greeted his eye was a pyramid of heads, raised forty feet from the ground, with niches in which the heads were stuck, projecting a little, and with the beards hanging down."[b]

We are shocked at the conduct of Herod, with respect to John the Baptist, when, at the request of the daughter of Herodias, he gave the good man's head in a charger, to gratify the malice which her mother entertained against him.[c] But we have several instances in history, that such a conduct was not unusual. Thus, in the above mentioned History of Persia,[d] by Sir John Malcolm, "Seljook, king of Persia, in a fit of intoxication, ordered one of his slaves to strike off the head of his queen. The cruel mandate was obeyed, and the head of this beautiful but ambitious princess was presented in a golden charger, to her drunken husband, as he sat carousing with his dissolute companions." And in Rollin's Ancient History,[e] we have something of the same kind mentioned of Artaxerxes

[a] Murray's Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Asia, book i. ch. 5. [b] Murray, *ut supra*, book i. ch. 7.
[c] Matth. xiv. 10, 11. [d] Vol. i. ch. 11.
[e] Book ix. ch. iii. sect. 3.

Mnemon, king of Persia, who having been instigated against Tissaphernes, his viceroy in Asia Minor, by his queen Parysatis, ordered his head to be given her, "as an agreeable present to a princess, of her violent and vindictive temper." Prideaux relates the same thing in his Connexion A.A.C. 395, and produces several other instances. Thus A.A.C. 477, Hamestris the queen, on the birthday of Xerxes, asked him to give her his sister-in-law to be tortured. Under A.A.C. 448, the mother of Artaxerxes asked him for Icarus, and some Athenians, that she might revenge on them the death of her son Achæmenides. And under A.A.C. 404, Statira prevailed on Arsaces to deliver up Udiastes to be put to death, for the part he had acted in the ruin of her family. How invaluable is that gospel, which discountenances such cruelties, and teaches persons of every rank to cultivate equity, mildness, and peace! The 6th capital punishment among the Jews was crucifixion. Persons subjected to that were first scourged; their hands and feet were then nailed to a cross; that cross was erected; a grain of myrrh, or frankincense, infused in wine, was given to stupify them; (hence the reason why our Saviour refused it;[a]) and in that painful state of suspension they continued till they died; when they were either buried, or left to be the prey of birds. Hence Horace[b] says of a certain person, "Non pasces in cruce corvos." We may add, that some were crucified with their heads towards the earth, as Peter is said to have requested, in token of his humility. 7th, Dashing to pieces from a rock.[c] 8th, Drowning,

[a] Mark xv. 23. [b] Lib. i. Epist. 16. [c] 2 Chron. xxv. 12. Luke iv. 29.

with a weight suspended from the neck.[a] 9th, Torn to pieces, either by thorns,[b] or with saws and harrows of iron,[c] or by wild beasts. 10th, Sawing asunder, by enclosing them in a box, and sawing them either from head to foot, or from foot to head.[d] I have met with one ancient and two modern instances of this in history. The first is in Dion Cassius's Life of Trajan, where he tells us that "the Jews who dwelt about Cyrene, under the conduct of one Andrew, fell upon both Romans and Greeks, sawed many of them in sunder from the crown of the head," and committed many other cruelties. The second is that of the governor of Misitra, near ancient Sparta, who, being bribed by Mahomet II. to surrender the citadel, no sooner put himself into the hands of the sultan, than he ordered him to be sawn through the middle.[e] And the third is that of Conrad d'Alis Barthelemy, a monk of Monte Politiano, in the province of Tuscany, who was sawn in two, from the head downwards, in Grand Cairo.[f] 11th, Murdering in the dungeon of the prison, and casting a stone on the dead body by way of execration.[g] 12th, Hewing in pieces with the sword, as Samuel did Agag,[h] of which we have two recent examples. The first in Bruce's Travels,[i] where he says that "coming across the market-place, he saw Za Mariam, the Ras's doorkeeper, with three men bound, one of whom he fell a hacking to pieces in his presence;

[a] Matth. xviii. 6. [b] Judg. viii. 16. 2 Sam. viii. 2.
[c] 2 Sam. xii. 31. [d] Heb. xi. 37.
[e] Chateaubriand's Travels, vol. i. Introd. p. 18.
[f] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 143. [g] Lam. iii. 53.
[h] 1 Sam. xv. 33. [i] Vol. iv. p. 81

and upon seeing him running across the place, and stopping his nose, he called out to him to stay till he should despatch the other two, for he wanted to speak with him, as if he had been engaged about ordinary business." The second example is in Captain Light's Travels, p. 194. His words are, "Djezzar (the same who so successfully resisted Bonaparte at Acre in 1801) had reason to suspect fraud, in the conduct of some of the officers of his seraglio; and, as he could not discover the offenders, he had between fifty and sixty of them seized, stripped naked, and laid on the ground; and to each placed a couple of janissaries, who were ordered to hew them in pieces with their swords. This execution was seen by the relater (of the story to Captain Light,) and described with every aggravation of horror, that may be supposed attached to such an event." 13th, Braying in a mortar is mentioned in Prov. xxvii. 22. It seems to have been more than a metaphorical expression, and was probably inflicted in the same manner as it is at present in the east. Thus, the Turks hold "that by their law, a *mufti*, or head of the law, is not to be put to death; but yet if a *mufti* were guilty of high treason, or any enormous crime, it would be in vain for him to plead the privilege of the law; for he would be degraded, sent to the seven Towers, and there pounded alive in a mortar."[a] And Baron de Tott tells us "that the *Ulemas*, or men of the law, in general, in Turkey, are put to death, by being bruised in a mortar."[b] The classical scholar will instantly recollect that the same

[a] Complete System of Geography, vol. ii. p. 16.
[b] Memoirs, vol. i. p. 28.

kind of death was inflicted by Nicocreon, the tyrant of Cyprus, on Anaxarchus the philosopher at Abdera, and favourite of Alexander the Great; whose reply to the tyrant has immortalized his name, "Pound as thou wilt the body of Anaxarchus, his soul thou canst not hurt." Lastly, casting persons into a tower full of ashes, was the punishment of those who were guilty of sacrilege and rebellion. Antiochus put Menelaus to death in that way at Berea.[a] Darius Ochus punished his brother Sogdianus thus. Another brother named Arsites, and Artipheus the son of Megabyzus, were also thus put to death; and a similar death was inflicted on Pisuthnes, the governor of Lydia.[b] It was originally a Persian punishment; the first invention of which is mentioned in Valerius Maximus.[c]

Such were the civil capital punishments in use among the Jews. But before leaving them, it may be proper to add somewhat concerning their prisons, the executioners of the law, and the ceremonies used in bringing offenders to punishment.

The ancient eastern prisons were not public and separate buildings, but apartments belonging to the house of the judge; and the jailer was his most confidential servant. Hence the royal prison, or that which was within the precincts of the palace, for more honourable offenders, was in the house of Potiphar, the captain of the guard; and Jeremiah was confined, first in the court of the prison, which was in the king of Judah's house,[d] and afterwards in the house of Jonathan the scribe.[e] A discre-

[a] 2 Maccab. xiii. 4, 8. [b] Prid. Connex. A. A. C. 424, 422, 414.
[c] Lib. ix. cap. 2. [d] Jer. xxxii. 2. [e] Jer. xxxvii. 15.

tionary power was also given to the jailer, to treat them as he pleased, provided he produced them when called for. If a bribe, therefore, was given by the prisoner, he might lodge in the jailer's house, and partake of its comforts, although he were the greatest miscreant: and if one was given by the accuser, the prisoner was treated with every inhumanity.[a] It was this discretionary power that Jeremiah felt, when he was cast by the princes, his enemies, "into the dungeon of Malchiah, the son of Hammelech, which was in the court of the prison, and in which was no water, but mire, so that he sunk in the mire."[b] Few situations could be more deplorable; and unless Ebedmelech had pitied his case, and obtained his deliverance, he must soon have died.[c] As for the executioners of the law, in the common cases of punishing offenders, they have always in the East been the guards of the king. Hence, when Ahab, king of Israel, resolved in his rage, to slay Elisha, as if he had been the cause of all the calamities that were experienced in Samaria during the siege, he sent a man from before him, meaning one of his guard, to cut off his head; but was happily prevented. (2 Kings vi. 31—33.) Herod the tetrarch sent one of his σπεκουλατωρες, or guard, to behead John the Baptist.[d] And the original words for "Potiphar and Arioch the captain of the guard," in Gen. xxxix. 1, and Dan. ii. 14, literally mean "Potiphar and Arioch the chief of the executioners."

But let us next notice the ceremonies which were generally observed by the Jews in carrying the sen-

[a] Clarke's Harmer, ch. ix. Ob. 84. [b] Jer. xxxviii. 6.
[c] Ib. 7. [d] Mark vi. 27.

tences of the law into execution. In the first place, the judges used the utmost deliberation during the trial; the pannel was set on some high seat, in the presence of all the court;[a] two witnesses at least, coinciding in their evidence, were necessary to convict him,[b] who laid their hands on his head while deponing;[c] and when sentence was pronounced, the judge, laying his hands upon his head, said, "Thou art guilty; thy blood be upon thine own head." After sentence, the person was led to the place of execution, which was always without the city; accompanied by two executioners, a band of officers, properly armed, to prevent either riot or escape; and a crier, who went before them proclaiming the following words: "A. B. is going to suffer such a death, because he hath committed such a crime, in such a place, at such a time, and these persons, N. and N. are witnesses. If any person knoweth any thing in his favour, (of which we have an instance in the History of Susanna, verses 45, 50,) let him come and make it known." And a person also was appointed to stand at the door of the court, with a handkerchief in his hand, to wave to another person on horseback, who was stationed at some distance, to bring the condemned person back to the court, if any thing favourable had occurred. Nay, the criminal himself had the privilege of returning to the court-house five times, if he had aught to plead, that was judged of consequence by the two scholars of the wise men, who were sent to accompany him for that purpose. But, if he had nothing to urge, and if no exculpatory evidence appeared, he was besought to confess,

[a] 1 Kings xxi. 9. [b] Deut. xix. 15. [c] Susanna, ver. 34, 40.

that he might not die with a lie in his heart, and might have his portion in the world to come.[a] They generally, also, gave him a grain of myrrh or frankincense mingled in wine,[b] to render him less sensible of pain; and when the law had taken its course, the tree on which he was hanged, or the stone wherewith he was stoned, or the sword with which he was beheaded, or the napkin with which he was strangled, were generally buried with him, that none might say that they had been used at his execution.[c] Such were the inferior and capital civil punishments among the Jews.

SECT. V.

Ecclesiastical Punishments among the Jews.

The Neziphè or Admonition, its nature and duration. The Nedui or Separation. The Herem or Cutting off. The Shemeta or Greater Excommunication. A Copy of it.

THEIR ecclesiastical punishments admitted of various degrees, the lowest of which, viz.

1st, The *Neziphè* נזיפה, or admonition, was always private, and administered by the minister, or leading men in the synagogue. Its common term of continuance was not less than seven days,[d] nor

[a] Mishna, Tractat. de Synedriis, cap. vi. sect. 1, 2. Lightfoot's Heb. and Talm. Exer. on Acts vii. 51.

[b] Mark xv. 23. Lightfoot's Heb. and Talm. Exer. on Matth. xxvii. 3. John xix. 29.

[c] Lightf. Heb. and Talm. Exer. Acts vii. 58; viii. 1. Leusden's Philologus Hebræo-mixtus, dissert. 47. In the treatises in the Mishna, entitled, De Pœnis, De Jurejurando, De Controversiarum Testificationibus, De Capite Patrum, De Judicum Documentis, we have a number of particulars as to the Jewish manner of administering justice.

[d] Founded on Numb. xii. 14.

more than thirty; and it differed from the next higher degree, in the following things. The person admonished remained at home, as one ashamed; yet other persons did not abstain from his company. And he needed no absolution at the expiration of the term; for, when he had taken the reproof to heart, and the time had expired, he became free. In short, it was a voluntary act of the individual, arising from a conviction of his past misconduct, and the offence he had given to society and the church. It was submitting to the sentence of the synagogue as just and proper.[a]

2dly, The *Nedui* נדוי, or separation, was inflicted on him who despised the admonition, or had been guilty of refusing to pay any debt, which the bench of three had found him liable to, or had been guilty of any of the twenty-four offences which are collected by Dr. Lightfoot,[b] and Dr. Owen[c] out of the Talmud. It might be pronounced by any of their religious assemblies, but was commonly executed by the synagogue, or rather by the bench of three attached to the synagogue; who sent their officer to summon him to appear on a certain day. Thus, they appointed him the second day of the week, or their first court-day; the fifth day of the week, or their second court-day; and the second day of the week following, or their third court-day. And if the matter was about money which he owed to any member of the synagogue, they allowed all the three days to run, before declaring him contumacious, and thereby

[a] Lightfoot's Heb. and Talm. Exer. 1 Cor. v. 5.
[b] Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations on 1 Cor. v. 5.
[c] Exposition on the Hebrews, vol. i. Exercit. 21st.

subjecting him to the Nedui; but if it was concerning any of the twenty-four offences, formerly alluded to, they inflicted the Nedui, on his refusing to appear the first time; for they justly thought, that he who had been guilty of such offences, should make every haste to express his contrition. The time of its continuance was commonly thirty days; but if the person neglected to apply for a remission at the end of that time, he became virtually subject to the next higher degree of censure, although it was not always inflicted. During the continuance of this sentence, he was not prevented from hearing the law, or even from teaching it, if a master in Israel, provided he kept four paces distant from other persons. Nay, he might even go into the temple to attend divine service, but he entered in and came out at the contrary doors from the rest of the people. And if he died while under this sentence, they threw a stone upon his bier, to signify that he deserved stoning.[a]

3dly, The next higher punishment was the *Herem* חרם, or cutting off. It was an authoritative and public censure, pronounced by the synagogue; and was commonly inflicted on those who despised the Nedui, or were guilty of higher provocations; and it lasted for thirty days. With persons in that situation, it was not lawful so much as to eat.

The 4th, and highest degree of ecclesiastical separation, was the *Shemeta* שמתא, from שמת *shemet*, to exclude, expel, or cast out: meaning that they were cast out from the covenant of promise,

[a] Lightfoot's Heb. and Talm. Exer. on Matth. xv. 1.

and the commonwealth of Israel; and that they should be accounted by the Jews as an heathen man and a publican. It was inflicted on those who despised the Herem, and by the greater part of the Jews was esteemed total and final: the person who fell under it, being left to the judgment of God, without hope of reconciliation with the church. Hence it is called in the Targum,[a] "the curse and execration of God:" and by the Talmudists, "the anathema of the God of Israel."

The above is the arrangement of ecclesiastical censures among the Jews, as given by Godwin,[b] Dr. Owen,[c] and Leusden:[d] but Dr. Lightfoot[e] arranges them differently. For he places the Shemeta before the Herem, making the Shemeta the same as the lesser excommunication; and the Herem as equivalent to the greater.

Dr. Owen gives from Buxtorff the form of the greater excommunication, which I shall here transcribe.

"By the sentence of the Lord of Lords, let such an one, the son of such an one, be in anathema, or accursed in each house of judgment, that above and that below; (meaning either the Sanhedrin and inferior courts, or by God and his church;) in the curse of the holy ones on high; in the curse of the seraphim and ophannim; (meaning the wheels or cherubim in Ezekiel's vision;) in the curse of the whole church, from the greatest to the least. Let there be upon him strokes great and abiding;

[a] Num. xxi. 25. Deut. vii. 27.
[b] Moses and Aaron, book v. ch. 2.
[c] Exposition of the Hebrews, vol. i. Exercit. 21.
[d] Philologus Hebræo-mixtus, dissert. 50.
[e] Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations on 1 Cor. v. 5; xvi. 22.

diseases great and terrible; let his house be an habitation of dragons or serpents. Let his star (or planet) be dark in the clouds. Let him be exposed to indignation, anger, and wrath; and let his dead body be cast to wild beasts and serpents; let his enemies and adversaries rejoice over him; and let his silver and gold be given to others; and let his children be cast at the door of his enemies; and let posterity be astonished at his day. Let him be accursed out of the mouth of Abiriron and Atharriel; from the mouth of Sandalphon and Hadraniel; from the mouth of Ansisiel and Pathiel; from the mouth of Seraphiel and Sagansael; from the mouth of Michael and Gabriel; from the mouth of Raphiel and Mesharethiel. Let him be accursed from the mouth of Zazabib, and from the mouth of Havabib, who is the great God; and from the mouth of the seventy names of the great king; and from the mouth of Tzorlak, the great chancellor; (names partly significant and partly insignificant, coined to strike a terror into weak and distempered minds.) Let him be swallowed up as Korah and his company, and let his soul depart with fear and terror. Let the rebuke of the Lord slay him; and let him be strangled like Achitophel. Let his leprosy be as the leprosy of Gehazi; neither let there be any restoration of his ruin. Let not his burial be in the burials of Israel; let his wife be given to strangers; and let others humble her in his death. Under this curse let such an one, the son of such an one, be, with his whole inheritance. But unto me, and all Israel, let God extend his peace and blessing. Amen."

To add to the terror of the above sentence, they usually accompanied the pronouncing of it with the sound of trumpets; as the Targum says Barak did in the cursing of Meroz.[a] "He shematized him with four hundred trumpets."

Such, then, were the different degrees of ecclesiastical censure among the Jews. The first of which, we may well suppose, would not be unfrequent among so large a religious community as that of Israel; accordingly our Lord recommends it in Matthew xviii. 15. The second is thought to be referred to in John ix. 22, 34, xii. 42, xvi. 2, where the Jews determined to cast those who embraced Christianity out of the synagogue. The third is alluded to by the apostle in 1 Cor. v. 11. And of the fourth we have three instances: the first in Rom. ix. 3, where the apostle says that he could wish himself accursed from Christ, for his brethren, his kinsmen according to the flesh;[b] the

[a] Judges v. 23.

[b] Few portions of Scripture have been more variously explained than the above: some making it to signify that the apostle was willing to be cut off from the communion of the church; others, that he could submit to a suspension, during life, of the Saviour's gracious presence; others, that he could be contented to be blotted out of the book of the living; (Exod. xxxii. 32;) and others, that he could even bear to have his name erazed from the Lamb's book of life; (Phil. iv. 3; Rev. iii, 5; xxi. 27;) which last interpretation is surely extremely harsh and unnatural, since those in hell not only endure torments, but utter expressions that must have been peculiarly abhorrent to the apostle's mind. Perhaps the difficulty may be obviated by a stricter attention to the original, which, when literally rendered, runs thus: "For I myself did wish (ηυχομην Imperfect Indicative Attic) to be accursed (αναθημα, to be under the sentence of anathema) from Christ, above (ὑπιϱ) my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh. None of them equalled me, before my conversion, in hatred of Christ and his people. Considering Christianity as dangerous to the religious and civil interests of my country, (John xi. 48,) I not only

second in 1 Cor. xvi. 22, where those who love not the Lord Jesus Christ are declared to be anathema maranatha, or under a curse, till the Lord come; and the third in Ezra x. 7, 8, where it is said that "they made a proclamation throughout Judah and Jerusalem, unto all the children of the captivity, that they should gather themselves together unto Jerusalem; and that whosoever would not come within three days, according to the counsel of the princes and the elders, all his substance should be divided, and himself separated from the congregation of those that had been carried away." It will readily be noticed that a double penalty is here threatened to the disobedient; viz. that they should be separated from the children of the captivity, or excluded from sacred privileges, and looked upon as heathens; and that their substance was to be divided or confiscated, which commonly implied an application to pious purposes, or to the service of the temple, as the apocryphal book 1 Esdras ix. 4, explains it. Hence some have made the following distinction between the different degrees of censure: The admonition was friendly and private, and lasted for seven days. The Nedui, or separation, was friendly and public;

wished to have nothing to do with it or its author, but breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord, (Acts ix. 1,) I made havock of the church, entering into every house, and haling men and women, committed them to prison. (Acts viii. 3.) My eyes, however, are now opened. I have great heaviness and continual sorrow in my heart for my brethren, who still are what I once was. My sense of the value of my own soul makes me long for their conversion, although they persecute me in every city; and my union with them as kindred and as countrymen, induces me to pray that I may be united to them also by the ties of grace and in the bonds of the gospel."

the censure being made known to the congregation, and implying an exclusion from sealing ordinances for thirty days. The Herem, or cutting off, implied both an exclusion from sealing ordinances, and many of the ordinary civilities of life: and the Shemeta, or exclusion with a curse, included an utter exclusion from the congregation of Israel, confiscation of property, and exposure to death by the visible interposition of God. It is thought by some, that the apostle refers to this last part of the sentence, or death by the hand of God, in 1 Cor. xi. 30, when he tells the Corinthians that, in consequence of their improper observance of the Lord's supper, "many were weak and sickly among them, and many slept," or died by the visitation of heaven. And perhaps it is to this visible judgment of God, in the apostolical age, against egregious offenders, rather than to the unpardonable sin against the Holy Ghost, that the apostle John also refers in his first Epistle, v. 16, when he says, "If any man see his brother sin a sin, which is not unto death, he shall ask, and God shall give him life for them that sin not unto death. But there is a sin unto death: I do not say that he should pray for it." He might pray for offenders in general, and even for the souls of those who were under this visible judgment; but he might not pray for their restoration to health, since God was more glorified, and men more awed by its continuance.

PART XI.

CUSTOMS OF THE JEWS.

In the former parts of this work we have considered the religion, learning, and laws of the Jews; but there are a number of customs in private life, which ought not to be overlooked, as they give much insight into their character, and serve as a commentary on sacred scripture. Our method of procedure, however, in these last, must be different from that which was adopted in the former; for besides relying on Jewish writers, whose intimations are few, we must call in the aid of travellers; since the customs of the East have been almost stationary, and the same things are observable in the present day, that were practised in the days of the ancient patriarchs. It is granted, indeed, that this is only an approximation to the truth, but it is the best we have in our present circumstances, and affords the same kind of pleasure to the mind, that collateral evidence is known to give in a court of justice. The light thrown is often unexpected, and pleases both by its variety and novelty. With these assistants, then, let us exhibit their customs in a variety of particulars.

SECT. I.

Habitations of the Jews.

These affected by the state of society. Tents in pastoral districts described. Villages of stone in rocky situations, and mud in plains. Fenced cities; their walls, gates, locks, wooden keys, bolts, and

bars. Private *winter houses* of the Jews; of stone, brick, or mud: manner of defending them from the weather. Doors often ornamented: the hole at the side for the portion of the law. Houses in the form of a square, with a court in the middle; their appearance plain towards the street; the windows, lattices; their appearance towards the court beautiful. Their chambers, kiosks, olee or upper rooms; door to the street low; doors into the court large. Ground floor for the family; principal rooms in the second story; fire-places in the family rooms; braziers in the public apartments. Stairs sometimes ornamented with vine; manner of finishing their principal rooms. Way of cooling their chambers; furniture of rooms, carpets; the divan. Chambers of the poor; their beds. The beds of the rich; their mosquito nets. Bedchambers always lighted during the night; often alluded to in scripture. The *summer houses* of the Jews described; the roofs of houses flat, with battlements; their utility. The eastern nails of houses; keys of wood described. Dr. Shaw's account of eastern houses. Streets of eastern cities dirty in wet, and dusty in dry weather; narrow; the reason why. The gate of the city the most public place. Bazars; Dr. Russell's and Mr. Kinneir's account of them. Tolls erected at the gate. No clocks; manner of knowing the hour. Police regulations; nuisances removed; water brought by conduits, tanks, or reservoirs. The pools of Solomon described; Gihon, Siloam, Jacob's well. Rights of citizenship. Roads between city and city. Dogs at large without any owner; several texts alluding to this. Description of an eastern village.

It is impossible to form any very accurate notion of the modes of living among the ancient Jews, for we have very few notices of them in history; but we may, perhaps, arrive near the truth, by supposing them to resemble those of the present inhabitants of Palestine, and of the neighbouring countries. As a number of the Jews under the judges and kings were shepherds, their tents would not be unlike those of the present Arabs, as described by Shaw.[a] "They are the very same," he observes, "which the ancients called mapalia, being then, as they are now, secured from the weather by a

[a] Vol. i. part iii. ch. 3, sect. 6.

covering of hair cloth. The fashion of each tent is of an oblong figure, not unlike the bottom of a ship turned upside down; however, they differ in bigness, according to the number of people who live in them, and are accordingly supported, some with one pillar, others with two or three, whilst a curtain or carpet, let down upon occasion from each of these divisions, turns the whole into separate apartments. These tents are kept firm and steady by bracing, or stretching down their eaves with cords, tied to hooked wooden pins, well pointed, which they drive into the ground with a mallet." "The Arab tents in Palestine," adds he, "are very smoky within,[a] and of a black colour without, for they are covered with black goats' hair cloth:" and D'Arvieux tells us that this hair cloth is woven by women.[b] The Bedouins' tents which Chateubriand saw between Jerusalem and Jordan, were of black lamb skins.[c] It seems, however, that the tents are not all of a black colour, for the Turkomans in Palestine have white tents;[d] and the tents of the Turks are green,[e] white, or red.[f] It may be proper to add, that, although Dr. Shaw describes the Arab tents as smoky, it is not the case with those of all the eastern nations; for some of them are large, and have a magnificent lining under the outer covering, with different articles of elegance, according to the rank of the possessor. Hence the beauty of the Psalmist's words, "I had rather be a door-keeper in the house of my God, than to dwell in the (splendid) tents of the wicked."[g]

[a] Alluded to in Lam. v. 10; Psalm cxix. 83. [b] Page 173.
[c] Travels in Greece, Palestine, &c. vol. i. p. 388.
[d] D'Arvieux, p. 99, 100. [e] Pocock, vol. ii. p. 115.
[f] Jackson, p. 75. [g] Psalm lxxxiv. 10.

The villages in Judea would naturally be of stone, in rocky and elevated situations; but in the plains they were probably built with mud, as Sir Robert Wilson tells us they are in Egypt at this day. "Each habitation," says he, "is built of mud, even the roof, and in shape resembles an oven: within is only one apartment, generally about ten feet square. The door does not admit of a man's entering upright, (to prevent the entrance of the Bedoween Arabs, who are commonly on horseback, and, as Zephaniah i. 9, says, leap on, or rather over the threshold,) but as the bottom is dug out about two feet, when in the room an erect posture is possible. A mat, some large vessels to hold water, which it is the constant occupation of the women to fetch, a pitcher made of fine porous clay, found best in Upper Egypt, near Cunei, and in which the water is kept very cool, a rice-pan, and a coffee-pot, are all the ornaments and utensils. Here, then, a whole family eat and sleep, without any consideration of decency or cleanliness, being, in regard to the latter, worse than the beasts of the field, who naturally respect their own tenements."[a] For the honour of the Israelites, we would gladly hope that, from their superior institutions, they were also superior in these respects to the modern Egyptians. We ought not to forget, however, that as they had villages of mud or clay in low situations, and of stone in rocky ones, so the shepherds were gregarious like their cattle, and villages of tents were therefore seen in the pastoral districts. They were commonly pitched in

[a] History of the British Expedition into Egypt, vol. i. p. 157, 11th May, 1801.

the form of a circle, like the modern douwars; and, by being in one place to-day, and removed to another the next, they afforded Solomon a lively description of the fleeting state of man.—"One generation or douwar (דור) passeth away, and another generation or douwar cometh." Eccl. i. 4. And Isaiah[a] has the same allusion—"My age (the people of my generation) is departed and removed from me as a shepherd's tent."

As for the fenced cities, they seem to have been provided with all those means, which were supposed to make them impregnable, viz. elevated situation, thick and high walls, and iron gates, and before the invention of cannon they really were so. Houses were often built upon the wall,[b] from which persons in danger were sometimes allowed to escape, as the spies from Jericho, and Paul from Damascus.[c] It is somewhat remarkable, however, that although the walls and gates of the eastern cities are sometimes very strong, the one being stone below, and brick dried in the sun above; and the other, like the gates of Algiers, gate within gate, and the outer plated with iron,[d] like that mentioned in Acts xii. 10; yet the locks and keys of these gates are often of wood, of a very simple construction. For Thevenot,[e] when speaking of Grand Cairo, says, that "all their locks and keys are of wood, and they have none of iron; no, not for their city gates, which may all be easily opened without a key. The keys are bits of timber, with little pieces of wire, that lift up other pieces of wire which are in the lock, and enter into certain little holes, out of which the ends of wire that are

[a] Ch. xxxviii. 12. [b] Josh. ii. 15. [c] 2 Cor. xi. 33.
[d] Pitts, p. 10. [e] Part i. p. 143.

in the key having thrust them, the gate is open." These, however, are only for times of peace, when the gates are open during the night;[a] for in times of war they are not only locked, but have wooden bars, which draw out from holes in the walls on each side, or great iron bars, which reach across the folding doors,[b] to secure the gates against every violence. Indeed Dr. Russell tells us,[c] that, owing to the great extension of commerce with European nations, the wooden locks have been generally disused, except in the bazars, khanes, and stables.

The walls of the mud houses in the East are commonly built very thick, for the double purpose of excluding the heat, and rendering them more durable.[d] Mere exposure to the air, however, is hurtful to such perishable materials, and therefore they cover them with a composition of one part sand, two parts wood ashes, and three parts lime, well mixed, and beaten with wooden mallets for three days and three nights incessantly.[e] This defends the external surface for a considerable time, but, unless regularly repaired, it becomes soaked with wet; the hot winds crack it while drying, and the next shower that falls, makes it separate from the wall.[f] It is to the perishable nature of these mud walls that the Psalmist alluded,[g] when he said that the wicked "shall be as a bowing wall, and as a tottering fence." And Isaiah had the same thing in his eye, when[h] he told the Jews, that "their iniquity should be to them as a breach

[a] Ray's Travels, part i. p. 19.
[b] Deut. iii. 5. 1 Kings iv. 13. 2 Chron. viii. 5. Neh. v. 3.
[c] Vol. i. p. 21, 22. [d] Egmont and Heyman, vol. i. p. 330.
[e] Shaw, p. 206. [f] Chardin. [g] Ps. lxii. 3. [h] Ch. xxx. 13.

ready to fall, as a swelling out in an high wall, whose breaking cometh suddenly in an instant."

One would suppose that the doors of such houses would be plain; but this is not always the case, for they are often adorned with marble portals, covered and inlaid with great beauty.[a] And Buxtorff[b] tells us, that, after the destruction of Jerusalem, the wise men enjoined that the Jews in all their rejoicing should have a memorial of destruction, to remind them of the temple, and inspire them with sentiments like those of David, when he said,[c] "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning." Accordingly, when any person built a house, he was instructed to leave a cubit square at least, unfinished near the door, to remind the possessor of the destruction of their ancient city, and to inscribe it either with the above words in Ps. cxxxvii. 5, or with the words זכר לחרבן *zeker lehereben*, the memorial of destruction. And since God hath said in Deut. vi. 9, "Thou shalt write the words of the law on the posts of thy house, and on thy gates," therefore upon the gates of their houses, and the doors of their chambers, did they fix a sheet of parchment, which they called מזוזה *Mezuzè*, on which was written Deut. vi. 4—9, xi. 13—20, and which, being rolled up, was put into a cane or box, and fixed to, or inclosed in the right hand post of the door.[d] These the pious made a motive to piety, for, by touching the right hand post, on entering or leaving a room, they either said, or seemed to say, "Lord keep me in my going out and coming

[a] Maundrell, p. 125. [b] Synag. Judaic. cap. 31. [c] Ps. cxxxvii. 5.
[d] In Surenhusius' edition of the Mishna, tom. ii. p. 9, &c. we have a copy of the Mezuzè at full length, and a plate of the box in which it was put; together with the traditional regulations concerning it.

in, from this time forth and for ever." Their synagogues required no such parchment, because they were not built to dwell in; and, by the same rule, all other houses not intended for residence were exempted.

The form of eastern houses of note is remarkably uniform. It is probable, therefore, that the ancient habitations of the Jews of rank resembled the following description by Dr. Shaw,[a] in which he tells us, that "their houses are commonly built in the form of a square, with an open court in the middle, having only a small latticed window, or balcony, looking into the street, whilst all the other windows open into their respective courts or quadrangles. Indeed all the beauty and elegance of their houses is only to be seen from these courts. For, whilst a fountain is cooling the air, by throwing its water to a considerable height, in the middle of the court, the court itself is paved with marble, and the precincts of the court are surrounded with a cloister (as the cava ædium of the Romans was with a peristylium or colonnade,) over which, when the house has one or more stories, there is a gallery erected of the same dimensions with the cloister, having a ballustrade, or else a piece of carved or latticed work going round about it, to prevent people from falling from it into the court." The doctor gives us a drawing of one of these fronts, telling us, at the same time, that the only entry into the several apartments is by these cloisters and galleries. With the above, agrees the following account by Dr. Russell, in which, after having mentioned the quadrangular form, he says,

[a] Part iii. ch. 3, sect. 5.

"that side of it which is towards the street is generally plain, consisting of a low door, finished according to the taste of the possessor, and one or more small windows, to prevent any communication with the women's apartments. The doors are often double, and so contrived as that, when open, one cannot see into the court."[a] They have also benches, where the master often sits for his amusement, receives visits, and despatches business; few persons, not even the nearest relation, having farther admission, except on extraordinary occasions;[b] a circumstance alluded to in Ezek. xxxiii. 30. One of these occasions was granted to Mr. Macdonald Kinneir in the following way. "In the evening," says he, "I accompanied my host, to visit a relation of his wife's, and one of the most wealthy Armenian merchants in the city (of Angora, in Asia Minor.) We entered through a small arched door, into a square court, with a fountain in the centre, and surrounded on every side by apartments and balconies; having a flight of steps in one corner, leading to the top of the house, where it is customary to sit after sunset."[c] With respect to the windows of the eastern houses, they are either latticed in the dry season with wood, metal, or wire, like those mentioned in Cant. ii. 9; or furnished in the wet season with some semi-transparent substance, to exclude the rain; for glass was not then invented, and in most places is not yet introduced. The common substitute are oyster shells, paper, &c. Such is the appearance of the eastern houses next the street; and it must be acknowledged that an eastern city is generally an uninteresting

[a] Russell's Aleppo, p. 3. [b] Shaw, p. 207.
[c] Journey through Asia Minor, &c. in 1813, 1814, p. 69.

object, unless one be permitted to enter the court, where the splendour of the edifice is alone to be seen. Let us enjoy, then, this privilege, and visit the interior of the building.

Houses commonly consist of a first story, ornamented with arches, and an upper story which is flat on the top, and either terraced with hard plaster, or paved with stone, to prevent that "continual dropping in a very rainy day," of which Solomon speaks in Prov. xxvii. 15, and to which flat roofs are peculiarly subject. Before this upper story, and above the arches which surround the first story, is a colonnade or gallery, called a porch in Judges iii. 23, which, if not around the whole court, at least fronts the west. It is from this gallery that their rooms and kiosks branch off, which kiosks are a sort of wooden divans, that project a little from the other buildings, and hang rather over the street. They are raised about a foot and a half higher than the floors of the rooms with which they are connected; and, by having windows in front, and on each side, they enjoy a great draught of air, which makes them cool in summer; the advantage chiefly intended by them.[a] Besides the first and second stories, there is often a third, which consists of one or two rooms only, and a terrace, which all communicate with the common gallery, and with the porch or street, without disturbing the house. These upper rooms, in Barbary, are called *olee*, the houses themselves being called *dar* or *beet*. And as the עליה *oliè* is often spoken of in the Old Testament,[b] and the ὑπερῷον, which

[a] Russell's Aleppo, page 4. In plate xv. he has given a representation of a kiosk, with such windows.

[b] Judg. iii. 20—23. 2 Sam. xviii. 24. 2 Kings iv. 10; ix. 2; xxiii. 12.

corresponds with it, in the New;[a] so Dr. Shaw supposes the places meant by them, to have been these smaller rooms upon the roof, or third story, which were apart from the rest of the house.[b]

When it was formerly said, that the doors of the eastern houses are low, for fear of the Arabs, the meaning was, that the street door was of that description; for the doors into the apartments, around the court, are in general large, to give a free admission to the air; and whilst they are provided with folding doors, to shut them during the night, or in cold weather, they have also veils to serve in place of these during the day. The first floor, in these great houses, is the ordinary dwelling place of the family, their chief rooms being in the second story;[c] and several of the family rooms have fire-places; but their public apartments are heated by braziers of charcoal, placed in the middle of the room, that those who are not sufficiently warmed at a distance, may more conveniently draw near. Mr. de Guys, in his Sentimental Journey through Greece, says, that "this is a very ancient custom all over the East." The stair from the first to the second story is commonly of the usual form; but in houses of the first rank, where the apartments of the women occupy a considerable space, Dr. Russell tells us, that the stair which leads to them is sometimes latticed with wood, along which vines creep in such abundance, as to cover the wall; and Harmer conjectures that the Psalmist might allude to this in Ps. cxxviii. 3, when he compares a wife to a fruitful vine, and his children to olive plants

[a] Acts ix. 37; xx. 8, 9. Lightfoot's Heb. and Talm. Exer. on Mark ii. 4. [b] Page 214, &c. [c] Russell, vol. i. p. 18.

around his table.—On ascending the second story, each chamber has a communication with the common gallery, but none of them communicate with each other, and their finishing is commonly as follows. The floors are either plastered, or covered with painted tiles; the lower half of the walls is covered with velvet and damask hangings, and the upper half, and the roof, are embellished with various devices in wainscot, inlaid with ivory, and heightened with painting and gilding. The corners are filled with porcelain, gold and silver toys, and the rest of the room with rich furniture.[a] Agreeably to this, Dr. Russell tells us, page 2, that "the ceilings of the houses at Aleppo, like those mentioned in Haggai i. 4, are of wood, neatly painted, and sometimes gilded; as are also the window-shutters, the pannels of some of their rooms, and the cupboard doors, of which they have a great number. These, taken together," he adds, "have a very agreeable effect." We read of the ancient Jewish houses having the same kind of ceiling in Jer. xxii. 14, where the wicked man is represented as saying, "I will build me a wide house, and large chambers; and he cutteth out windows, and it is ceiled with cedar, and painted with vermilion." As the apartments of the women of rank in the East have always been richly decorated, perhaps the following account of the Harem of the fair Fatima at Adrianople, as given by Lady Mary W. Montague, may have resembled the apartments of the Jewish ladies. "The winter apartment was wainscotted with inlaid work of mother of pearl, ivory of different colours, and olive wood: and in

[a] Shaw, p. 209. Hanway, vol. i. p. 223.

the rooms designed for summer, the walls are all crusted with Japan china, the roofs gilt, and the floors spread with the finest Persian carpets."[a] In Egypt they have a peculiar way of cooling their chambers, by making them lofty, with a dome at top, having several windows to the north, so constructed as to throw down the air into the rooms, like the wind-sails of ships, which are constructed of canvass, in the form of an ear-trumpet, to catch the fresh air at top, and throw it down between decks. In India they have a different device, for they use a *punka*, or large screen, suspended from the roof, which agitates the air like a fan; and not unfrequently they have a wooden frame, like a harp, placed before the door, and covered with grass, which some of the native bheesties, or water-carriers always keep wet, that the air may be cooled as it enters the apartment. The Rev. Henry Martyn's *tattie* was made of the branches of the date tree, and watered by a Persian peasant.[b] Mr. Johnston tells us that "this last simple expedient makes a difference of twenty or thirty degrees between the bheesty's, and the European's side of the tattie."[c]

The furniture in the upper rooms of persons of distinction commonly consists of the following articles, as we are informed by Dr. Shaw.[d] "They always cover the floors of their houses with carpets, and along the sides of the wall or floor a range of narrow beds or mattresses is often placed upon these carpets; and for their further ease and convenience, several velvet or damask bolsters are

[a] Letter xxxix. [b] Memoirs, p. 358, 3d edit.
[c] Influence of Tropical Climates on European Constitutions, part iii. sect. 4. [d] P. 209.

placed upon these carpets or mattresses—indulgences that seem to be alluded to by the stretching themselves upon couches, and by the sewing of pillows to arm-holes, in Amos vi. 4, and Ezek. xiii. 18, 20." Thus far the doctor; but Lady M. W. Montagu's description of a Turkish lady's apartment will throw more light on the last of these passages. "The rooms," says she,[a] "are all spread with Persian carpets, and raised at one end of them about two feet. This is the sofa, which is laid with a richer sort of carpet, and all round it a sort of couch raised half a foot, covered with rich silk, according to the fancy or magnificence of the owner. Round about this are placed, standing against the walls, two rows of cushions, the first very large, and the next little ones. These seats are so convenient and easy, that I believe," adds her ladyship, "I shall never endure chairs again as long as I live." And in another place she thus describes the fair Fatima: "On a sofa raised three steps, and covered with the finest Persian carpets, sat the Kahya's lady, leaning on cushions of white satin, embroidered: she ordered cushions to be given me, and took care to place me in the corner, which is the place of honour."[b] Here, then, do we see that these drawing-rooms of the East are divided into two parts; the one on a level with the floor, and covered with rich carpets; and the other, called the divan, raised about two feet, and furnished with cushions, for the convenience of the master or mistress of the house, and their guests. Dr. Russell's account of these divans is somewhat different from the former, but furnishes us with

[a] Vol. ii. lett. 32. [b] Ibid. lett. 33.

some additional particulars. "They are raised above the floor," says he, "and spread with a carpet in winter; in summer with fine mats: along the sides are thick mattresses, about three feet wide, covered commonly with scarlet cloth: and large bolsters of brocade, hard stuffed with cotton, are set against the walls (or rails, when so situated as not to touch the walls), for the convenience of leaning." Hence the propriety of the phrase in 1 Sam. xx. 25, "And the king," viz. Saul, "sat upon his seat, as at other times, even upon a seat by the wall." "As they use no chairs, it is upon these they sit, and all the rooms are so furnished."[a]

It is easy to see, that the above observations refer entirely to the dwellings of the rich. Those of the poor are more moderately furnished. Their carpets are of goat skins and mats,[b] white, soft skins.[c] Sir John Chardin[d] tells us, that the rich often combine these two together, covering the ground first with pieces of felt, to prevent damp, and then laying one or two beautiful carpets over them. The bed-chambers of persons in lower rank are commonly large, one of them frequently containing a whole family; and the place where they sleep, is at the end of the apartment, raised four or five feet higher than it, and separated from it by a veil. This situation is frequently alluded to in Scripture.[e] The common Arabs in Palestine have mats only, on which they sleep, and some coverlets, seldom any cushion, a stone serving them for a bolster; but their princes

[a] P. 4, note. [b] Chandler, p. 103, 104. [c] Judith xii. 15.
[d] Tom. ii. p. 54. [e] Gen. xlix. 4. 2 Kings i. 4, 16. Ps. cxxxii. 3. Is. xxxviii. 2. Amos iii. 12.

have cushions and coverlets of all sorts, some of them very beautiful, sewed with gold and silk, and others woven and embroidered with flowers of gold and silver, like those of the Turks. They often line these with white cotton, or striped cloth, to make them more durable.[a] Dr. Russell tells us, that at Aleppo "their beds consist of a mattress laid on the floor; and over this a sheet, (in winter a carpet or some such woollen covering,) a divan cushion often serving them for a pillow or bolster, though some have a bolster and pillow as we have."[b] —At Charshumbo, in Pontus, (anciently Magnopolis,) on the shore of the Euxine sea, carpets and cushions were taken from the cupboards, where they had been laid up, and the best apartments prepared for Mr. Macdonald Kinneir.[c] And Hanway, in speaking of the reception he met with at Lahijan, in the province of Ghilan, in Persia, says, "soon after supper, the company retired, and beds were taken out of niches made in the walls for the purpose, and laid on the carpet. They consisted only of two thick cotton quilts, one of which was folded double, and served as a mattress, and the other as a covering, with a large flat pillow for the head."[d] In great houses, they have several of these mattresses, and a room on purpose for keeping them; so that it is not improbable that the room in which Joash is said to have been concealed, in 2 Kings xi. 2, 2 Chron. xxii. 11, might have been one of these.

It will easily be seen from the above account,

[a] d'Arvieux, p. 176, 177. [b] Vol. i. p. 144.
[c] Journey through Asia Minor, 1813, 1814, p. 311.
[d] Travels, vol. i. p. 224.

that although a number of individuals, in the middling or lower ranks of life, may sleep in the same apartment, they do not sleep on the same mattress. When the wise man, therefore, speaks of two lying in one bed,[a] it must have a reference to winter, for, in the summer, the family use a mattress for each, on account of the heat. In general, persons of rank have their beds surrounded with a net to exclude the mosquitos, which is described by Dr. Shaw as a "close curtain of gauze, or fine linen, used all over the East by people of better condition, to keep out the flies."[b] And that they had such anciently, cannot be doubted; for it is said of Michal, when favouring David's escape, in 1 Sam. xix. 13, that "she took an image, or teraphim, and laid it in the bed, and put the net work of goat's hair before its (the teraphim's) pillows." This is the literal translation as given by Parkhurst.[c] When Judith had beheaded Holofernes in his bed, she pulled down the canopy, (literally, the mosquitonet, το κωνωπειον, from κωνωψ, a gnat or mosquito,) wherein he did lie in his drunkenness, from the pillars to which it was suspended, and dedicated it to the Lord.[d] And Horace, speaking of the Roman soldiers under Cleopatra queen of Egypt, says,

> Interque signa (turpe!) militaria
> Sol aspicit conopeum. Epod. ix. 15.

Mr. Bates, in his New and literal translation, thinks that this was the thick cloth which Hazael dipped in water, and therewith suffocated Benhadad.[e]

[a] Eccles. iv. 11. [b] P. 221. [c] Lex. כבר.
[d] Judith xiii. 9, 15; xvi. 19. [e] 2 Kings viii. 15.

But now that we are speaking of the bed-chambers of the East, we may add, that they are never dark; for every inhabited bed-room is lighted by a lamp, and the poorest people would rather retrench part of their food, than neglect it. Captain Light, who travelled in Egypt, and the Holy Land A.D. 1814, thus describes them. "They are formed of a small tumbler, partly filled with water, on which a sufficient quantity of oil is poured, and in the centre of which is fixed the lighted wick."[a] The oil used in Egypt is of different kinds. The finest is from the olive; but the common is the juice of a certain root, which grows in the marshes of that country, called cirika or sesamum, and looks a good deal like succory. It has a disagreeable smell, and a less beautiful light than oil of olives.[b] The common oil at Aleppo is obtained from the ricinus. This constant light in their houses, during the night, gives much force to several passages of Scripture.[c]

Hitherto we have been speaking of the winter houses, or fixed habitations of the East; but as we read both of winter and summer houses in the prophets,[d] it is proper to attend a little to the last of these. Summer houses are commonly situated in the country, and are resorted to in April and May on account of their coolness. Dr. Shaw gives the following account of those about Algiers: "The hills and valleys round about Algiers," says he, "are all over beautified with gardens

[a] P. 11. [b] Maillet, Lett. 9.
[c] Job xviii. 6; xxi. 17; xxix. 3. Ps. xviii. 28. Prov. xxiv. 20; xxxi. 18. Jer. xxv. 10. Rev. xviii. 23.
[d] Jer. xxxvi. 22. Amos iii. 15.

and country-seats, whither the inhabitants of better fashion retire, during the heat of the summer season. They are little white houses, shaded with a variety of fruit trees and evergreens, which, besides the shade and retirement, afford a gay and delightful prospect towards the sea. The gardens are all of them well stocked with melons, fruits, and pot-herbs of all kinds; and, what is chiefly regarded in these hot climates, each of them enjoys a great command of water."[a] Perhaps the ivory house which king Ahab made, was something of this kind, only more elegant.[b]

We have said little as yet about the roofs of the eastern houses; but they were in ancient times, and are still, always flat, covered either with tiles, like those raised by the persons who let down the man sick of the palsy, to be cured by Jesus;[c] or with a strong kind of plaster, and guarded on every side with a low parapet wall or battlement.[d] The terrace on the roof is frequented as much as any part of the house; for on this, as the season favours, they walk, they eat, they sleep, they transact business,[e] and perform their devotions.[f] As the windows also, which look into the street, are both small and closely latticed, whenever any thing is to be seen or heard in the streets, at any public spectacle, or on any alarm of a public nature, every one immediately hastens to the house-top to satisfy his curiosity. And when any one has occasion to make any thing public, the readiest and most of

[a] P. 34. See the print of an Arabian summer house, in Views in Egypt, from original drawings in the possession of Sir Robert Ainslie, taken during his embassy to Constantinople, by Luigi Mayer.

[b] 1 Kings xxii. 39. [c] Luke v. 19. [d] Deut. xxii. 8.

[e] 1 Sam. ix. 25. [f] Acts x. 9.

fectual way of doing it is, to proclaim it from the house-tops to the people in the streets: to which our Lord alludes in Matth. x. 27.[a]

The nails of the eastern houses are still similar to those which are mentioned in Scripture, and are thus described by Sir John Chardin: "They do not drive with a hammer, the nails that are put into the eastern walls: for the walls are too hard, being of brick; or if they are of clay, too mouldering: but they fix them in the brick work, or clay, as they are building. They are large nails, with square heads like dice, well made; the ends being bent, so as to make them like cramp irons. They commonly place them at the windows and doors, in order to hang veils and curtains upon them, when they choose."[b] It appears, from Lowth's Isaiah,[c] that amongst the Jews, they were put up in other places, besides these mentioned by Chardin, in order to hang up various articles of other kinds; and we know that they are often alluded to in the Old Testament.[d]

When speaking of the gates of cities, mention was made of the locks and keys of the gates of Grand Cairo: but it may be proper to say something more particular of the locks and keys of private buildings. As the customs of the East have been remarkably stationary, the locks of the Jewish houses may have perhaps resembled those described by Homer, in his Odyssey; when he says, that a silken cord, with a silver ring, served to draw out

[a] Lowth's Isaiah, ch. xxii. 1, note.
[b] Harmer's Ob. ch. i. p. 191.
[c] Ch. xxii. 23, note.
[d] Ezra ix. 8. Is. xxii. 23, 25. Ezek. xv. 3. Zech. x. 4. Ecclus. xiv. 24; xxvii. 2.

the bolt, which fastened the folding doors of the bed-chamber of Telemachus; and that a lock of a somewhat similar construction secured the store-house of Ulysses.[a] From consulting the extract given from Huetius by Parkhurst, (פתח) and the note by Lowth in his New Translation of Isaiah, ch. xxii. 22, it appears, that the most ancient kinds of keys were of wood, large, and bent somewhat in the form of a hook. Aratus, to give his reader an idea of the form of the constellation Cassiopeia, compares it to a key, which Huetius says answers this description: the stars in the north making the curve part, and the stars in the south the handle. Homer[b] describes the key of Ulysses' store-house as of a large curvature, which Eustathius explains by saying it was in shape like a reap-hook. Ulysses' key, indeed, was of brass, and the handle of ivory, but it was a royal key; the more common ones were probably of wood. We may easily collect from this account, that such keys would rather be incommodious to carry in the hand, and that they could very well lie on the shoulder, as Isaiah says in ch. xxii. 22.

In addition to all that has been said of the eastern houses, we may add an extract from Dr. Shaw,[c] which may be considered as an epitome of the whole. "The general method," says he, "of building, both in Barbary and the Levant, seems to have continued the same, from the earliest ages down to this time, without the least alteration or improvement. The court is, for the most part, surrounded with a cloister, over which, when the house has one or more stories, there is a gallery

[a] Odyss. i. 441; xxi. 46. [b] Odyss. xxi. 6. [c] P. 207, 208.

erected. From the cloisters or galleries, we are conducted into large spacious chambers, of the same length with the court, but seldom or never communicating with one another. One of them frequently serves a whole family: particularly when a father indulges his married children to live with him, or when several persons join in the rent of the same house." This was exactly the בית חבר, *bit heber*, or "house of society," mentioned in Prov. xxv. 24, and translated so by the Septuagint and Vulgate, οικος κοινος, *domus communis*, although our version hath rendered it "a wide house." "It is better to dwell in the corner of the house-top, in some temporary hut or kiosk, than with a brawling woman in a house of society, parcelled out among several families, although the rooms should be large and commodious." From the foregoing account of the eastern houses, it may easily be supposed, that the streets are very dusty in dry weather, and dirty in wet:[a] a circumstance which Zechariah makes use of to describe the riches of Tyre. "Tyrus heaped up silver as the dust, and fine gold as the mire of the streets."[b] This inconvenience, however, with respect to Jerusalem, was greatly obviated by the streets being swept every day.[c] The streets of eastern cities, (like the present streets of Venice, mentioned by Goëthe in his Memoirs,) are very narrow, that the passengers may be shaded by the walls of the houses, from the rays of the sun. Indeed, those of Bagdad are so narrow, that two horsemen meet-

[a] Ruins of Balbec, p. 124, 125.

[b] Ch. ix. 3.

[c] Lightfoot's Chorog. Decade on Mark, ch. iii. sect. 7.

ing can scarcely pass.[a] "The streets of Bozra, in the Hauran, (the ancient Auranitis,) are all narrow, just permitting a loaded camel to pass."[b] At Boursa, (the ancient Prusa, long the capital of the kings of Bythinia,) situated at the foot of Mount Olympus, the streets are so narrow, in some places, that one might leap from one house into the other.[c] And Mr. Hodges, who visited Lucknow in 1782, says "it was the worst built city he had seen; the houses being composed of mud and bamboos, the streets narrow, winding, almost impassible in the dry season from dust and heat, and in the rainy season from mire."[d] Shiras and Teheran in Persia, Damascus in Syria, Algiers in Africa, and many others, are in the same state."[e]

It is generally known, that, among the Israelites, the gate of the city was the forum, or place of general concourse;[f] the place where the court of judicature was commonly held;[g] and the market place for all kinds of merchandise.[h] Even at this day, the palace of Constantinople is called the Porte, in allusion to the ancient place of judgment: but the markets, in these countries, have been generally transferred from the gate, to some particular place, where each kind of merchandise has its particular bazar. The following is Dr. Russell's ac-

[a] M'Donald Kinneir's Geograph. Memoir of Persia, 1810, p. 21.

[b] Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, &c. p. 234.

[c] M'Donald Kinneir's Journey through Asia Minor, &c. in 1813, 1814, p. 245.

[d] Murray's Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Asia, book ii. ch. 5. [e] Murray, vol. iii. p. 36, 38, 89, 146.

[f] Prov. i. 21; viii. 3.

[g] Deut. xxv. 7. Ruth iv. 1—9. 2 Sam. xv. 2. 2 Chron. xviii. 9. Psalm cxxvii. 5. Prov. xxii. 22; xxiv. 7; xxxi. 23. Lam. v. 14. Amos v. 15. [h] 2 Kings vii. 1, 18.

count of them:[a] "They are properly long, covered, narrow streets, on each side of which are a number of small shops, just sufficient to hold the tradesman, and perhaps one or two more, with all the commodities he deals in about him, the buyer being obliged to stand without. Each separate branch of business has a separate bazar allotted it." Mr. Macdonald Kinneir[b] says, that "the bazar of Shirauz, the principal city of the province of Fars, in Persia, is in length about a quarter of a mile, made of yellow brick, and arched at the top, having numerous skylights, which, with its doors and windows, always admit sufficient light and air, whilst the sun and rain are completely excluded. This bazar is allotted to the different traders of the city, all of whom have their assigned quarters, which they possess under strict regulations." And Mandeslo, who went to Persia in the train of an embassy sent by the Duke of Holstein, 1638, says of Agra, that "the streets were handsome and spacious; and that some of them, for more than a quarter of a league, were vaulted above, for the convenience of numerous merchants and citizens who had their goods there exposed under cover."[c] The following is Lady Mary W. Montagu's account of the bazar at Adrianople. "It is half a mile in length, the roof arched, and extremely neat. It holds three hundred and sixty-five shops, furnished with all sorts of rich goods, exposed to sale, in the same manner as at the New Exchange

[a] History of Aleppo, p. 5, 6.
[b] Geographical Memoir of Persia, 1810, p. 62.
[c] Murray's Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Asia, book ii. ch. 5.

in London. But the pavement is kept much neater, and the shops are all so clean, they seem just new painted. Near it is the sherski, another bazar, a street a mile in length, full of shops of all kinds of merchandize. It is covered on the top with boards, to keep out the rain, that merchants may meet conveniently in all weather."[a] A similar account is given by her of the bazar at Constantinople.[b]

The fairs of Tyre in Ezekiel xxvii. 15, 19, 22, were nothing else than these bazars, and it appears, from Ezra iv. 19, 20, vii. 24, that they were in the habit of collecting toll, or custom, at the gates of certain cities, for articles brought for sale; somewhat like the present caphar of the Turks. When any nation, therefore, obtained the privilege of a street in the city of a neighbouring king, as was given by Benhadad to Ahab, in the city of Damascus,[c] it meant that they had the privilege of a bazar, covered and locked in at either end, to insure their property, a mill for grinding their flour, an oven for baking it, a bath free from tax to the king, weights and measures for wine, oil, and honey, free from tax also, and the power of judging in their own street.[d]

The people of the East having no clocks, the watchmen of the cities give the information: and Chardin says, that they divide the day and night into eight parts, the watchmen informing the inhabitants of the expiration of each of these, by cries

[a] Letter 34. [b] Letter 41. [c] 1 Kings xx. 34.

[d] Clarke's Harmer, ch. ix. ob. 77. See some sensible remarks on the Jewish houses and furniture, in Fleury's Manners of the Ancient Israelites, part II. chap. 7.

or drums. It will easily be seen how his account corresponds with, and is illustrated by, the Indian method of computing time, given by an eye and ear witness, when we were speaking of the Megeruphita which lay between the porch and the altar:[a] and how both give us an idea of the manner in which the Jewish watchmen went about the streets. It appears that they told the hour, and had questions and responses; to which Isaiah alludes[b] when he says, "Watchmen, what of the night? The morning cometh and also the night:" and Malachi ii. 12, when it is threatened, that God would "cut off the master and scholar," as we have it in our translation, but which Arias Montanus and Bishop Lowth make "the watchman and the answerer."[c]

I shall next add a few regulations, which were considered as generally binding on the inhabitants of Jewish cities. Dove-cotes were forbidden to be erected within fifty cubits of the walls, and fifty cubits from each other. No tree was allowed to grow within twenty-five cubits of the walls. No threshing-floor was permitted within fifty cubits, lest the chaff should offend the citizens. No dead carcasses or burial-places were allowed within fifty cubits: and no tan-pits within fifty cubits, nor on any other side of the city but the east.[d]

Their anxiety, also, about procuring water for the supply of the inhabitants was very commendable: for the Syrian summer lasted long, and many

[a] Part ii. sect. 6. [b] Isaiah xxi. 11, 12.

[c] New Translation of Isaiah, ch. lxii. 6, note.

[d] Lightfoot's Chorog. cent. of the land of Israel, ch. xcviii. Mishna, Porta Ultima, sive Codex Tertius, De Damni, cap. ii. sect. 5, 7, 8, 9.

of the rivulets then became dry. Hence the value of "living fountains of waters,"[a] or perennial springs, to which even God is compared in Jer. xvii. 13. And when these were not in sufficient abundance, they either made pools for the reception of water in the rainy season,[b] or conducted springs, at great expense, from a considerable distance. Those of the first kind are well known in the East by the name of tanks, and are often of great extent. They require to be compactly made, to prevent the water from escaping, else they disappoint the hopes of those who depend on them. It is this last circumstance which gives point to Jehovah's complaint against Israel for leaving him, and going after the gods of the heathen. "My people have committed two evils, they have forsaken me, the fountain of living waters," who have always been to them like a perennial spring, never disappointing them when they applied to me, "and hewed them out broken cisterns, that can hold no water;" have applied to idols, who, like imperfectly constructed tanks, must ever disappoint those who depend upon them.[c] In the Mishna, Eliazar the son of Hircani is compared to "a cistern coated with lime, which lost not a drop;"[d] expressive of his eagerness to receive and retain instruction. When Chateaubriand was travelling from Joppa to Jerusalem, in 1806, he saw a small tank admirably contrived to preserve the water from evaporation. "Before we reached it," says he, meaning Ramlè or Rama, "we went out of the road to look at a cistern,

[a] Jer. ii. 13. Rev. vii. 17.
[b] Joseph. War, iii. 7.
[c] Jer. ii. 13.
[d] Capita Patrum, cap. ii. sect. 8.

work of Constantine's mother. You go down to it by twenty-seven steps: it is thirty-three feet in length and thirty broad, is composed of twenty-four arches, and receives the rain-water by twenty-four apertures."[a] They use these tanks for family purposes, for drink to their cattle, and for watering their gardens and fields. If they were filled in Judea by a fall of rain in the beginning of February, Dr. Shaw tells us[b] that they were sure of an abundant harvest, because it filled the springs and reservoirs in time to carry on the purposes of vegetation: a circumstance so much rejoiced in, that Amos mentions it ch. iv. 7, 8. And Drs. Pococke[c] and Shaw[d] both remark the assiduity of the inhabitants in carrying water in jars, from wells, rivers, or capacious cisterns, to hilly inclosures in the dry season.

But, besides supplying their cities and fields from tanks, or cisterns, they also brought water from perennial springs, into cities or their neighbourhood, at great expense. Maundrell[e] gives the following account of the pools of Solomon: "On the 1st April, 1696, we went to see the remarkable places in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem, the first of which was the famous fountain, and pools, said to be king Solomon's, and to which he is supposed to allude in Cant. iv. 12, Eccl. ii. 6. As for the pools, they are three in number, lying in a row above each other, being so disposed, that the waters of the uppermost may descend into the second, and those of the second into the third. Their figure is quadrangular; the breadth is the same in all,

[a] Travels, Vol. i. p. 363, 364. [b] P. 335. [c] Vol. ii. p. 61.
[d] P. 408. [e] P. 88.

amounting to about ninety paces: in their length there is some difference between them, the first being about 160 paces long, the second 200, the third 220: they are all lined with wall, and plastered, and contain a great depth of water." Such is the account which this traveller gives of the pools which were Solomon's. Of the fountain he thus speaks: "Close to the pools, is a pleasant castle of modern structure, and about 140 paces from it, is the fountain, from which the pools chiefly derive their waters, which the friars will have to be the sealed fountain, to which the spouse is compared.[a] In confirmation of which opinion, they pretend a tradition, that king Solomon shut up these springs, and kept the door sealed with his signet, in order to preserve the waters in their natural freshness and purity, for his own drinking. And, indeed, this would not have been difficult, as they rise under ground, and have no avenues to them, but a hole like the mouth of a narrow well, through which there is a descent of about four yards, which opens into a vaulted room, fifteen paces long and eight broad: joining to this is another room of the same form, but somewhat less, and both of them covered with handsome stone arches, that are very ancient. There are four places at which the water rises, whence it is conveyed by little rivulets into a kind of bason, and covered from thence by a large subterraneous passage into the pools: but, before it arrives at them, a part of the stream flows into an aqueduct of brick pipes, that carries it by turnings and windings about the mountains to Jerusalem." On the 31st August, 1814, when Captain

[a] Cant. iv. 12.

Light visited these pools and aqueduct, they were empty, that being the driest season of the year; and we are particularly told, that "the communication with Jerusalem, which the aqueduct once had, is now cut off."[a]

But this was not the whole of the water which supplied Jerusalem. For, not to mention the brook Kidron, which, though dry in summer, is a considerable stream in winter, there were two pools on the west side of the city, called the upper and nether fountains of Gihon, which, when united, formed the waters of Gihon, that, after winding round the west and south sides of Zion, through the vallies of Gihon and Hinnom, emptied themselves into the Kidron. When Hezekiah was threatened with a siege by Sennacherib, he stopped up all the waters of the fountains without the city, and brought them into the city by a conduit, or subterraneous passage cut through the rock. This he did in order to distress the enemy, and to supply the city during the siege: and it was reckoned so great a work, that it is mentioned not only in 2 Kings xx. 20, and 2 Chron. xxxii. 3, 4, 30, but by the son of Sirach, in his encomium on Hezekiah, in Ecclus. xlviii. 17, and by Tacitus in his history.[b] Josephus[c] informs us that long after Hezekiah's days, Pontius Pilate, the procurator of Judea, undertook to bring a current of water to Jerusalem with the public money, from the distance of two hundred furlongs, (twenty-five miles,) but that the Jews opposed the measure, as a misapplication of the money which belonged to the Temple. In

[a] P. 168. [b] Lib. v. cap. 12. [c] Antiq. xviii. 3.

his Wars of the Jews, he makes the distance four hundred furlongs, and explains the sacred treasure to mean the Corban.[a] It appears, however, that while every method was taken to supply the public from wells and cisterns, there were several fountains which were private property; to which Solomon beautifully alludes in Prov. v. 15: "Drink waters out of thine own cistern, and running waters out of thine own well." One of these was the well of Jacob, in the neighbourhood of Samaria, mentioned in John iv. 6, which is thus described by Maundrell. "Having proceeded one-third of an hour from Naplosa, which is the ancient Sychar, we came to Jacob's well, famous for the memorable conference of our blessed Saviour with the woman of Samaria. Over this well, there formerly stood a large church, erected by the empress Helena, of which the remains of the foundation are still to be seen. The well is at present[b] covered with an old stone vault, into which you are let down through a very strait hole, and then, removing a broad flat stone, you discover the mouth of the well, which is dug in the firm rock. It is about three yards in

[a] Book ii. 9. We have frequent accounts of aqueducts to ancient cities; but few, if any, were so long as that which brought water to Carthage, and which is thus described by Lady Mary W. Montagu. "About six miles from Tunis, we saw the remains of that noble aqueduct, which carried the water to Carthage, over several high mountains, the length of forty miles. There are still (A. D. 1718,) many arches entire. We spent two hours viewing it with great attention; but Mr. Wortley assured me that of Rome is very much inferior to it. The stones are of a prodigious size, and yet all unpolished, and so exactly fitted to each other, very little cement has been made use of to join them. Yet they may probably stand a thousand years longer, if art is not made use of to pull them down."—(Letter 44th.)

[b] 24th March, 1696.

diameter, and thirty-five yards in depth, five of which we found were filled with water." As the Samaritan woman objects to our Saviour that he had nothing to draw with, which such wells naturally required, we may observe, that when there was no flight of steps, to get down to the reservoirs or wells, travellers, when the water began to fail, often carried leathern buckets, to enable them to fill the skins which carried their water: and that to the wells which were not deep, there were often small vessels attached, for the convenience of travellers, and troughs of stone for the watering of cattle. I have been thus particular about the manner in which they supplied cities with water, since it has been repeatedly observed, that in such warm latitudes the existence of animals and of vegetables depends upon it.

I shall next add a few observations on their rights of citizenship. If a man tarried in a city thirty days, he became one of the citizens in respect of the alms chest; that is, those who went round, required from him alms for the poor. If six months, he became a citizen in respect of clothing; that is, they required him to assist, not only in supporting, but in clothing the poor. If nine months, he became a citizen in respect of burying; that is, of assisting to bury the poor. And if twelve months, he became a citizen in respect of all the tributes and taxes which the other citizens paid.[a] But if he bought a house to dwell in, he became liable to these exactions immediately.[b]

[a] Lightf. Heb. and Talm. Exer. Matth. iv. 18.

[b] Mishna, Porta ultima, sive Codex Tertius de Damnis, cap. i. sect. 5.

The roads between city and city were eight cubits wide, regularly cast up, or formed. Hence Jeremiah xviii. 15, calls by-paths, ways not cast up. A private road was four cubits; a public road was sixteen cubits;[a] and the roads to the cities of refuge were thirty-two cubits.[b] Josephus tells us, that, "with respect to Jerusalem, Solomon laid a causeway of black stone along the roads which led to it; both to render them easy to travellers, and to manifest the grandeur of his riches and government."[c] Dividing walls between the courts of contiguous houses, when of unpolished stone, were six palms thick, and four cubits high; but if of polished stone, they were only five palms.[d]

In Ps. lix. 6, 14, 15, the Psalmist speaks of a singular attendant on Jewish cities, viz. a number of dogs that had no master, and were allowed to roam at large. It is rather particular, that the same practice prevails in the East at this day. Le Bruyn, among others, gives the following account of this public nuisance. "Great numbers," says he, "crowd the streets. They do not belong to any one, but either get their food as they can, or are supported by the charitable, who give money to bakers and butchers to feed them, and even leave legacies for that purpose."[e] In Shaw's Abridgment of Bruce's Travels into Abyssinia,[f] we are told, that "the dead bodies of criminals slain for treason, murder, and violence, on the highway, are

[a] Mishna, Codex Tertius de Damnis, cap. vi. sect. 7.

[b] Lightfoot's Chorog. Dec. prefixed to Mark, ch. viii. sect. 7.

[c] Antiq. viii. 7.

[d] Mishna, Porta ultima, sive Codex Tertius de Damnis, cap. i. sect. 1.

[e] Tom. i. p. 361, 362.

[f] P. 216.

seldom buried in Abyssinia; and that the streets of Gondar, the capital, are strewed with pieces of their carcasses, which bring the wild beasts in multitudes into the city, as soon as it becomes dark; so that it is scarcely safe for any one to walk in the night. The dogs," he adds, "used to bring pieces of human bodies into the house and court-yard, to eat them in greater security." And Chateaubriand,[a] when speaking of Galata near Constantinople, says, that "the almost total absence of women, the want of wheel carriages, and the multitude of dogs without masters, were the three distinguishing characteristics that first struck him in the interior of that city." The curse, therefore, which was denounced against the houses of Jeroboam, Baasha, and Ahab, kings of Israel, would be literally fulfilled. "Him that dieth in the city shall the dogs eat, and him that dieth on the field shall the fowls of the air eat; for the Lord hath spoken it."[b] And the following judgment on the Jews, as recorded by Jeremiah,[c] would be literally accomplished: "I will appoint over them four kinds, saith the Lord; the sword to slay, and the dog to tear, and the fowls of the heaven, and the beasts of the earth, to devour and destroy." As a conclusion to our account of the habitations of the Jews, we shall add the description of an eastern village, as given by Mr. Macdonald Kinneir. "Gerizlar (about sixty miles to the east of Diarbekr,) was inhabited by Christians, of the Chaldean and Nestorian sects, who treated us with much attention and kindness. The evening was delightful,

[a] Travels, vol. i. p. 315. [b] 1 Kings xiv. 11; xvi. 4; xxi. 24.
[c] Jer. xv. 3.

and it was pleasant to see all the inhabitants of the village, men, women, and children, enjoying themselves on the tops of their respective houses, which were all upon a level with each other. The men lay extended on their carpets, smoking their long pipes; the women were either employed in suckling their infants, or in pounding corn; children were squalling in one quarter, and dogs barking in another; whilst the melancholy, but incessant croaking of the storks, perched upon the chimney tops, formed, altogether, an interesting and animated picture of an oriental village."[a]

SECT. II.

Marriages of the Jews.

Espousing; copy of the contract; dowry given to the bride, laid out in marriage dresses; custom at Aleppo and in Egypt. Persons in the East always marry young; young men to virgins; widowers to widows. The bride elegantly dressed; virgins married on the fourth day of the week, and widows on the fifth: one divorced, or a widow, could not marry till after ninety days. The marriage procession of the bridegroom to the house of the bride; the marriage ceremony; procession of both parties to the house of the bridegroom; commonly in the night. The songs and ceremonies during the procession; marriage supper; office of architriclinus; the paranymphi; the shushbenin. Music and dancing after supper. Signs of virginity; consequences if they appeared not. Marriage feast lasted seven days; that of a widow only three. The bride had commonly a slave given her by her parents. Husbands exempted from military service for a year; Alexander the Great did this after the battle of the Granicus. A large family accounted a blessing; sterility, a curse. Concubinage not reckoned disgraceful: difference between a concubine and a wife; Solomon's concubines much exceeded by some eastern monarchs. Polygamy, its effects on population and domestic happiness. Divorce; copy of a

[a] Journey through Asia Minor, &c. in 1813, 1814, p. 422.

bill of divorce; formalities used on delivery. Copy of divorce at the wife's instance. The jus leviratus, or law concerning the brother's widow; its existence before the giving of the law; ceremonies anciently observed; ceremonies observed in case of refusal. The Athenian, Circassian, Druse and Mahomedan laws similar to the Jewish. The frequent allusions in Scripture to the marriages of the Jews.

In the pentateuch, the laws concerning marriage are particularly enumerated; but as the traditions added much to the original statutes, it may be necessary to consider these, in order to understand the manner, in which the Jews entered into the state of wedlock.

The first thing then, deserving of notice, is their *espousals*. These were entered into sometimes at an early age, with the ostensible purpose of preserving the chastity of their children; but frequently from avaricious or ambitious motives. And hence it happened, that several years sometimes elapsed between the espousals and the public celebration. The marriage of Herod to Mariamne was not till four years after the espousals.[a] The Mishna says, that they allowed twelve months to a virgin, and thirty days to a widow.[b] In general, however, one, two, or three months only, intervened, in order to settle preliminaries, and to prepare the articles which custom had rendered necessary.—As to their manner of espousal, it was different in the different stages of the Jewish history. For, before the giving of the law, if a man and woman agreed on marriage, he brought her to his house, and privately married her; but after the giving of the law, she was commonly espoused be-

[a] Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 15.

[b] Tractat. de Dote, Literisque Matrimonialibus, cap. vi. sect. 2.

fore witnesses, either by giving her two hundred zuzim, equal to L.1, 1*s.* 6½*d.*;[a] or by a written contract: a copy of which, as used among the modern Jews, is given us by Buxtorff.[b]

In ancient times, the bridegroom, before he married, was obliged to make two presents, one to his betrothed wife, and the other to his father-in-law. Thus Shechem, son of Hamor, says to Jacob, whose daughter he was desirous to espouse, "Ask me never so much dowry and gifts,"[c] the dowry, viz. for the daughter, and the gifts for the father-in-law. In 1 Sam. xviii. 25, Saul makes them say to David, who, by reason of his poverty, had said that he could not be son-in-law to the king, "the king desireth not any dowry." And, in both the cases, we see that the presents were commonly regulated by the father of the bride. This dowry given by the bridegroom to the bride, or her parents, sounds rather odd in our ears, where a contrary practice prevails: but it was customary among the Greeks;[d] and it is the practice to this day in several countries of the East, where a numerous family of daughters, in place of being an incumbrance, is often a source of emolument to the parents. For, as the present custom does not now confine the dowry to any specific sum, it commonly depends on the ability of the bridegroom, or the value he sets on her charms, or the honour of the intended connexion, or the

[a] Mishna, Tractat. de Dote, Literisque Matrimonialibus, cap. i. sect. 2. A priest's daughter always got 400. Lightf. vol. i. p. 282.

[b] Synag. Judaic. cap. 39. All the various ways of espousing may be found in the Mishna, Tractat. de Sponsalibus. [c] Gen. xxxiv. 12.

[d] Homer, Il. ix. 146; xi. 243—245. Odyss. i. 277; ii. 196. Potter's Grecian Antiq. book iv. ch. 11. The money, or presents so given, were by the Greeks called ἑδνα. See Odyss. viii. 318, 319.

avarice of the parents.[a] But the love of pomp, and a concern for the honour of the bride's family, often counteract the influence of avarice, and lead them to restore to their intended son-in-law what he had given. For Dr. Shaw[b] tells us, that "the money they pay for their brides is laid out, at Aleppo, in furniture for a chamber, in clothes, jewels, or ornaments of gold for the bride, whose father makes some addition, according to his circumstances; which things are sent with great pomp to the bridegroom's house, three days before the wedding." Maillet tells us, that "the same thing happens in Egypt on the wedding day, when the gifts are carried in grand procession before the bride, carpets, cushions, mattresses, coverlets, dishes, basons, jewels, trinkets of gold, pearls, girdles, plate, every thing down to the wooden sandals, wrought with mother-of-pearl; and, through ostentation, they never fail to load upon four or five horses what might easily be carried by one: in like manner as to the jewels, trinkets, and other things of value, they place in fifteen dishes what a single plate would have held."[c] And Burckhardt, who visited Tiberias in 1812, says, that "the Jews there, at their weddings, traverse the city in pompous procession, carrying before the bride the plate of almost all the community, consisting of large dishes, coffee-pots, coffee-cups," [d] &c. Young men, in Samson's days, made a feast at betrothing; his lasted seven days, during which the company amused themselves with riddles and other pastimes.[e]

[a] Gen. xxxiv. 12, 13. La Roque, p. 222. [b] Vol. i. p. 284, 285.
[c] Lett. 10. [d] Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, p. 327.
[e] Judg. xiv. 10, 12, 17.

And it will be remembered, that the practice of serving a certain time for a wife was not uncommon. Jacob served Laban fourteen years for Rachel and Leah.[a] "The Burdooraunees in Cabul, even at this day, live some of them with their future father-in-law, and earn their bride by their services, like Jacob and Rachel, without ever seeing the object of their wishes."[b] And at Kerek, at the south-east end of the Dead Sea, "young men without property, are obliged to serve the father five or six years, as menial servants, in compensation for the price of the girl."[c]

But we are now approaching the time when the public celebration of the marriage took place; we must therefore attend to its most striking formalities. Persons in the East have always married very young. Mahomet betrothed his favourite wife Ayesha when she was six years of age, and consummated the marriage when she had completed her eighth year.[d] Murray says, that "for a girl, the usual age of marriage, among the Hindoos, is between seven and nine. A marriage beyond that period is considered as a very late one. She remains then for a few years in her father's house, till she is considered fit to go home."[e] Niebuhr, in his account of Arabia, p. 63, says he had heard, that in Persia girls are married at nine years of age, and that one of them was a mother at thirteen. And Dr. Shaw tells us, that they are sometimes mothers

[a] Gen. xxix. 27. [b] Elphinstone's Cabul, book ii. chap. 3.
[c] Burckhardt's Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, p. 385.
[d] Prideaux, Life of Mahomet, p. 39.
[e] Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Asia, book ii. ch. 8.

at eleven, grandmothers at twenty-two, and past child-bearing at thirty.[a] This early entrance into the state of wedlock is commonly ascribed to the influence of climate, in bringing the human frame sooner to maturity; but may it not also be much owing to the degraded state in which women are held, the corrupted forms of their religion and government, and the unusual license that is universally given to inordinate desire? And as for the short season of fertility which travellers mention, this is perhaps occasioned by their entering so early into the state of wedlock. I am supported in this opinion by one qualified to judge. "May we not attribute," says he, "the premature decay of native women in hot climates, to the long established custom of early marriages in that sex, originally introduced by the despotism of man, but which has now effected an actual degeneracy in the female part of the creation?"[b] The marriages in Scripture evidently militate against the hypothesis of those who would ascribe all to the influence of climate. Lady Mary W. Montagu refers the early marriages of the East to prudential motives. "Early marriages," says she, "are considered necessary, for the preservation of character; for, among the Turks, there is no remaining honourably a single woman;"[c] which also appears to have been the case among the Jews; for a continuance in virginity, among them, was commonly connected with the person

[a] Travels, p. 241, 242. See also Shaw's Abridgment of Bruce's Travels, p. 299, and Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws, book xvi. ch. 2.

[b] The Influence of Tropical Climates on European Constitutions, by Mr. J. Johnston, surgeon in the royal navy, part iii. sect. 7.

[c] Letters, vol. iii. p. 36.

being a prophetess, or devoted to God. Hence the case of Jephthah's daughter, in Judges xi. 40, of whom Iphigenia is in heathen story a transcript.[a] 2d, We may remark from Sir John Chardin, that it is a custom in the East, for youths who have never been married, always to marry virgins; and for widowers, however young, always to marry widows.[b] In the 3d place, on the day of the marriage, the bride was as elegantly dressed as her circumstances would permit. For she was led by the women into the dressing chamber, without her veil, and with dishevelled hair, marriage songs being sung before her as she went. There she was placed on a beautiful seat, where they disposed her hair in ringlets, (hence compared to the long curled hair of a flock of goats on Mount Gilead, in Cant. iv. 1,) and ornamented it with ribbons and trinkets, (hence said to resemble the royal purple in Cant. vii. 5.) They then decked her in her wedding attire, and veiled her like Rebecca, amidst the songs and rejoicings of her attendants. Thus was she prepared as a bride adorned for her husband.[c] 4th, A virgin was married on the fourth day of the week, or Wednesday, that if any doubts were entertained of her virginity, they could be settled by the council of three on the Thursday, which was a synagogue and court day; and a widow was married on the fifth day of the week, or Thursday.[d] 5th, A woman who was either divorced, or a widow, neither

[a] Adam's Geography, p. 406. [b] Clarke's Harmer, ch. xi. ob. 81.
[c] Is. lxi. 10. Rev. xxi. 2.
[d] Mishna, Tractat. de Dote, Literisque Matrimonialibus, cap. i. sect. 1. Buxtorff, Synag. Jud. cap. 39.

married, nor was espoused, till after ninety days, that it might be ascertained whether she was with child by her former husband; and if two heathens, who had been married, became proselytes to Judaism, they did not cohabit for the same length of time, that it might be seen which of their children were heathens, and which were Jews.[a] 6th, When the hour of marriage arrived, four persons walked before the bridegroom, carrying a canopy supported by four poles, that if the bride intended to walk home to the bridegroom's house after the ceremony, she might walk under it in company with her husband; and in the interim, it either stood before the door, or was taken into the court, around which the house was built, if the marriage ceremony was to be performed there; all the bride's party exclaiming, ברוך הבא *Beruk eba*, Blessed be he who cometh: welcoming thus the bridegroom and his friends.[b] 7th, During the ceremony, if the father gave away his daughter, he took her by the hand, as Raguel did Sara, when she was married to Tobit, presented her to the bridegroom, and said, "Behold, take her, after the law of Moses, and lead her away;" blessing them, taking paper, writing an instrument of covenants, and sealing it.[c] But if the father did not act as the celebrator, the bride stood on the right hand of the bridegroom, in allusion to Ps. xlv. 9, and the Rabbi or Hezen of the synagogue, who acted as celebrator, took the extremity of the טלית *thelit*, which was about the bridegroom's neck, and cover-

[a] Lightfoot's Heb. and Talm. Exercit. on Matth. i. 18, and on 1 Cor. vii. 14.

[b] Buxtorff, Synag. Jud. cap. 39.

[c] Tobit vii. 13, 14.

ed with it the head of the bride, as Boaz did Ruth, ch. iii. 9. After which he consecrated a cup of wine with the following blessing, "Blessed be thou, O God, king of Israel, who hast created the fruit of the vine, who hast sanctified us by thy precepts, and forbidden us to be guilty of incest; who hast prohibited us from betrothed persons, and permitted marriage by betrothing and the nuptial rite." To which the bystanders replied, "Blessed be thou who hast sanctified thy people Israel by espousals and the nuptial rite,"—and the cup being thus blessed, it was given to the two contracting parties. The bridegroom afterwards taking the ring, (a modern invention instead of the 200 zuzim,) and putting it on the finger of the bride, said, "Lo, thou art married to me with this ring, according to the form of Moses and of Israel."—Two witnesses were then called, (aside, I suppose, to prevent unnecessary publicity,) to hear the marriage contract read; and after they returned, a second cup of wine was consecrated, and divided among the guests.[a] 8th, Matters were next so ordered, as to prepare for setting out to the house of the bridegroom; when, if there was a canopy, the bride and bridegroom walked under it; (hence says the spouse, "his banner over me was love," Cant. ii. 4;) but if none, the bride and her companions were veiled, she, however, far deeper than they. Accordingly Niebuhr gives us a representation of a nuptial procession, where the bride is veiled all over, and attended by other wo-

[a] Mishna, Tractat. de Note, Literisque Matrimonialibus. Buxtorff, Synag. Judaic. cap. 39. Basnage, Religion of the Jews, book v. ch. 19.

men in common veils, which did not prevent their eyes from being seen. Sometimes, also, they used a palanquin, and were carried in state from the one house to the other; and it seems to have been to this that David alludes in Ps. xlv. 13, when he says, "The king's daughter is all glorious within, (the palanquin, viz.) her clothing is of wrought gold." And to this that Solomon refers, when he says of the chariot of the bridegroom, that "its wood was of cedar, its pillars of silver, its bottom of gold, its covering of purple, and the midst thereof paved with love, or poetical amorous inscriptions or devices, for the daughters of Jerusalem;"[a] somewhat, perhaps, like the inside of the present Turkish coaches mentioned by Lady Mary W. Montagu.[b] 9th, The Jewish marriage processions were commonly in the night, by torch-light. Accordingly Lightfoot tells us, that they carried before them ten wooden staves, having each of them at top a vessel like a dish, in which was a piece of cloth or wick, dipped in oil, to give light to the company.[c] So that the parable of the ten virgins was evidently a delineation of national manners; since they required, in that case, not only to have oil in their lamps, but to have vessels containing a quantity of oil, in order to replenish these lamps from time to time. Indeed we have several allusions to the same custom, in various passages of Scripture. Thus the spouse, when speaking of the bridegroom, says, "My beloved is white and ruddy, the chiefest among ten thousand," or, as the original expresses it, "lighted with ten thou-

[a] Cant. iii. 9, 10. [b] Letters, vol. i. lett. 26.
[c] Heb. and Talm. Exer. on Matth. xxv. 1.

sand;" thereby meaning that he dazzled beholders as much as a bridegroom attended with ten thousand lamps.[a] And the bridegroom says of the spouse, that she is "terrible as an army with banners," or literally, that she is dazzling as women shone upon with the nuptial lamps, when their rich attire reflected a dazzling lustre. 10th, As they went to the bridegroom's house, every person who met them gave place to the procession; a cup of wine was carried before them; and they were accompanied with music and dancing.[b] Hence in one of the parables of our Lord, the children at their sport, when imitating a marriage procession, said, We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced.[c] The praises of the bridegroom were also sung in strains like those in Ruth iv. 11, 12. "The Lord make the woman that is come into thine house like Rachel and like Leah, which two did build the house of Israel; and do thou worthily in Ephratah, and be famous in Bethlehem. And let thy house be like the house of Pharez, whom Tamar bare unto Judah, of the seed which the Lord shall give thee of this young woman." Whilst the praises of the bride were celebrated in the following manner: "She hath no need of paint, nor stibium, (meaning antimony, with which they painted the eyebrows,) no plaiting of hair, nor any such thing, for she is of herself most beautiful." Money was scattered among the crowd, to remind them, if need required, that they had been present at the wedding; and barley also was sown before them, as denoting their wishes for a numerous progeny.[d] 11th, Having reached the house

[a] Cant. v. 10. [b] Ps. xlv. 15. [c] Luke vii. 32.
[d] Lightfoot's Heb. and Talm. Exer. on John ii. 1.

of the bridegroom, they sat down to the marriage supper, each clothed with a wedding garment;[a] and etiquette required that the bride and bridegroom should remain silent, whilst the honours of the table were done by the Architriclinus, or governor of the feast.[b] This last mentioned person obtained his name, from his presiding over the triclinia or couches, on which the guests lay;[c] and he is supposed by Lightfoot, to have been the person who was appointed to ask a blessing on the entertainment. But besides him, there were two other official persons, called Paranymphi, or friends of the bridegroom and the bride;[d] whose Hebrew name was שושבנין *Shushebenin*, and whose office was to be assisting to them as man and maid, especially at their entry into the nuptial chamber.[e] It was to Samson's friend, or Shushben, as the Chaldee paraphrase explains it, that his intended wife was given by her parents.[f] And they are particularly mentioned in the following canon,—"A bride, a bridegroom, the Shushbenin, and the children of the bride chamber, are freed from keeping the feast of tabernacles."[g] After the feast was ended, mirth and dancing prevailed,[h] which made Jeremiah mention the want of them as a mark of desolation;[i] but whether the bride

[a] Matth. xxii. 11. [b] Ecclus. xxxi. 1, 2. John ii. 8, 9.

[c] These couches were commonly in the form of the Hebrew letter *Heth* ח, or the Greek *Pi*, to allow the servants to get into the middle, or around the sides. Hence their name, which means three couches conjoined.

[d] John iii. 39.

[e] Lightfoot's Heb. and Talm. Exer. on John ii. 1.

[f] Judges xiv. 20; xv. 2.

[g] Lightfoot's Harm. Four Evang. part iii. sect. 14.

[h] Jer. xxxiii. 11. [i] Ch. vii. 34; xvi. 9; xxv. 10, 11.

and bridegroom's parties remained together, or were in separate apartments, is not said: the last is most conformable with the manners of the East.[a] And, perhaps, the apartments were lighted, not unlike those mentioned by Chardin, when he tells us, that "they have commonly two large wax tapers, held by near relations, about the height of a man, in the apartment of the bridegroom, and one in the apartment of the bride."

When the bridegroom retired, he spread his skirt over the bride, to testify the claim which the law had given him, and sought for those signs which the Mosaic code required in such cases.[b] To us such procedure would appear highly indelicate, but it is perfectly conformable with the manners of the East. Thus d'Arvieux tells us, "that the bridegroom and bride being brought, in ceremony, to the place of marriage, the men and women sit down to table in different huts, where the marriage feast is celebrated; that in the evening the bride is twice presented to the bridegroom; that the third time he carries her into the tent, where the marriage is to be consummated; and that after the consummation, the bridegroom returns to his friends, whom he had left feasting together; with such a proof of the virginity of his bride, as Moses supposed the Jews were wont to preserve with care, that in case the honour of their daughters should afterwards be aspersed, they might be freed from the reproach; which being shown, the bridegroom is complimented afresh, and passes the rest of the night in rejoicing."[c] Dr.

[a] Russell's Aleppo, vol. ii. p. 48. [b] Deut. xxii. 13—17.
[c] Harmer's Outlines on Solomon's Song, p. 11.

Russell[a] says, "the tokens of virginity are expected by all sects in that country, but more indecently exposed by the Turks than any other." And Savary,[b] when speaking of the marriages of the Egyptians, says, "If they appear not, the husband has a right to return her to her parents, which is accounted the greatest disgrace that can happen to a family."[c] Were we to suppose the words in Cant. iv. 12, to refer to this usage, it would give them additional precision. "A garden inclosed is my sister, my spouse; a spring shut up, a fountain sealed." They would express the bridegroom's public declaration of the virgin purity of his bride. The whole song, whatever be its spiritual meaning, confessedly alludes to the marriage of the Jews.

I ought next to remark, that the marriage feast lasted, in the case of young persons, seven days,[d] and that the bride retained the appellation for thirty days, after the ceremony;[e] but that in the case of a widow or a widower, the marriage feast lasted only three days,[f] that it was the custom for the father to give his daughter, when leaving his house, a female slave as a companion, as Laban did to each of his daughters; hence Solomon accounts

[a] Natural History of Aleppo, p. 113, note.

[b] Letters on Egypt, vol. iii. p. 38.

[c] See the same thing in Park's Travels in Africa, chap. 20.

[d] Gen. xxix. 27. Judg. xiv. 12, 17. Tobit xi. 19. Hence several commentators, with much ingenuity and effect, have divided the Song of Solomon into seven parts, to suit the seven days of the marriage feast. See particularly Bossuet's Præf. et Comment. in Cant. Lowth's Lectures on Hebrew Poetry: and the Song of Solomon paraphrased, with a commentary and notes critical and practical, by an anonymous author, printed at Edinburgh, 1775.

[e] Lightfoot's Heb. and Talm. Exer. on Matth. ix. 15.

[f] Buxtorff, Synag. Jud. cap. 39.

those extremely poor who had none.[a] And every one knows, that marrying a wife exempted the husband from military service for a year;[b] a law which was founded on policy, and favourable to matrimony; and which, it is rather remarkable, was afterwards practised by Alexander the Great, in his expedition against Persia. For after the battle of the Granicus, and "before he went into winter quarters, he ordered all of his army, who had married that year, to return to Macedonia, and spend the winter with their wives, appointing three captains over them to lead them home, and bring them back at the time appointed."[c]

A large family, in ancient times, was accounted a blessing.[d] Hence Jair, one of the Judges, is spoken of with his thirty sons.[e] Abdon, another of them, had forty sons.[f] Nineteen of David's sons are mentioned,[g] besides those he had by his concubines. Rehoboam had twenty-eight sons and sixty daughters,[h] and Abijah twenty-two sons and sixteen daughters.[i] Nor was this desire peculiar to the Jews, for the poets in praise of Priam mention his fifty sons. Indeed perpetual virginity, at that time, was little known, and looked upon in the same light as sterility; and the women who died unmarried were reckoned unfortunate. Sophocles makes Electra and Iphigenia bemoan themselves on that account; and that was the occasion of the repining of Jephthah's daughter.[k] Hence, also, barrenness became a reproach to married wo-

[a] Prov. xii. 9. [b] Deut. xxiv. 5. [c] Arrian. lib. i.
[d] Prov. xvii. 6. [e] Judg. x. 4. [f] Judg. xii. 14.
[g] 1 Chron. iii. 1, &c. [h] 2 Chron. xi. 21. [i] 2 Chron. xiii. 21.
[k] Judg. xi. 37. For an explanation of Jephthah's vow, see Parkhurst's Heb. Lex. עלה.

men, as we see by Samuel's and John Baptist's mother, and many others.[a] It was considered by the Jews as a curse, and the most pleasing expression of good will to persons in wedlock was, that they might be the parents of many children. The greatest number of husbands which we hear of any wife among them having had, is the woman in the gospel, who had seven husbands;[b] and Sara, Raguel's daughter, who had eight.[c] The reason why they had so many, is mentioned in their several histories.

It will be recollected, that the ancient Jews had often more wives than one, and hence the distinction which we meet with in Scripture, between the wife and the concubine. This last term, however, among the Hebrews, did not imply any thing immoral or reproachful. For Keturah, whom Abraham took for his אשה *ashè*, or wife, in Gen. xxv. 1, is, in verse 6th, mentioned as one of his פילגשים *philegeshim*, or concubines;[d] Hagar, whom he took in Sarah's lifetime, being the other, and who is expressly styled his אשה *ashè*, or wife, in Gen. xvi. 3. So Bilhah, who is called Jacob's concubine in Gen. xxxv. 22, was notwithstanding designed as his wife in Gen. xxx. 4; and both she and Zilpah are called his wives in Gen. xxxvii. 2. How, then, it may be asked, did a man's concubine differ from his wife? She differed in two things; 1st, She was not considered as the principal wife; and, 2dly, if we may judge from the early instances of Keturah and Hagar,[e] the child-

[a] 1 Sam. i. 11. Luke i. 25.
[b] Matth. xxii. 25.
[c] Tobit iii. 8; vii. 10, 11.
[d] Compare 1 Chron. i. 32.
[e] Gen. xxv. 5, 6.

ren of the concubine did not inherit.[a] Indeed the same distinction prevails in the East to this day, for, by the Hindoo law, the children of concubines do not inherit. In whatever light, however, they were considered as to rank or inheritance, their fidelity to their husband was perfectly understood; and it was accounted a heinous offence for any person to attempt to alienate their affections, or violate their persons. Hence the atrocity of Reuben's conduct to Bilhah, his father's concubine;[b] and of Absalom's, in going in unto his father's concubines.[c] It is rather singular, that the wife of Peleus[d] gave the same advice to her son Phœnix, which Ahitophel gave to Absalom, and with the same success. His peace of mind was ruined, and his conduct drew down the curse of his justly offended father. Even the whole nation of Israel revenged themselves on the Benjamites, for countenancing the insulters of the Levite's concubine.[e] Every one has heard of the vast number of wives and concubines in Solomon's haram, viz. 700 wives, princesses, and 300 concubines;[f] but some modern eastern princes have far exceeded it. Thus sultan Selim had nearly 2000;[g] Achmed, the eighth emperor of the Turks, had 3000;[h] and Shah Hussein, emperor of Persia, had a still greater number. For "he ordered, in the year 1701, a search to be made through the whole extent of his dominions, for all the young virgins of distinguished beauty;

[a] Doddridge's Lectures, proposition lxi. definition 49.
[b] Gen. xxxv. 22; xlix. 4. [c] 2 Sam. xvi. 22.
[d] Homer, Il. ix. 450—455. [e] Judg. xix. 1. [f] 1 Kings xi. 3.
[g] Habesci's Present State of the Ottoman Empire, p. 66.
[h] Knolles, Hist. of the Turks, p. 1368.

and hence that year was called in Persia the year of virgins."[a]

It has been long debated whether polygamy be more favourable to population than monogamy; and it has been stated in its defence, that Ahab had 70 sons in Samaria;[b] that Priam, king of Troy, had 50 sons and 12 daughters;[c] that Artaxerxes Mnemon, king of Persia, had three sons by his queen, and 115 by his concubines;[d] and that Muley Abdallah, by his four wives and many hundred concubines, had 700 sons, able to mount a horse, independent of daughters.[e] But, although these are singular instances of fecundity, they do not establish the general point; for the monopoly of individuals must ever occasion a scarcity on the whole; especially when it is recollected, that the proportion between the sexes is only as 20 females to 21 males, because these last are more exposed to war and other accidents.[f] Certain it is, that if polygamy be favourable to the indulgence of sensual desire, it is exceedingly prejudicial to the moral character. For the standard of mind is exceedingly low in those countries where it prevails; the female is degraded to be the slave of the male; the education of children is wofully neglected; endless jealousies must ever exist between persons dependent on the will of a master; and numberless attempts made at infidelity, where prior attach-

[a] Hanway's Revolutions of Persia, part vii. ch. 31.
[b] 2 Kings x. 1.
[c] Homer, Il. vi. 244, &c.
[d] Justin, lib. x. cap. 1.
[e] Stewart's Journey to Mequinez.
[f] See the interesting results of Mr. Hufeland of Berlin, on this subject, in the Edinburgh Christian Instructor, for December 1820, p. 848—850.

ments must often interfere, and an unnatural monopoly is wished to be established.[a]

Separate maintenances, without divorce, are not specified in scripture, but they would vary according to the rank and fortune of the persons. The following are the terms prescribed in the Mishna, for a poor man who wished to settle one on his wife, for the sake of peace. "Two cabs of wheat, or four of barley. Rabbi Josè said, none ordered barley but Rabbi Ishmael, who lived near Idumea. And besides these, half a cab of pulse, half a log of oil, and a cab of dried figs. He had also to give her a bed, with a thin and thick mattress, a veil, a girdle, shoes from feast to feast, clothes worth fifty zuzes yearly, and a little money to buy what was necessary."[b] There is an evident defect in the above regulation, for the quantities of food are by far too little for a year, and it is not stated how often they were to be repeated.

Divorce was not known in the primitive ages, except in the case of adultery, by either of the parties; and, under the law, Moses allowed of it on account of the hardness of their hearts:[c] but by the time that our Saviour appeared, it was very frequent, and for the slightest reasons, thereby arguing a laxity of principle, and evidently leading to profligacy of conduct. The following is the copy of a bill of divorce, as taken from Lightfoot:[d] "On the day of the week N, of the month N, of the year of the world's creation N, according to the

[a] Derham's Physico-theology, book iv. ch. 10. Doddridge's Lectures, proposition lix.

[b] Tractat. de Dote, Literisque Matrimonialibus, cap. v. sect. 8, 9.

[c] Matth. xix. 8.

[d] Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations on Matth. v. 31.

computation by which we are wont to reckon, in the province of N, I, A. B., the son of A. B., and by what name soever I am called, of the city of N, with the greatest consent of my mind, and without any compulsion urging me, have put away, dismissed, and expelled thee; thee, I say, C. D., the daughter of C. D., by what name soever thou art called, of the city of N, who heretofore wert my wife; but now I have dismissed thee; thee, I say, C. D., the daughter of C. D., by what name soever thou art called, of the city of N, so that thou art free, and in thine own power to marry whosoever shall please thee; and let no man hinder thee from this day forward, even for ever. Thou art free, therefore, for any man, and let this be to thee a bill of rejection from me, letters of divorce, and a schedule of expulsion, according to the law of Moses and of Israel.

REUBEN, the son of Jacob, witness.

ELEAZER, the son of Gilead, witness."

We have a copy of a bill of the same kind in Buxtorff,[a] and nearly in the same words; it is therefore needless to transcribe it, but I may add the several formalities with which it was delivered. Bills of divorce were given either privately or publicly. When given privately, the bill was sealed with the husband's seal, and delivered before two witnesses, into the hand of the wife, either by himself or by some person deputed by him, or the wife might depute some person to receive it; and when dismissed, she might, if she pleased, carry

[a] Synag. Judaic. cap. 40. In Surenhusius's edition of the Mishna, part iii. page 324, is a fac simile of the bill of divorce which Abraham Wolphius at Amsterdam gave to his wife Rebecca, on the 11th day of Chisleu, A.M. 5454, or A.D. 1450. It is almost verbatim like that in the text.

the bill to the sanhedrin to be enrolled for preservation, as an evidence of the transaction.[a] But when the divorce was public, the steps were more numerous; for they chose first some private place, to which the Rabbi, who conducted the business, resorted; together with two other Rabbis, called at the expense of the pursuer as arbiters; the scribe who wrote the bill, and two witnesses, who saw it written, and were to witness the delivery. If these were satisfied that there were legal grounds for divorce, then they, together with the husband and wife, went to the door of the synagogue, where, after morning prayers, the presiding Rabbi thus addressed the husband: Art thou N. about to deliver this bill of divorce of thy own free will?—Yes.—Perhaps thou hast bound thyself by some oath or vow to give it her?—No.—If thou art bound by any oath, vow, or anathema, I absolve thee.—I never made any thing of the kind.—Perhaps thou hast received something for this libel: if it repent thee, revoke it, and I will find a remedy.—I received nothing. I do not repent.—Didst thou ever say any thing which might affect this libel, and render it void?—No.—After these questions, the presiding Rabbi, having read the bill, turned to the scribe who wrote it, and said, Thou scribe, didst thou write this writing?—Yes.—Didst thou write it at the instance of the husband and the wife?—Yes.—Did the husband say this to thee before witnesses?—Yes.—Dost thou acknowledge this to be the same copy that was written by thee?—Yes.—Then, turning to the two witnesses, he asked each of them, separately, concerning their

[a] Lightfoot's Heb. and Talm. Exer. on Matth. v. 31.

signatures. Which things being done, he turned to the wife and asked her, if she would accept the bill of divorce willingly? To which, if she assented, he then desired her to stretch out her hands, he himself delivering the writing to the husband, in order to be given to her, in the following words: "Behold the bill of thy divorce. Receive this bill of thy divorce. By this be thou divorced from me, and free to give thyself to any other." The witnesses before mentioned were desired to notice particularly, this part of the transaction, that if there should be occasion, they might give their evidence. The writing was again delivered to the Rabbi, who read it aloud in the hearing of the people, who had come out of the synagogue, and he then addressed them in the following words: "Behold Rabbi M. and Rabbi N. (meaning the two arbiters,) and the others, who are citizens of N, have decerned, under the pain of anathema, and I also decern, that none henceforth come forward to object to this bill of divorce, unless it be at present, when they may come forth and declare." If none objected, the judgment was final, and the Rabbi who presided, gave the libel a tear in the form of a cross, which was called "the rent of the house of judgment;" kept it in his possession for the divorced wife's interest; enjoined her not to marry for three months, that it might be seen whether she was with child; and then dismissed the parties.[a]

Such was the divorce, when the husband was the complainer; but the wife might sue as well as the husband, if she thought herself aggrieved; and

[a] Buxtorff, Synag. Judaic. cap. 40.

especially if she disliked the person to whom she had been espoused at an early age by her parents. The following is a copy of the writing used in her case, as given by Maimonides. "In the day N, of the week N, of the year N, A. B., the daughter of C. D., came before us and said, My mother or my brethren deceived me, and wedded me, or betrothed me, when I was a young maid, to E. F., the son of E. F.; but I now reveal my mind before you, that I will not have him, so that he is free, and in his own power to marry whomsoever it shall please him," &c.[a]

Signed as the former bill of divorce.

Josephus furnishes us with three instances of divorce by wives, which proceeded from less honourable motives than those above mentioned. The first is that of Salomè, the sister of Herod, who, having quarrelled with Costobarus her husband, sent him a bill of divorce.[b] The second is that of Herodias, who, after she had a daughter by her husband, Herod Philip, divorced herself from him, that she might marry his half brother, Herod Antipas, the tetrarch of Galilee.[c] And the third is that of Drusilla, the sister of Agrippa, who gave a bill of divorce to her husband Azizus, king of Emesa, that she might marry Felix, the procurator of Judea.[d] In all these instances, ambition was the ruling principle; and before it, the love of husband and children, a sense of character, and a regard for religion, were weak and unavailing.[e]

[a] Quoted by Lightfoot in his Heb. and Talm. Exer. on 1 Cor. vii. 10.
[b] Antiq. xv. 7. [c] Antiq. xviii. 5. [d] Antiq. xx. 7.
[e] The Treatise De Divortiis, in the Mishna, enters very fully into the reasons of divorce, and the form of the bill, or writing.

The only other circumstance connected with the Jewish forms of marriage, is that which regarded the brother's widow, and was known by the name of *Jus Leviratus*. We have the law concerning it in Deut. xxv. 5—10. It enjoins the brother of the deceased to take his widow, and rear up seed unto his brother, to perpetuate his name and to heir his effects; an instance of which we have in Matth. xxii. 25. It is evident, however, from the case of Ruth iii. 12, 13, iv. 5, 10, that the law extended farther than the husband's brother, namely, to such kinsman as had the right of redemption. And it is also plain, from Genesis xxxviii. 8, that the custom of marrying the deceased brother's wife, was far more ancient than the Mosaic law. It was under that law, however, that it became doubly binding, for it connected the love of preserving a brother's name, with the preservation of property, in the several families and several tribes. The name given to it by the Jews was יבום *Ibum*, or "the husband's brother;" and it required no betrothing, for he acquired his sister-in-law by a divine right; neither were there any ceremonies as at ordinary marriages; only, all the effects and claims of the deceased were delivered up to him, for the behoof of the child who should be accounted his heir; yet she was allowed to marry none, till three months after her husband's death, that it might appear to all that there was no child.[a]—Such was the practice in ancient times, but it is not now insisted on; that is to say, they go through the form, but they do not oblige the surviving brother to marry the widow. The practice of the

[a] Mishna, Tractat. de Leviratu, cap. iv. sect. 10.

Jews, in Buxtorff's time, was as follows. On the preceding evening, after evening prayers at the synagogue, one of the Rabbis was chosen to preside, and two others to assist him as judges. Next morning, after prayers, these with the levir, the widow, and two witnesses, met at a certain place, and the presiding Rabbi asked, whether the husband had been dead three months? Whether she was the wife of the levir's brother? Whether the deceased and he were of the same father? And whether the widow had reached her twelfth year? On all which points being satisfied, he proceeded to ask, Whether the levir was willing to marry her, or wished to be separated? Whether he acted willingly or by constraint? And being also satisfied as to these, especially as to the brother's refusal to comply with the law—he commanded the widow to keep the spittle in her mouth till farther orders. A shoe was then brought; it was put upon the right foot of the levir; and the woman stepping forward, repeated the following words: "My levir refuses to raise up the name of his brother in Israel. He does not choose to wed me according to the law of the levir." The levir having assented to her accusation, she loosed the thong of the shoe; pulled it from his foot, and cast it to the ground; at the same time (not spitting in his face) but spitting on the ground before his face, she distinctly repeated three times the following words: "So shall it be done to the man who does not wish to build up the house of his brother, and his name shall be called in Israel,—the house of him that hath his shoe loosed;" after which the judges and spectators all repeated, "The shoe is loosed." The

judge then asked the shoe to be kept as an evidence of the transaction; the widow received a writing from the judge to the same effect, a copy of which is given by Maimonides, and the parties were dismissed.[a] It is somewhat remarkable, that the Athenians appear to have adopted the spirit of this law of the levir; for "no heiress could marry out of her kindred, but resigned up herself and her fortune to her nearest relation, who was obliged to marry her."[b] And among the modern eastern nations, we still meet with the law or custom of marrying the brother's widow. Thus Olearius[c] informs us, concerning the Circassians, that, "when a man dies without issue, his brother is obliged to marry the widow, to raise up seed to him." The Hon. Mr. Elphinstone[d] says, that "among the Afghauns, as among the Jews, it is thought incumbent on the brother of the deceased to marry his widow; and it is a mortal affront to the brother, for any other person to marry her without his consent. The widow, however, is not compelled to take a husband against her will." M. Volney[e] observes, that "the Druzes retain, to a certain degree, the custom of the Hebrews, which directed a man to marry his brother's widow; but this is not peculiar to them, for they have this, as well as many other customs of that ancient people, in common

[a] Buxtorff, Synag. Judaic. cap. 41, 42. Basnage, Relig. of Jews, book v. ch. 19. In the treatise in the Mishna, De Leviratu, we have all the cases mentioned, which could make the transaction legal, or illegal.

[b] Terent. Phormio, Act 1, Sc. 2; and Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. i. p. 159.

[c] Travels into Persia, p. 417. [d] History of Cabul, book ii. ch. 3.

[e] Travels into Syria, vol. ii. p. 74.

with the inhabitants of Syria, and with the Arabians in general." But Niebuhr[a] says, "It does, indeed, happen among the Mahometans that a man marries his brother's widow, but she has no right to compel him so to do." So far, then, respecting the levirate.

One cannot survey the Jewish espousals, marriages, and divorce, without reflecting on the frequent political and spiritual allusions that are made to them in Scripture. Thus Israel is said to have been married to the Lord, Is. lxii. 4, 5; liv. 5. Committing idolatry, by following after the gods of the heathen, was considered as adultery, and a breach of the covenant between God and Israel, Jer. iii. 6—9. God's reproofs to them for their infidelity, were sharpened by the recollection of their marriage relation with him, Jer. ii. 2, 3; iii. 14. The state of believers, in this world, is compared, by the apostle Paul, to the time that elapsed between the betrothing and the marriage in 2 Cor. xi. 2. And heaven is spoken of as the place where the marriage is to be celebrated, and where the saints shall be happy with Christ for ever, Rev. xix. 7; xxi. 2—4. Perhaps even the law of the levirate, although not so applied by the inspired writers, may serve to excite in the breast of the pious a hymn of gratitude to that elder brother, who, on the moral death of our progenitor, espoused the church, and obtained for himself a glorious name.

[a] Description of Arabia, p. 61.

SECT. III.

Children of the Jews.

Reasons why so much desired; ceremonies at the birth; circumcision; the persons present; their different offices; prayers on the occasion. Circumcision of sick children deferred for a time. Children dying before the eighth day, how disposed of; a feast commonly after circumcision. The case of bastards and daughters; origin and uses of circumcision. Probable reasons for fixing on the eighth day. Why it was omitted in the wilderness. Treatment of children while minors as to food, clothing, &c.; children much attached to their mother, and why; singular manner of carrying them. The nature of their education. The degree they acquired at the age of thirteen; could choose their tutors at fourteen; the solemn ceremony then used; different ages at which they could marry, and attend the passover. The birthright of the eldest; in what it consisted. Parkhurst's reflection on it.

CHILDREN were much coveted by the Jews, both from that desire of offspring which is natural to man, and from the peculiar circumstances of the Jewish nation; for the inheritances in the tribes depended on it; and the family of David, in particular, was promised the honour of being the progenitor of the Messiah. Hence the anxiety of the Jewish matrons for a numerous offspring. It multiplied their chances for being the mother of our Lord.

1. *Treatment at the birth.*—We are strangers to most of the domestic regulations of the ancient Jews; but Buxtorff[a] informs us, that after the days of our Saviour, it was the custom for the father of the family, or some person eminent for piety, at the hour of delivery, to write above the door,

[a] De Synag. Jud. cap. 4.

around the inside of the walls of the apartment, and on the bed, words of the following import: "Adam, Eve, but begone Lilith." The meaning of which is explained by them to be, "If a son, may he live till he marry a wife like Eve; or, if a daughter, may she live till she marry a husband like Adam; but may neither be unequally yoked," as they pretend Adam was with Lilith before he got Eve. Were I to form a conjecture, I would rather say that it meant, "May he, if a son, be healthy like Adam, and if a daughter, be beautiful like Eve; but, whatever it be, may it not be consigned to darkness, (as Lilith signifies) by an untimely death." A Christian midwife was expressly forbidden, lest she might injure the mother or child.[a] And a Rabbi, or some other person skilled in the law, read the 20th, 38th, 91st, or 102d Psalm, which he concluded with a prayer, entreating of God a happy delivery. If the child chanced to be a son, they made great rejoicings; but if a daughter, she was received with gratitude, but not with exultation. Infants newly born were washed in water, anointed with oil, rubbed with salt, at least in part, swaddled with a long bandage round the middle, and wrapped in some comfortable clothing.[b] These were requisite, even in a mild latitude, to promote insensible perspiration, and prevent the pain which a free exposure to the external air occasions; for the cries of new-born children are understood to be occasioned, partly by the new course which the blood forces for itself through the lungs, and partly by the pressure and difference of temperature in the new atmosphere.

[a] Maimonides de Idololatriâ, cap. ix. sect. 13. [b] Ezek. xvi. 4, 9.

2. *Circumcision of.*—On the eighth day from the birth, whatever day of the week that was, they invariably performed the rite of circumcision. Three stools were set in the house, or sometimes in the synagogue; one for the person who held the child; one for the operator, whose official name was mûl, or the cutter off; and one for Elias, who was supposed to be spiritually present, as a zealous defender of the divine law.[a] The attendants were commonly ten in number, some of whom carried torches of twelve wicks, to represent the twelve tribes of Israel; and others a knife for the operation, a cup of red wine to act as a styptic, a basin of sand, into which to throw the prepuce, a basin of olive oil to anoint the part, and a towel and water. When every thing was ready, the female employed by the mother, brought the child to the door of the apartment or synagogue, and gave it to him who was appointed to hold it during the operation, who, on entering, was hailed by the company in the following words: "Blessed be he who comes." When the operation was finished, the operator said, "Blessed be the Lord our God, who has sanctified us by his precepts, and given us the law of circumcision." To which the father replied, "Who hath sanctified us by his precepts, and hath commanded us to enter the child into the covenant of Abraham our father;" and the bystanders added, "As thou hast made this child enter, as thou hast received him into the covenant of Abraham our father, cause also that he may enter into the law of Moses, into matrimony, and into good works." The operator having washed, received a cup of wine, consecrated it with the

[a] Lightf. Harm. of Four Evang. part ii. sect. 12.

usual benediction, and added for the child the following prayer: "O Lord our God, the God of our fathers, strengthen this child, and preserve him to his parents. May his name be among the people of Israel, (here he, or the father, or mother, or neighbours, gave him his name.[a]) Let his father, who begot him, rejoice and be glad; let his mother delight in the fruit of her womb, according as it is written,[b] 'Thy father and thy mother shall be glad, and she that bare thee shall rejoice.' And as it is said by the prophet,[c] 'When I passed by thee, and saw thee polluted in thine own blood, I said unto thee, when thou wast in thy blood, Live; yea, I said unto thee, when thou wast in thy blood, Live.'" Here he dipped his finger in the basin where the blood was, and touched the child's face two or three times, with the hope that, according to the prophet, he might live so much longer in the blood of circumcision; adding, "David also says,[d] 'He hath remembered his covenant for ever, his word which he commanded to a thousand generations.'" He then prayed to God that all those might be safe, who confirmed the covenant, and wished long life to the parents and the child; after which a cup of wine was given to all present, and the child conveyed to his mother.[e] Basnage[f] adds several other circumstances, which evidently show that they differ somewhat in different countries.

It has been said, that the name was commonly given to the child on the eighth day: it was not always, however, given then, for it was sometimes

[a] Ruth iv. 17. 1 Sam. iv. 21. Luke i. 59. [b] Prov. xxiii. 25.
[c] Ezek. xvi. 6. [d] Ps. cv. 8. [e] Buxtorff, Synag. Jud. cap. 4.
[f] History and Religion of the Jews, book v. chap. 8.

imposed at the birth, as in the case of Ruth[a] and Phinehas's wife.[b] And Homer tells us, that the birth was the customary time amongst the Greeks, for giving names to their children,[c] of which he gives an instance in Arnaeus, who was so named by his mother.[d] Children who were sick, were not circumcised on the eighth day, but the rite was deferred till seven days after their recovery: and if one, two, or three children of a family died, in consequence of the operation, they deferred the circumcision of the rest till they came of age, that they might take the responsibility on themselves, which some of them, in the latter period of the Mosaic economy, never did, and yet were accounted Israelites.[e] Children dying before the eighth day, were circumcised in the cemetery, on the lid of the coffin, and names given to them, that they might be known at the resurrection of the just; but no prayers were offered up on the occasion.[f] Whether the rite had been performed at home, or in the synagogue, a feast was commonly prepared for ten at the least, that is, for those who assisted, and for any others whom the parents chose; when a blessing was asked over the victuals, a suitable discourse was delivered, and the feast concluded with much hilarity. Bastards, and children born in adultery, were circumcised, but with the omission of a part of the usual ceremonies, and never in the synagogue. In the case of daughters there were few rejoicings and ceremonies. The minister of the synagogue, a month after the birth,

[a] Ch. iv. 17. [b] 1 Sam. iv. 21. [c] Odyss. viii. 550—554.
[d] Odyss. xviii. 5, 6. [e] Lightfoot's Heb. and Talm. Exer. on 1 Cor. vii. 19. [f] Buxtorff, Synag. Jud. cap. 4.

pronounced a benediction on the infant, either at home or in the synagogue, and gave her her name.

Various conjectures have been formed as to the origin and uses of this singular rite of the Jewish church. The common opinion is, that circumcision was never known till it was appointed by God to Abraham: but Spencer[a] is disposed rather to conclude, that Abraham had it posterior to the Egyptians, and that God only applied it in his case to a new purpose. It appears more natural, however, to suppose that the Egyptians derived it from the Jews or Ishmaelites, although we cannot explain the way in which it obtained a footing among them; for little dependence can be placed on their historical records, which are thousands of years later than those of Moses; and Sir John Marsham has shown that several of their traditions are evidently the result of national vanity.[b] The uses of

[a] De Legibus Hebræorum Ritualibus, lib. i. cap. 5.

[b] See also Bruce's Travels into Abyssinia, vol. v. p. 26, &c. 3d edit. In the late Dr. Findlay of Glasgow's Vindication of the sacred books and of Josephus from the misrepresentations and cavils of Voltaire, part ii. sec. 21, there is an excellent disquisition on the subject, whether the Jews received the practice of circumcision from the Egyptians: in which he quotes the passages in Herodotus, (lib. ii. cap. 104, edit. Steph. p. 143,) Diodorus Siculus, (lib. i. p. 24, edit. Rhodom.) Strabo, (lib. xvi. p. 760, 761,) Celsus as quoted by Origen, (Advers. Cels. lib. v. p. 259,) and Julian as quoted by Cyrill, (Advers. Julian. lib. x. p. 254,) on which the argument rests; shows their extreme incorrectness as to the Jewish history in general; and infers from thence the little weight that ought to be placed on their testimony in this particular; especially as Herodotus did not flourish till about a thousand years after Abraham had received the rite; and the oldest of the other four, not till more than fourteen hundred years after that event. He adduces presumption to the contrary from Tacitus, Hist. lib. v. cap. 5, who says that the Jews "appointed circumcision, that they might be known by the difference," which would not have been the case, had it been common among the Egyptians; and gives positive proof from Artapanus, as quoted by Eusebius, (Præ-

circumcision were various. It was the initiatory sign of the covenant of peculiarity, by which they became God's peculiar people; it bound them to the observance of the whole law, moral, ceremonial, and judicial; it distinguished proselytes of righteousness from those of the gate; and was a sign of the circumcision of the heart, or the putting away the filth of the flesh.[a]—But if it was a sign, it was also a seal: for it sealed the veracity of the divine promise, as to a numerous offspring, and the land of Canaan; it sealed their own solemn determination to live as God's peculiar people; and it was a seal of the righteousness of faith. Should it be inquired why God appointed the 8th day for the stated observance of the Jewish rite, I answer, 1st, That wounds

par. Evang. lib. ix. cap. 27,) that the Egyptians received it from the Jews, in the following words: "The Ethiopians borrowed it from the Jews, through their veneration for Moses, instead of learning it, as Herodotus fancied, from the Egyptians: yea, all priests everywhere derived it from the Jews." Should it be said, that the Ethiopians receiving circumcision from the Jews, does not prove that the Egyptians received it, Dr. Findlay adduces a quotation from Diodorus Siculus, to prove that the Ethiopians supported their pretensions to the Egyptians being a colony from them, by this, among other arguments, "that their customs and usages in general were copied from theirs; they who left their abode with them to settle in Egypt, having retained their original and paternal rites." (Lib. iii. p. 175.) In short, after refuting the arguments adduced from false interpretations of Scripture, (Josh. v. 9, Jer. ix. 25, 26,) the silence of Philo, (De Circumcis. p. 810,) and the neglect of Josephus to contradict Herodotus, when speaking of circumcision, (Advers. Apion. lib. ii. cap. 9,) he shows, that circumcision as practised by the Egyptians, not on the eighth day like the Jews, but at the age of thirteen like the Arabs, seems not to have been general among that people, but confined to the priesthood, and to those Egyptians and foreigners who wished to be initiated in the sacred mysteries, of which priests were the hierophants, and the rite of circumcision an indispensable prerequisite.

[a] Lev. xxvi. 41. Deut. xxx. 6. Jer. iv. 4; ix. 26. Ezek. xliv. 7. Acts vii. 51. Rom. ii. 29, 30. Col. ii. 11.

in children are less dangerous than in persons farther advanced, when the humours become more gross, and the passions have more influence. 2d, That it was proper to fix on a certain given day, to prevent delay, or ultimate neglect. It would seem that God foresaw this, since he threatened the contemners of his law with death. And 3d, By delaying it till the 8th day, it was an evident token, that he did not consider the observance of it essential to salvation, since so many children die before that time. Spencer thinks that the reason why circumcision was not observed in the wilderness, was because they had enough besides to distinguish them then as the people of God: but that when they reached the borders of Canaan, and when that peculiar state of things was about to cease, they were then ordered to renew the rite.[a]

3. *Treatment while minors.* When circumstances admit, mothers are certainly the best nurses of their children; and in Judea the practice seems to have been general; their manners, and the state of society, rendering that a pleasure, which, in a more polished and thoughtless age, has been counted an incumbrance. Hence we find but three nurses mentioned in Scripture: viz. Rebekah's,[b] Mephibosheth's,[c] and she who nursed Joash, king of Judah.[d] As to the length of time employed in giving suck, it is not particularly mentioned. The Mishna says eighteen months, or two years;[e] and several authors have protracted it to three years:[f] but this is certainly against nature, which teaches that the qua-

[a] De Leg. Heb. Rit. lib. i. cap. 5. sect. 1. [b] Gen. xxiv. 59.
[c] 2 Sam. iv. 4. [d] 2 Kings xi. 2. [e] Tractat. de Divortiis, cap. vii. sect. 6. [f] 2 Maccab. vii. 27. Park's Travels, ch. xx.

lity of the nourishment is deteriorated before that time; and it can only be dictated by necessity, or when a multitude of children are considered a burden. A Jewish child was forbidden to be given out to one of a different religion to nurse, lest it might acquire an attachment to heathenism, or Christianity:[a] and Jewish mothers were forbidden to fast, or neglect their persons, lest they might injure the health of their children. As for the redemption of the first-born, that was particularly treated of in the section which enumerates the funds for the support of the priesthood. But I may add, that, at the weaning of children, there was commonly a feast, in token of gratitude, at which the family and neighbours made merry.

In countries where polygamy prevails, children are always more attached to the mother than to the father. She forms the centre around which they revolve, and by which they are attracted. Hence, an insult to a mother is the grossest insult: and, to prevent confusion, the children are often named by their mother, to distinguish them from the children by the other wives. Thus, Abishai, Joab, and Asahel are called the sons of Zeruiah, David's sister:[b] and the names of the mothers of the kings are mentioned for the same reason. Their manner of carrying children in the East is rather singular: for though in infancy they are sometimes carried in the arm, and those who cannot support themselves, are carried on the shoulder,[c] Sir John Chardin tells us, that "it is the general custom in the East, to carry them

[a] Mishna, Tractat. de Cultu Peregrino, cap. ii. sect. 1.
[b] 1 Chron. ii. 15, 16. 2 Sam. xvi. 10. [c] Russell's Aleppo, vol. i. p. 441.

astride upon the hip, with the arms round the body.[a] Hence Isaiah,[b] when prophesying of the happiness of the Gentiles under the gospel, says, "then shall ye suck; ye shall be borne upon her sides, and be dandled on her knees."

Children were enjoined, by the traditions, to have their heads covered, of whatever sex, till the age of thirteen; after which, girls continued covered, but boys went with the head bare, and the feet covered. When they could speak distinctly, they were taught by their parents, as their natural instructors, select sentences from the law, such as Deut. vi. 4, xxxiii. 4; and were enjoined to refrain from associating with those of a different religion. At a proper age, they were sent to school: but we know very little of the nature of these institutions. The elements of knowledge, at that time, must have been very limited. Printing had not then lent its aid to multiply books; nor had the Arabic figures simplified arithmetical calculations. It is probable, therefore, that the reading of the Scriptures, either in whole, or in part, from a written copy in the school; the writing of them either on the leaf of a tree, on vellum, or on sand; the getting by heart some select portions; and a very simple notation by the letters of the alphabet, used as figures, were all that children were commonly taught. But whether their reading was with or without the points, I shall not take upon me to determine. Those who wish for farther information, may consult Drs. Robertson's and Wilson's Hebrew Grammars. At the age of thirteen, they commonly acquired a new degree,

[a] Lowth on Is. lx. 4, note. [b] Isaiah lxvi. 12.

indicative both of their progress in learning, and their moral character. They were then called "the sons of the commandment," because thenceforth bound to observe the law, and allowed to study the six hundred and thirty-one precepts, partly negative, partly positive, which were collected from it. At the beginning of their fourteenth year, they were capable of choosing their own tutors, and of acting legally in the disposal of property. But as that was an important season, it was usually attended with the following formalities. The father called ten men of respectability, told them the age and proficiency of his son, and the anxious desire which he had to be henceforth freed from all responsibility. He then, in their presence, and in the presence of his son, offered up a prayer to God, expressive of his thanks, that he was freed from the burden of his son's education, and his earnest desire, that his son might reach a good old age, full of faith and good works. This rite was surely far more impressive, than that used by the Romans, at the assumption of the toga virilis, and addressed to nobler principles—the principle of gratitude, and the love of piety. When fifteen years of age, they were taught to dispute on questions in the Gemara, but seldom read in the prophets, which may account for their ignorance of the Messiah. At eighteen, the males could marry, and the females when they were twelve and a day; till which time they were called little maids: but that very day, they became young women.[a] At twenty complete, the young men were their own masters, and could do every thing on their own ac-

[a] Lightfoot's Heb. and Talm. Exer. on Mark v. 23.

count.[a] In the Mishna, the life of man is thus divided. "A son of five years old, to the law. A son of ten years, to the Mishna. A son of thirteen years, to the precepts. A son of fifteen years, to the Talmud, (of which the Gemara was [illegible]) A son of eighteen, to marriage. A son of twenty, to acquire riches. A son of thirty, to strength. A son of forty, to prudence. A son of fifty, to give advice. A son of sixty, to old age. A son of seventy, to grey hairs. A son of ninety, to a pit, (as ready to stumble into it.) And a son of a hundred, is as if dead, and departed from the present life."[b]

Hitherto I have said nothing about their teaching their children a trade; but that was universally the case, whatever their rank or condition might be; that, in a reverse of circumstances, they might be able to earn a livelihood. Thus our Saviour was a carpenter; several of the apostles were fishermen; Paul was a tent-maker. Some of the eminently wise men of Israel had been cutters of wood. Rabban Jochanan ben Zaccai, vice-president of the Sanhedrin, was a merchant. And the following extract from the Talmud, will show that the practice was general: "What is a father commanded to do to his son? To circumcise him; to redeem him; to teach him the law; to teach him a trade; and to take him a wife. Rabbi Judah saith, He who teacheth not his son a trade, does as if he taught him to be a thief. And Rabban Gamaliel saith, He who hath a trade in his hand, is like a vineyard that is fenced."[c] It is nowhere said, at

[a] Buxtorff, Synag. Jud. cap. 4. [b] Capita Patrum, cap. v. sect. 21.
[c] Lightf. Harm. of N. T. Acts, ch. xviii.

what particular age they were admitted to the passover. The general rule on the subject was, when they could ascend Moriah with a hold of their father's hand; and we know that our Saviour attended then only twelve years of age; or, when he uncovered his head, and obtained the degree of "the son of the commandment." Perhaps this was as soon as was generally convenient, since many had to come from a considerable distance; and it may afford to us, who are Christians, an argument for early partaking of the Lord's Supper.

4. *Birthright of the eldest.* This consisted of the following particulars: 1. A double portion of the father's effects, which was particularly denoted by the term בכרה, *bekerè*, or "the first-born,"[a] and was founded in reason; since the head and representative of the family needed somewhat considerable to support the honour of the family, and enable him to assist the younger children, if they required it. 2. A pre-eminence or authority over his brethren,[b] to supply the place of the common parent, when he should be no more; for to him would they look, as the judge for settling internal differences, and the leader to redress external wrongs. 3. The first-born usually presided as the priest of the family, at the family sacrifices, before the appointment of the Levitical priesthood. And 4. To them was attached the illustrious promise of being the progenitor of the Messiah. It is true, that the descendants of the family of David had exclusively that honour, and that a cloud of un-

[a] 1 Chron. v. 1, 2, compared with Deut. xxi. 17. See also Mishna, Codex Tertius de Damnis, cap. viii. sect. 5. Tractat. de Primogenitis, cap. viii. sect. 9. [b] Gen. xxvii. 29; xlix. 3, 4, 8.

certainty hung over the individual family, who should ultimately be preferred; but these would create the greater interest. And if we were to suppose, that the heir in line to the crown, actually became the supposed father, or real mother of our Lord, it would show us the vicissitudes of fortune, and to how low a state, the once illustrious family of David had sunk.—I may add, in the words of Parkhurst, that "the first-born in the holy line, reckoning from the father, with their peculiar rights, were evident types of him, who was to be the first-born among many brethren,[a] and in all things to have the pre-eminence."[b]

SECT. IV.

The Dress of the Jews.

1st, Of *the Men.* Hair black, worn short, except when in mourning. The weight of Absalom's hair considered. The beard worn long; razors; anointing with oil. The bonnet or covering for the head. The cethneth or tunic. The telith or coat; shelmè or hyke; girdle with its purse; cloak or mantle; shoes and sandals; phylacteries; scrip; staff.—2d, Of *the Women.* Lower ranks very simple; higher very expensive. Plaiting the hair, elegant head-dresses, painting the eyes with alkahol; nose jewels; ear-rings; veil; necklaces and chains of gold: bracelets; nails stained with alhennah; shifts; zone round the breast; linen vests; gown, or upper robe; girdle about the middle; drawers; tinkling ornaments on the legs; sandals; travelling veils; cloaks or burnooses; perfume boxes; handkerchiefs; hand-mirrors; large wardrobes in families; fashionable colours; remarks.

1*st, Of the Men.*

THE *hair* of the Jews, like that of the eastern people in general, was almost universally black, so

[a] Rom. viii. 29. [b] Col. i. 18.

that an old man, with a white head, among persons younger in years, resembled the almond tree, which is in full blossom in February, when all the others are dry and leafless. It was this circumstance which enraged Herod against his son Alexander, because an eunuch on the rack had said of him, that he ridiculed his father, and asserted, "that in order to cover his great age, he coloured his hair black." The assertion was false, but it shows us the contrast between youth and old age; and the probability that there were some, who endeavoured to conceal their age by that mean artifice.[a] The hair of the men was anciently worn short,[b] but those who were effeminate wore it long,[c] like Absalom, the weight of whose hair[d] has puzzled many commentators; for it is said to have weighed 200 shekels, at the time of each yearly cutting, which, at 9dwts. and 3 grains each, would be no less than 7lbs. 7oz. and 5dwts. troy. But Michaelis[e] makes the shekel only $92\frac{2}{5}$ grains, Paris weight, or $74\frac{1}{4}$ grains troy, so that the 200 shekels, according to him, would be 2lbs. 6oz. 19dwts. troy, which, after all, was a great weight of hair to be cut from any person's head yearly; and therefore Harmer, in his Observations,[f] explains it in three ways. 1st, That the hair was loaded with

[a] Joseph. Antiq. xvi. 8. Maimonides de Idololatriâ, cap. xii. sect. 9. Martial notices the same thing in the following lines:

Mentiris juvenem tinctis, Lentine, capillis,
Tam subito corvus, qui modo cygnus eras.
Epigr. 48.

[b] Lightfoot's Heb. and Talm. Exer. on 1 Cor. xi. 14.
[c] Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 3. [d] 2 Sam. xiv. 26.
[e] Supplement to Heb. Lex. p. 367.
[f] Ch. xi. Ob. 51, Clarke's edition.

trinkets like the ladies, which is no explanation, for according to this it might have been 2000 shekels. Or, 2dly, That the Hebrew numeral ק, which stands for 200, might have been mistaken for ל, which stands for 30, by the head of it being either faintly written or obliterated; in which case it would have weighed 13oz. 13dwts. 18grs. troy, according to Bishop Cumberland, and according to Michaelis, only 4oz. 13dwts. 23grs. troy; the first of which would have been accounted an extraordinary head of hair, but the last nothing uncommon, since a very good head is reckoned about 5oz. But should the integrity of the Hebrew text be maintained, Harmer has a 3d solution, viz. That the word "to poll" means literally "to shave," as mourners shaved their heads, like Job,[a] or as those who had been in a state of distress, when they presented themselves to the king, like Joseph.[b] If, then, by "the end of the days," which is the original expression, we were to understand, not "the end of the year," but the end of the time that Absalom remained at his own house, without seeing the king's face, which was two years; the shaving of his head would express a single action, viz. the preparing himself to appear before the king. Should it be objected, that the difficulty remains unremoved, since it is said that he polled his hair "because it was heavy;" it may be answered, that the word translated "heavy" also means "honour," and, as such, is rendered in Prov. xxvi. 1. The whole, therefore, of the verse, according to Harmer, may be thus translated: "And when he shaved his head, for

[a] Ch. i. 20. [b] Gen. xli. 14.

it was at the end of the days (of his disgrace with the king) that he shaved it, because it was an honour to him (to see the king's face), therefore he shaved it, and he weighed the hair of his head at 200 shekels, after the king's weight."—But it may be urged against this interpretation, that the 200 shekels were uncommonly great, as the growth even of two years. I shall therefore endeavour to remove the difficulty a little by observing, that it was the custom for the young men, in ancient times, to wear their hair till they came of age, and then to cut it, and devote it to some deity.[a] Might not the Jews have had such a custom, but without its idolatry? And might not the words in question refer to that time? Should this supposition be admitted; the cutting of Absalom's hair, mentioned by the historian, will neither allude to a yearly cutting, on account of its weight; nor to a cutting after two years, when about to enter the king's presence; but to the time when he arrived at manhood, and assumed the toga virilis, which, among the Jews, was when 20 complete. In this point of view, the words will bear the following meaning: "And when he polled his head, for it was at the end of the days (of his minority) that he polled it, because it was an honour to him (to leave the youth, and to be numbered with the men), therefore he polled it; and he weighed the hair of his head at 200 shekels, after the king's weight." The singularity, according to this interpretation, did not lie in his cutting his hair, for it was a common practice on arriving at manhood, but in the large-

[a] Pollux, lib. iii. cap. 5. Langhorne's Plutarch, improved by Wrangham: Life of Theseus.

ness of the quantity on the occasion. He excelled every one in the beauty of his person, and in the abundance and length of his hair. This interpretation does not militate against his having long hair at the time of his death; for his rebellion did not happen till he was forty years of age,[a] and, consequently, when the hair of this effeminate and imprudent man had sufficient time to grow.

Should the above solution of Absalom's hair having been cut on his arrival at manhood, be looked upon as probable, it will explain to us, with more than ordinary force, the spouse's description of her beloved,[b] as of one under majority, since, in the East, they marry uncommonly young. "My beloved is white and ruddy, the chiefest among ten thousand; his head is as the most fine gold; his locks are bushy, and black as a raven." In short, she continues, in glowing language, to give a natural description of one whose youthful charms had won her heart, who was approaching majority, but had not yet submitted to the virile tonsure. So much, then, as to the hair of the Jews. It was, like that of the other eastern nations, generally of a dark colour, hanging in long ringlets, till their arrival at manhood, and worn short through the rest of life. The only exceptions to which rule were those who affected effeminacy; and those whom Josephus describes, as driving the chariots of king Solomon; who were "young men in the most delightful flower of their age, and eminent for their stature, being far taller than other men. These had very long hair hanging down, and were clothed in garments of Tyrian purple. They had

[a] 2 Sam. xv. 7. [b] Cant. v. 11—16.

also dust of gold every day sprinkled on their hair, (like Euphorbus the Trojan, in Homer's Iliad, xvii. 52,) so that their heads sparkled, with the reflection of the sunbeams from the gold."[a] It is probable, that all this is imaginary as to Solomon's charioteers, but Josephus would certainly describe them in consistency with the costume of the Jews.

But if the hair of the head was worn short, it was the honour of the *beard* to be long and thick. Indeed, this mark of virility was held by them in the highest veneration; whilst an insult to the beard was reckoned unpardonable. Thus Joab took Amasa by the beard to kiss him;[b] for when particular friends met, they embraced each other, and kissed the beard. And Hanun, king of the Ammonites, by cutting off the beards of David's ambassadors, was guilty of the greatest insult.[c] Niebuhr[d] gives a modern instance of the same kind of insult. This respect for the beard was not peculiar, however, to the Jews, but was common to all the eastern nations. Thus in the *Iliad*, when Thetis supplicates Jupiter, she is represented as taking him by the beard with her right hand;[e] and Dolon does the same by the beard of Diomed.[f] Pliny mentions it, as the general custom of the Greeks, to touch the beard of those they supplicated;[g] and Herodotus gives us to understand, that it was the custom of all nations, except the Egyptians.[h] At Rome, the beard was held in great honour. And, in modern times, every nation in the East is extremely partial to this vener-

[a] Antiq. viii. 7. [b] 2 Sam. xx. 9. [c] 2 Sam. x. 4, 5.
[d] Voy. L'Arabie, p. 275. [e] Il. i. 501. [f] Il. x. 454.
[g] Hist. Nat. lib. xi, cap. 35. [h] Lib. ii. cap. 36.

able incumbrance. Thus Thevenot tells us, that "the Turks greatly esteem a man who has a fine beard; that it is a great affront to take a man by his beard, unless to kiss it; and that they swear by the beard."[a] Chateaubriand mentions the same thing,[b] and D'Arvieux gives a remarkable instance of an Arab, who, having suffered a wound in his jaw, chose to hazard his life, rather than allow the surgeon to remove it.[c] In the Scriptures, we find razors mentioned, with which they trimmed their beards; and shaved certain parts of their heads, in much the same manner, perhaps, that the natives of the East do at this day, who shave all except one lock. For the anointing the hair of the head and beard with oil, and trimming and combing them, make an essential part of their daily dress; whilst neglecting them is considered as expressive of sorrow. The use of oil, as an article of dress, was as ancient as the days of Moses, who anointed Aaron, and the other priests, with oil of a particular kind;[d] and mentions it as a common part of dress in Deut. xxviii. 40. Hence Solomon says,[e] that "ointment and perfume rejoice the heart." Hasselquist tells us,[f] that the odoriferous oils now in use in Judea, and its neighbourhood, are made by steeping the flowers of tuberose, jessamine, narcissus, &c. in oil: but the ointment which was poured on the head and feet of Jesus was of spikenard.[g]

In the land of Judea, a covering for the head was indispensable, and accordingly bonnets or tur-

[a] Tom. i. p. 57. [b] Travels, vol. ii. p. 94.
[c] Tom. ii. p. 214. [d] Exod. xxx. 31.
[e] Prov. xxvii. 9. [f] P. 288. [g] Mark xiv. 3. John xii. 3.

bans, plain and ornamented, are mentioned in Scripture; the one as the dress of the common ranks, and the other of the rich. Indeed, bonnets or turbans are the common covering over all the East; so that Dr. Shaw's description of that part of dress may, perhaps, not have been far from what was used among the ancient Jews. "The Moors and Turks," says he, "in Barbary, with some of the principal Arabs, wear upon the head a small hemispherical cap of scarlet cloth. The turban, for so they call a long narrow web of linen, silk, or muslin, is folded round the bottom of these caps, and very properly distinguishes, by the number and fashion of these folds, the several orders and degrees of soldiers, and sometimes of citizens, one from another."[a] The word expressive of this kind of head-dress is frequently mentioned in Scripture; and in Ezekiel xxiii. 15, the web around the turbans of the Chaldeans was red or purple; but by being found in Job xxix. 14, it is a proof that it was in use, so early as the days of that patriarch. So much, then, for the care which the Jews took of the head and beard.

The first part of dress for their bodies was *a shirt*, which Lightfoot says was of wool. This, in the Talmudical writings, is called חלוק של עמר, *heluk shel omer*, or a garment smooth, loose, and collected round the body in a narrow compass, thereby intimating its fineness and pliancy.[b] Dr. Shaw tells us, that "the shirts of the Arabs are still of wool, but that in Palestine and Barbary, those who are in easy circumstances have them of linen, cotton, or gause, whilst the poor in these

[a] P. 226. [b] Lightf. Heb. and Talm. Exer. Luke ix. 3.

countries have no shirts at all."[a] The 2d part of their dress for the body was the כְּתֹנֶת *ketenet*, or tunic, which resembled a vest with arms. The tunics which are worn at this day, in the East, are sometimes very beautiful. The summer tunics of the Arabs, who live near Judea, are often white, edged with blue, and bespangled with gold, somewhat like that alluded to in Cant. v. 14. But in spring and autumn, the vests of well-dressed people are not unfrequently lined with short-haired furs, as sable, ermine, squirrel, &c. The 3d part of their dress for the body was the *coat*, or long robe of linen or cotton, called טלית *thelit*, which signifies spotted like a young kid;[b] and those who have seen the eastern dresses, must have been struck with the beautiful calicoes which they wear. Lightfoot says the thelit was made of sindon or linen, with woollen fringes, according to the injunction of the law in Deut. xxii. 12; and as noticed by our Saviour, concerning the Pharisees in Matth. xxiii. 5, where he says, "they enlarged the borders of their garments." The common name for these fringes was ציצית *tsitsit*, a word which signifies "flowers, or a flower-like fringe," and they were enjoined upon the Israelites, as we are told in Num. xv. 39, "that they might look upon them, and remember all the commandments of Jehovah, and do them."[c] The modern Jews have left off these, and conform to the customs of the countries where they reside; but they are said to preserve, under their clothes, a square piece of

[a] P. 228. [b] Lightf. Heb. and Talm. Exer. Luke ix. 3.

[c] Those who wish to see more about them, may consult Buxtorff, Synag. Jud. cap. 9.

stuff, with four strings and fringes hanging at the corners, in place of the tsitsit.[a] The 4th part of their dress for the body was the שלמה, *shelemè*.[b] It resembled the hyke of the Kabyles, and Arabs in Africa, and the Levant, and is thus described by Dr. Shaw: "These hykes, or blankets as we should call them, are of different sizes, and of different qualities and fineness. The usual size of them is six yards long, and five or six feet broad, serving the Kabyle and Arab as a complete dress in the day; and as they sleep in their raiment, as the Israelites did of old,[c] it served likewise for his bed and covering by night. The plaid of the Highlander of Scotland is the very same."[d] The Dr. says nothing particular about their manner of wearing it, except by a reference to the ancient dress of Caledonia; but Bishop Pococke is more minute. "It is almost a general custom," says he, "among the Arabs, and Mahomedan natives of Egypt, to wear a large blanket, either white or brown, and in summer a blue and white cotton sheet: putting one corner before, over the left shoulder, they bring it behind, and under the right arm, and so over their bodies, throwing it behind over the left shoulder, and so the right arm is left bare for action."[e] The 5th part of dress for the body was the *girdle*;[f] which, consisting of a piece of cloth doubled, and sewed along the edges, was more convenient for carrying a quantity of money than a purse, because the money being distributed

[a] Basnage, Relig. of Jews, b. 5. ch. 15.
[b] Exod. xxii. 26, 27. 1 Kings xi. 29, 30. Ps. civ. 2.
[c] Deut. xxiv. 13. [d] Page 224, 225.
[e] Vol. i. p. 190. [f] Lightf. Heb. and Talm. Exer. Luke ix. 3.

round the body, in the folds of the girdle, the weight of it was not so much felt.[a] The present eastern purses, as described by Dr. Shaw, are as follow: "They are a part of the girdle, which is made to fold several times about the body, one end of which being made to double back, and sewed along the edges, serves them for a purse, agreeable to the acceptation of the ζωνη in the Scriptures."[b] The length of the girdle was not uniform, for sometimes it went once round the body, and sometimes more; but it was very useful for two purposes, viz. to strengthen the loins, and to prevent the feet from being entangled by the long robe or hyke, which was folded round the body. The 6th part of the dress for the body, was the cloak or *mantle*.[c] This seems to have been an elegant part of dress, and worn over the rest. The ancient mantles, like the modern burnooses, were frequently either made of, or adorned with skins, furs, ermine, &c. The word is applied to Elijah's hairy garment,[d] which seems to have been a burnoose either lined with fur or formed of skin. And in Micah ii. 8, we find the Israelites reproached with pulling off the robe or burnoose, with the garment or hyke. Indeed Parkhurst (אדר) thinks that the burnoose, or upper garment, received its Hebrew name, from its being more showy than the hyke, as it is among the Moors in Barbary to this day.

Shoes or *sandals* were the dress for the feet; for none of the ancient nations wore breeches or

[a] Macknight's Harm. sect. 40. [b] Page 227.
[c] Lightf. Heb. and Talm. Exer. Luke ix. 3.
[d] 1 Kings xix. 13.

stockings, the hyke answering the purpose of femoralia, and the legs being commonly bare. The sandal was a piece of strong leather, or wood, fastened to the sole of the foot with strings, which they tied round the ancle and leg. These strings are called shoe latchets in Scripture, and are commonly to be seen on the antique statues and medals. They were known even in the days of Abraham, for in his conversation with the king of Sodom, after the overthrow of the kings, when urged to take the booty of these kings as his reward, he generously declined, and said, he would not take even a shoe latchet, lest the king of Sodom should say he made Abraham rich.[a] The shoes were different from the sandals, for they were a kind of short boot which covered the foot and part of the leg, and were a more delicate piece of dress than the sandal.[b] In conformity with this are the words of Rauwolff, who tells us that the Arabs of the desert, when not able to buy shoes, take necks of undressed skins instead of them, and put them about their feet, with the hair outwards, and so tie or lace them up.[c] Sandals are the common dress of the poor at present in the East; but the rich use socks, and slippers of red or yellow morocco; yellow, according to Thevenot, being the ordinary colour, red the more magnificent.[d] And it appears from Scripture, that they laid aside their shoes or sandals, when they approached God in acts of worship: a practice to which Juvenal alludes, when, in speaking of the Jews in his time,

[a] Gen. xiv. 23.
[b] Macknight's Harm. sect. 40.
[c] Page 157.
[d] Part i. p. 30.

he says, that "their kings keep their solemn sabbaths barefooted."[a]

There is still another part of dress which ought not to be omitted, and these were their תפלים *tephelim*, or *phylacteries*. They were described when treating of the dress of the high priest, and a picture of a person praying with them may be seen in Spencer,[b] who enters fully into their form and use. Some learned men have taxed the Jews with superstition, for explaining literally the passages in Exod. xiii. 16, and Deut. vi. 8, xi. 18, which refer to them; but if Deut. vi. 8, be not a positive literal command, it will be hard to find one in the law. There is no doubt but these outward signs, like all the other legal ceremonies, had an inward and spiritual meaning; and what meaning is so natural, as that binding portions of the law upon their hands, should remind them of performing it; and that binding them between their eyes, should denote the constant regard they ought to have to it? Our blessed Saviour, in Matth. xxiii. 5, finds no fault with the Pharisees, for wearing these phylacteries, any more than he does for wearing fringes to their garments, (which was another positive injunction of the law, Num. xv. 38—40, and to which we learn from Matth. ix. 20, xiv. 36, that Christ himself conformed,) but he blames them for making the one broad, and the other large, to be seen of men.

These were the ordinary parts of dress for the men, when going about their usual employments; but when they set out on a journey, they had

[a] Observant ubi festa mero pede sabbata reges. Sat. vi. 158.

[b] De Legibus Hebr. Ritualibus, tom. ii. sub finem.

something additional.—Thus, in a country where there were no regular inns, it was necessary for every traveller to carry his own provisions, or, at least, the materials for preparing them, in a scrip, (תורמיל, *turemil*, πηρα,) or bag, which they either tied to their back, or suspended from their neck.[a] And, besides the scrip, they had also a staff, as a necessary appendage. Chardin says, that it is a custom almost everywhere in the East, to carry a staff in the hand; and mentions particularly, that each of the Persepolitans had one. Of which last remark, the author of this work is qualified to judge, having seen a piece of black marble, which was taken from the grand staircase of the once splendid palace of Jemsheed, at Persepolis: on which are two male figures in basso relievo, of about three fourths length, with caps round and flat; beards and hair in regular rows of short curls, like wigs; and coats without capes, the one loose and plaited in the skirts, like the fashion half a century ago; the other plain, and fastened to the body by a belt. The figures are eighteen inches high; the one holding a staff upwards, and the other a staff in a walking posture. The ornaments in the staircase from which this piece of marble was taken, are considered very ancient. Sir John Malcolm,[b] and many other travellers, have given us an account of them. Every classical scholar will immediately recollect, that Persepolis was burnt by Alexander, at the instigation of his mistress Thäis, A.A.C. 320, but the final ruin of it is attributed to Sumeanah-u-Dowlah, A. D. 982.

[a] 1 Sam. xvii. 40. [b] History of Persia, vol. i. ch. 7.

Having said thus much of the dress of the men, let us next attend to,

2. *The Dress of the Women.*

The dress of those in the lower ranks, was probably very coarse and simple: but we are unable to ascertain it, at this distance of time. As the dresses of the East, however, like their other customs, have been very stationary, it is not unlikely that the following extract from Niebuhr[a] may somewhat resemble the ancient dress of the poorer Jews. "The whole dress," says he, "of a woman of low rank in Arabia, consists of drawers, and a very long shift of blue linen, wrought by a needle with some ornaments of a different colour, and a veil." And Thevenot describes the dress of those between Egypt and Sinai, as consisting of the same materials:[b] but the people of rank and fashion spared no cost, in the adorning of their persons.

One of their principal cares was the decorating of their *hair*, which was commonly of a dark colour, as is the case with those in the East. It was worn long,[c] and either hang in ringlets down the back, plaited with ribbons and trinkets, or was tied in a knot on the crown of the head. Hence the well-set hair mentioned by Isaiah, iii. 24, and the reproofs by St. Paul,[d] and St. Peter,[e] against those who were vain of this part of dress. Lady Mary W. Montagu tells us, that the hair of the Turkish ladies is still worn in this manner, "hanging at full length behind, divided into tress-

[a] Arabie, p. 57. [b] Part i. p. 173. [c] 1 Cor. xi. 15.
[d] 1 Tim. ii. 9. [e] 1 Epistle, iii. 3.

es, braided with pearls or ribbons; that she never anywhere else saw such fine heads of hair; and that, in one lady's hair, she counted a hundred and ten of these tresses, all natural."[a] Russell tells us, that the ladies at Aleppo adorned their hair with flowers according to the season.[b] And the editor of the ruins of Palmyra, when examining some mummies, in the Palmyrine sepulchres, found the hair of a female, plaited exactly after the manner commonly used by the Arabian and Moorish women at present: viz. collected into a knot at the crown of the head, and plaited with ribbons. I may add from Captain Light's Travels,[c] that "their hair is always anointed with oil of cassia, of which every village has a small plantation"—a practice which may explain to us why the royal garments are said by the Psalmist to have smelled of cassia.[d] Sometimes they wore elegant head-dresses, in the form of tiaras or turbans. These are called "hoods" in Isaiah iii. 23, but rendered turbans by Bishop Lowth. In Prov. i. 9, they are called ornaments of grace. And in Ezekiel xvi. 12, "beautiful crowns for the head." So that, as the eastern ladies have ever been uncommonly fond of dress, it was perhaps to these head-dresses, that the jewel on the forehead, mentioned in Ezek. xvi. 12, was attached; and from them, also, might have been suspended those rows of jewels mentioned in Cant. i. 10, which adorned the cheeks of the spouse. For Lady Mary W. Montagu[e] mentions the Sultana Hafiten, as wearing round her talpoche, or head-dress, four strings of pearl, the

[a] Vol. ii. Lett. 29. [b] Vol. i. p. 106, 252. [c] P. 96.
[d] Ps. xlv. 8. [e] Vol. ii. Lett. 39.

finest and whitest in the world. And Olearius, as cited by Harmer, in his Outlines of a New Commentary on Solomon's Song, says, that the Persian ladies wear two or three rows of pearl round the head, beginning on the forehead, and descending down the cheeks, and under the chin, so that their faces seem to be set in pearls.

But, in considering the methods which were taken by the Jewish ladies to render themselves beautiful, we should not overlook the painting of the eyes, which, especially by candle-light, gave them a wonderful gracefulness. This is often referred to in Scripture,[a] and is thus described by modern writers: "Great eyes," says Sandys,[b] "are in principal repute among the Turkish women, and of those, the blacker they be, the more amiable: insomuch, that, with a fine long pencil, they put between the eyelids and the eye a certain black powder, made of a mineral brought from the kingdom of Fez, and called *Alchole*, which, by the not disagreeable staining of the lids, doth better set forth the whiteness of the eye: and, though it be troublesome for a time, yet it comforteth the sight, and repelleth ill humours." "None of those Moorish ladies," says Dr. Shaw,[c] "take themselves to be completely dressed, till they have tinged the hair, and edges of the eyelids with *Al-kahol*, the powder of lead-ore. The operation is performed, by dipping first into the powder a small wooden bodkin, of the thickness of a quill, and then drawing it afterwards through the eyelids, over the ball of the eye." The above writers clearly show us

[a] 2 Kings ix. 30. Jer. iv. 30. Ezek. xxiii. 40, &c.
[b] P. 35. [c] P. 229.

what is meant by painting the eyes; but the following quotation from Savary,[a] will make us acquainted with the manner in which the stibium was prepared. "Cohel is a preparation of burnt tin, with gall nuts, which the Turkish women use for blackening and lengthening their eyebrows;" which cohel, I may remark, is the very word almost, (כחל *kehel*,) which is used in Scripture for this operation. Dr. Clarke calls it a black powder made of the sulphuret of antimony. And Dr. Russell[b] gives us an account both of the operation, and of the way in which the powder is prepared. "Upon the principle," says he, "of strengthening the sight, as well as an ornament, it is become a general practice among the women, to black the inside of their eyelids, by applying a powder called *Ismed*, which appears to be a rich lead ore, prepared by roasting it in a quince, apple, or truffle, and then levigated with oil of sweet almonds on a marble stone. Their method of applying the powder is by a cylindrical piece of silver, steel, or ivory, about two inches long, made very smooth, and about the size of a common probe: this they wet with water, in order that the powder may stick to it, and applying the middle part horizontally to the eye, they shut the eyelids upon it, and so drawing it through between them, it blacks the inside, leaving a narrow black ring all round the edge."[c] This

[a] Letters on Egypt, lett. 11. [b] History of Aleppo, p. 102.

[c] These remarks explain the conduct of the Sicarii, or robbers who infested Judea, a short time before Jerusalem was taken by the Romans; and of whom Josephus says that "they devoured what spoils they had taken, together with their blood, and indulged themselves in feminine wantonness—decking their hair, putting on women's garments, besmearing themselves all over with ointments, painting under

custom of painting the eyes, however, was not peculiar to the Jews, but common to other eastern nations, as may be seen by consulting the authors quoted below.[a]

The *nose-jewels* are the next thing remarkable in the dress of the Jewish ladies. They are often mentioned in Scripture,[b] and still continue to be used by the females of the East. Sir John Chardin, as quoted by Harmer,[c] tells us that "it is the custom, in almost all the East, for the women to wear rings in their noses, in the left nostril, which is bored low down in the middle. These rings are of gold, and have commonly two pearls and one ruby between, placed in the ring. I never saw," says he, "a girl or young woman in Arabia, or in all Persia, who did not wear a ring after this manner in her nostril." Thus far Chardin. Captain Light[d] says that those of the poor are of bone or metal; and they who have seen any Indian paintings, will have observed that the same practice of having ornaments for the nose, universally prevails among the Hindoos.

As for the *ear-rings*,[e] they have always been a very general part of dress. Sir John Chardin's account of them is as follows: "Some of the eastern ear-rings are small, and go so close to the ear as

their eyes to appear very comely: but, while their faces looked like the faces of women, they killed with their right hands; and while their gait was effeminate, they presently attacked men, and drawing their swords from under their finely dyed cloaks, they run every body through whom they met with." War, iv. 9.

[a] Pliny, Nat. Hist. xxxiii. 6. Juvenal, ii. 92. Xenophon, Cyropæd. lib. i. p. 15, edit. Hutch. 8vo. Clemens Alexand. Pæd. lib. iii. cap. 2. Herodian, lib. v. cap. 16.

[b] Is. iii. 21. Gen. xxiv. 47, &c. [c] Observations, vol. ii. p. 390.

[d] P. 96. [e] Is. iii. 20. Ezek. xvi. 12.

that there is no vacuity between them. Others are so large, that you may put the fore-finger between, adorned with a ruby, and a pearl on each side of it, strung on the ring." As there are two words used for this ornament in the Old Testament, Parkhurst makes the first of these kinds, mentioned by Chardin, to be the עגיל, *ogil*, on account of its circular form; and the second the נזם, *nezem*, from its artificial structure. Chardin says, that he had seen some of these larger ear-rings with figures on them, and strange characters, which he believed to be talismans. Perhaps the ear-rings of Jacob's family, which he buried with the strange gods at Bethel,[a] were of that kind.

The last ornament for the head was the *veil*, which, however laid aside when in the house, and among their female friends, was always used when they went abroad, or appeared in the presence of the men. Hence, to appear without a veil, was considered as the mark of a person of worthless character. Niebuhr[b] tells us, that "the most essential part of the dress of the women in the East still seems to be the veil, with which they cover their faces when a man approaches them;" and, in his twenty-third plate, No. 48, he presents us with the head of a female, whose face is partly visible through a thin transparent veil. Other travellers give us similar accounts of this part of dress.

Hitherto we have considered the ornaments connected with the head; let us next attend to those which were peculiar to the neck.—They consisted either of pearls and emeralds strung on a thread, or

[a] Gen. xxxv. 4.

[b] Arabic, p. 131.

of chains of gold. The prophet Ezekiel, xvi. 11, calls them therefore "chains on the neck." Solomon describes the spouse, as having her neck "beautiful with chains of gold," pearl, or emerald; for "gold" is the supplement of our translators:[a] one of which even ravished his heart.[b] And, as the eastern necklaces were often very valuable, we may see the force of Abraham's words to the king of Sodom, when he said to him, after the defeat of the kings, that he would not take "from a thread even to a shoe latchet, lest he should say that he made Abraham rich:"[c] meaning that he would not take, from the most valuable, to the most trifling part of the spoil; from the thread which strung the pearl or emerald necklace, to the thong which bound the sandal to the foot. Necklaces of pearl, emerald, and gold, are still much used in the East, and may serve to illustrate Scripture. Thus, Lady M. W. Montagu, when describing the dress of the Turkish Sultana Hafiten, says, "round her neck she wore three chains, which reached to her knees; one of large pearls, at the bottom of which hung a fine coloured emerald, as big as a turkey's egg; another consisting of 200 emeralds close joined together, of the most lively green, perfectly matched, every one as large as a half-crown piece, and as thick as three crown pieces, and another of small emeralds perfectly round.[d] The female Arab, of whom Niebuhr gives us a print,[e] had three strings of pearls hanging at her neck. Judith, when she was desirous of charming Holofernes,[f] did not forget her chains. And in Stew-

[a] Cant. i. 10. [b] Cant. iv. 9. [c] Gen. xiv. 23.
[d] Letters, vol. ii. lett. 39. [e] Voyage, tom. i. p. 242. [f] Ch. x. 4.

art's Journey to Mequinez, the maids of the Moorish emperor's palace are described with gold chains about their necks.

After the ornaments for the neck we may notice the ornaments for the hands. The arms of the Jewish ladies, like those of the modern eastern ladies, were commonly bare when in the house, but ornamented with bracelets.[a] These bracelets, however, were not peculiar to the females; for we find the Amalekite bringing to David, Saul's crown and bracelet.[b] And the hands of the bridegroom, in Cant. v. 14, are compared to gold rings set with the beryl, or having bracelets of gold set with beryl. But though they were sometimes worn by men of higher rank, they were the common appendages of the women, and consisted either of chains of gold, or strings of pearl, or of precious stones. In Indian paintings, the arms, both above and below the elbow, are adorned with these chains.

But if they ornamented their arms with bracelets, they also stained their nails, and sometimes their hands and feet with the כפר *kepher*, Cyprus, or Al-hennah. (Lawsonia inermis.) It occurs in Cant. i. 14, iv. 13, but is translated "camphire," and is mentioned as a perfume rather than as a dye. Dr. Shaw's account of this plant is as follows: "This beautiful odoriferous plant, if it is not annually cut and kept low, grows ten or twelve feet high, putting out its little flowers in clusters, which yield a most grateful smell like camphor, and may therefore be alluded to in Cant. i. 14.—The leaves of this plant, after they are dried and powdered, are

[a] Is. iii. 19. Ezek. xvi. 11. [b] 2 Sam. i. 10.

disposed of to good advantage in all the markets of the kingdom of Tunis. For with this, all the African ladies that can purchase it, tinge their lips, hair, hands, and feet, rendering them thereby of a tawny saffron colour, which with them is reckoned a great beauty."[a] Russell mentions the same practice, of dyeing the feet and hands with hennah, as general among all sects and conditions at Aleppo.[b] Niebuhr tells us, that "the women in some parts of Yemen, or Arabia Felix, have the same custom."[c] And Hasselquist gives us the following account of the practice: "The al-henna," says he, "grows in India, and in Upper Egypt, flowering from May till August; the leaves are pulverized, and made into a paste with water; they bind this paste on the nails of their hands and feet, and keep it on all night; this gives them a deep yellow, which is greatly admired by the eastern nations; the colour lasts for three or four weeks, before there is occasion to renew it. The custom is so ancient in Egypt," adds he, "that I have seen the nails of mummies dyed in this manner. The powder is exported in large quantities yearly, and may be reckoned a valuable commodity."[d] Such are the accounts which are given us of the henna, or al-henna: and as this plant does not appear to be a native of Palestine, but of India and Egypt, it seems mentioned in Cant. i. 14, as a curiosity growing in the vineyards of Engedi. Parkhurst thinks it probable (כפר III.) that the Jews might be acquainted with its uses as a dye or tinge, before they had experienced its odoriferous virtue; and might, from its dyeing quality, have given it

[a] P. 113, 114. [b] P. 103. [c] Arabie, p. 57, 58. [d] P. 246.

the name of kepher. It would appear that staining the nails, in ancient times, was a mark of freedom and joy. For, in Deut. xxi. 12, in the injunction concerning the female slave, which the victor chose to take to wife, it is said, that she shall pare her nails, or, literally, she shall make her nails; that is, stain them. And Mephibosheth, during David's absence from Jerusalem, is said, not to have dressed, literally, not to have stained his feet.[a] Bruce says that the henna is used both as an ornament and an astringent, to keep them dry from sweat.

Many of the poor in Palestine at this day wear no *shifts*, but those in easier circumstances do, and they are commonly of linen, cotton, or gauze, but those of the Arabs are of woollen.[b] Lady Mary W. Montagu, who dressed in the Turkish manner when at Adrianople, says, "My smoke is of a fine white gauze, edged with embroidery. It has wide sleeves, hanging half way down the arm, and is closed at the neck with a diamond button; but the shape and colour of the bosom is very well to be distinguished through it."[c] This under garment was anciently called סדין, *Sedin*, and is mentioned in Judg. xiv. 12, 13; Prov. xxxi. 24. Around the breasts they had also a kind of fascia pectoralis, or zone, compressing them in such a manner, as to make them appear plump and round. It is mentioned in Exod. xxxv. 22, where it is rendered "tablets," and is said to have been made of gold, which would have been difficult to explain, if we had not known, that the ladies in the East use such cases, but so pliable, as to favour every

[a] 2 Sam. xix. 24. [b] Shaw, p. 228. [c] Letter 29.

motion of the body. Those of the poor are generally of wood, flexibly wrought.[a] But, besides these zones, the Jewish ladies had also fine linen,[b] or fine linen vests, as Lowth renders the word, which sat close to the body like the "antery" of Lady M. W. Montagu,[c] which was "a waistcoat made close to the shape," and perhaps also sometimes as elegant as hers, which was white and gold damask.

The gown or *upper robe* of the Jewish women varied much, according to their station. Thus, in the case of Ruth[d] it must have been of a considerable size, in order to hold so much barley. Accordingly, Dr. Shaw thinks it no other than the hyke; the finer sort of which, as still worn by the ladies, and persons of distinction among the Arabs, he takes to answer the πεπλος, or *peplus*, of the Greeks. In the Indian paintings particularly, the thin and beautifully flowered gauze, which appears over a thick dark coloured slip, gives us a distinct idea of the changeable suits of apparel, embroidered robes, and transparent garments, which are spoken of by our translators, and Bishop Lowth, in their explanation of Is. iii. 22, Ezekiel xvi. 10; without having recourse to those, which were worn by the Lacedemonian and Coan courtezans.[e]

Girdles are frequently mentioned in Scripture, as a part of female dress, and those of the higher ranks were elegantly embroidered. They were fastened by a clasp of various materials, according to

[a] Niebuhr, Heron's edit. vol. ii. p. 347. [b] Is. iii. 23.
[c] Vol. ii. p. 12. [d] Ch. iii. 15.
[e] Plutarch, Vita Numæ. Horace, Lib. i. Sat. 2, vers. 101.

the rank and taste of the wearer. In the description of the spouse, in Cant. vii. 2, the clasps of her girdle were so formed, as to look like a goblet filled with liquor, or mixed wine; as it might easily be made to do, by a proper disposition of the precious stones.[a] Beautiful girdles still make a prominent feature, in the dress of the eastern ladies. For Dr. Chandler,[b] when describing the dress of a Grecian lady, says, "A rich zone encompasses her waist, and is fastened before by clasps of silver gilded, or of gold set with precious stones." In Russell's Natural History of Aleppo, p. 101, is a print of a Turkish lady, whose clasp looks like three artificial flowers of precious stones. And Niebuhr[c] presents us, in tab. 24, with a Grecian lady of Alexandria, in Egypt, the clasp of whose girdle resembles two little oval shields, having a flower in the middle.

In the East the ladies wear *drawers*, and the same seems to have been the case formerly. For Harmer, in his Outline of a Commentary on Solomon's Song, ch. vii. 1, considers the word, which is rendered "joints," as more properly meaning, that concealed dress or covering for the legs, which is still worn by the Moorish and Turkish women of rank. Let a female, however, be the commentator here. "The first part of my dress," says Lady M. W. Montagu,[d] "is a pair of drawers, very full, that reaches to my shoes, and conceals the legs much more modestly than your petticoats. They are of a thin rose-coloured damask, brocaded

[a] Harmer's Outlines of a new Commentary of Solomon's Song, p. 10, where see more.

[b] Travels in Greece, p. 123, 124

[c] Voyage en Arabie, tom. i. p. 135.

[d] Vol. ii. Lett. 29.

with silver flowers. Over my drawers hangs my smock, of fine white silk gauze, edged with embroidery."

When the drawers were not so long as her ladyship describes them, the legs were ornamented with rings or chains of gold, which are called "the ornaments for the legs" in Is. iii. 20. Pliny[a] mentions the compedes, or fetters of silver, which were worn by women of the lower ranks among the Romans. Niebuhr speaks of the great rings, which the poor, and the dancing women in Egypt, and an Arabian woman of the desert, wore round their legs.[b] Dr. Shaw, in his Travels, p. 241, mentions the shackles, or tinkling ornaments of the feet, as a part of the constant dress of the Moorish women. And Stewart, in his Journey to Mequinez, says, that "the Moorish women, in those parts, have bracelets about their arms and legs." Whilst Rauwolff tells us, that "the Arab women, whom he saw in his going down the Euphrates, wore rings about their legs and hands, and sometimes a good many together, which, in their stepping, slipped up and down, and so made a great noise." To all these we may add the testimony of Chardin, that "in Persia and Arabia, they wear rings about their ancles, which are full of little bells. These the children, and young girls, take a particular pleasure in giving motion, with which view they walk quick:" which words of Chardin explain Is. iii. 16, where it is said, that they walk "mincing as they go, and making a tinkling with their feet."

But whilst the legs were ornamented with rings and bells, the feet also were commonly ornamented

[a] Hist. Nat. lib. xxxiii. cap. 12. [b] Tom. i. p. 133, 148, 194.

with sandals. Hence the bridegroom, when speaking of the spouse, in Cant. vii. 1, says, "How beautiful are thy feet with shoes (or sandals,) O prince's daughter!" From which we learn, that these were, anciently, an eminent part of eastern female finery. So Judith, ch. x. 4, when she proposed to charm Holofernes, took her sandals (σανδαλια) upon her feet; and in ch. xvi. 9, it is said that her sandals ravished his eyes. Homer also, in the brief description which he gives of Juno's dress, when she intended to captivate Jupiter, does not omit to mention her sandals.[a] And in modern times, Lady M. W. Montagu, when describing her Turkish dress,[b] says, "my shoes are of white kid leather, embroidered with gold;" and of the fair Fatima,[c] she observes that "her slippers were white satin, finely embroidered." On the ancient sandals there appears, however, to have been something more than embroidery. For they rather seem to have resembled the sandals of the Hindoos, which frequently make a tinkling noise, by reason of the ornaments which are attached to them; since we read of tinkling ornaments for the feet,[d] as well as of rings on the legs. In Ezek. xvi. 10, mention is made of sandals of badgers' skins, which were accounted a luxury. When tanned, they resemble Turkey leather, and were probably used as a substitute. Mr. Harmer tells us, that they are less exposed to crack than most kinds of leather, and are more durable.[e]

Thus have we attended to those parts of the house dress, which may be considered as common,

[a] Il. xiv. 186. [b] Lett. 29, vol. ii. p. 12. [c] Letter 33.
[d] Is. iii. 18. [e] Observ. ch. 11, ob. 43, Clarke's edit.

but there were several other which were occasionally added. It was their usual practice, for instance, when they went abroad, to wear something to cover all the face, except the eyes, and that hid the whole dress of the head: this is translated "mantles," in Is. iii. 22. It consisted of a large veil, and in cold weather of a burnoose, or cloak. And when they sat in the house, perfume boxes were almost their constant companions. Some of these, in present use, are as large as the hand; the common ones are of gold; the others are covered with jewels. They are full of holes, and filled with a black paste, very light, made of musk and amber, but of a very strong smell.[a] It is to these that the spouse alludes, when she says, Cant. i. 13, "A bundle of myrrh is my well-beloved unto me; he shall lie all night betwixt my breasts;" for a bundle, or small casket of myrrh, is the same part of dress as the perfume boxes of the ancient eastern ladies, suspended from the neck by a gold chain, so as to fall down upon the breast, as low as the girdle. In this point of view the words mean, that he was dear to her as the casket of myrrh, which remained always in her bosom.[b]

But if they used perfume boxes to destroy the effects of a profuse perspiration, so did they almost always appear with a handkerchief; at least we may conjecture this, from the universality of the present practice. Sir John Chardin[c] tells us, that "the fashion of wearing wrought handkerchiefs, is general in Arabia, Syria, Palestine, and generally

[a] Complete System of Geog. vol. ii. p. 175.
[b] Outlines of a New Commentary on Solomon's Song, p. 105, &c.
[c] MS. vol. vi. quoted by Harmer.

in all the Turkish empire. They are wrought with the needle, and it is the amusement of the fair sex to make them for their relations or favourites. They have them almost constantly in their hands, in these warm countries, to wipe off sweat." This custom of using handkerchiefs is as ancient as it is universal; for Niebuhr, when examining the antiquities of the island Elephanta, near Bombay, says, "in many places the handkerchief, still used through all India, is observable in the hands of the inferior figures."[a]

Another accompaniment of female dress was the hand mirror. We find the first mention of them in Exod. xxxviii. 8. They were evidently specula, or metallic mirrors; for Moses made the foot of the laver, of the looking-glasses of the women, who appeared at the door of the tabernacle. Bishop Lowth tells us, that he had a metalline mirror, found in Herculaneum, which was not above three inches square.[b] And we are informed by Dr. Shaw, p. 241, that looking-glasses are still part of the dress of the Moorish women in Barbary; that they hang them constantly upon their breasts; and that they do not lay them aside even in the midst of their most laborious employments. The doctor does not tell us of what metal they are composed; but Chardin says they are of steel, and for the most part convex. Perhaps the generality of those used by the Jewish women were of this metal; for we find the sky in Job xxxvii. 18, compared to a molten looking-glass, or to a speculum of polished steel. Having thus attended to the different

[a] Heron's edit. vol. ii. p. 322. [b] Notes on Is. ch. viii. 1.

parts of female dress, we may conclude the subject by remarking, that we have an instance of a full dressed woman, in Judith, when she went to attract the notice of Holofernes.[a]

It will be in the recollection of all, that the fashion of the dresses of both sexes among the Jews was very stationary, and, therefore, that wardrobes were accounted family riches,[b] and descended from generation to generation. This accounts for the ease with which Jehu's mandate was obeyed, when he ordered 400 vestments for the priests of Baal, that none might escape.[c] And the classic scholar will instantly recollect the 5000 chlamydes or cloaks, which Lucullus could furnish to those who asked him.[d]

Every age also hath had its favourite colour, some being accounted more distinctive of rank than others. Thus blue[e] or purple, as having a shade of blue,[f] was anciently accounted honourable; whereas blue is now the common colour, of the lower ranks in the East.[g] The reason is, that the ancient purple was obtained from the murex, a species of shell-fish, particularly described by Pliny,[h] very rare, and only to be found in the neighbourhood of Tyre; hence the Tyrian purple, which could only be purchased by emperors, and was worth its weight in gold; whereas the present blue colour is procured from indigo. The scarlet and

[a] Judith x. 3, 4; xii. 15. For farther information, consult Bishop Lowth's new translation of Isaiah, ch. iii. 18—24; Fleury's Manners of the ancient Israelites, part ii. ch. 6; and Schroederi Commentarius philologico-criticus de Vestitu Mulierum Hebræarum.

[b] Matth. vi. 19—21. [c] 2 Kings x. 22.

[d] Hor. Epist. lib. i. ep. 6. [e] Ezek. xxiii. 6. [f] Acts xvi. 14

[g] Hasselquist, p. 244, 245. [h] Hist. Nat. lib. ix. cap. 36.

crimson of the ancients were different from the purple; for these were produced from a worm or insect, which grew in a coccus or excrescence of a shrub of the ilex kind,[a] like the cochineal worm in the opuntia of America.[b] There is a shrub of this kind, says Lowth, on Is. i. 18, that grows in Provence and Languedoc, and produces the like insect, called the kermes oak, from kermez, the Arabic word for this colour; whence our word crimson is derived.—Mr. Bruce, when at Tyre, on his way to the source of the Nile, tried to obtain some of these fishes, from which the ancient purple was said to have been made, but could find none, after diligent fishing; and is inclined to think that the whole is fabulous, and that it was intended to conceal their knowledge of cochineal.

Before finishing the article, I shall add a few short notices. Woollen garments were not much esteemed by the ancient Jews.[c] John the Baptist's garment was a coarse cloth of camel's hair, not unlike that of the two dervishes which Captain Light saw in Egypt; who had a cloak of that material, thrown over their shoulders, and tied in front to their breast, with a girdle of skin round their loins.[d] Bishop Pococke, when describing the dresses of Egypt, says, that when riding they drop their upper garment around them on the saddle;[e] and La Roque tells us, that the riding dress of the Arabs is a piece of cloth doubled for a cloak, and sewed at the edges like a sack, leaving a hole at the corners for the arms, and the fore part is cut open, and a place cut out for the neck. Small boots of

[a] Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xvi. cap. 8. [b] See Ulloa's Voyage, b. v. ch. 2.
[c] Ezek. xliv. 17, 18. [d] Travels, p. 135. [e] Vol. i. p. 190.

yellow morocco, without stockings, cover the legs.[a] These may, perhaps, give us an idea of the Israelitish horsemen. And as Daniel and the Jews lived long in Babylon, Herodotus's account of the Babylonian dress may serve to explain a passage of Scripture. Thus he tells us,[b] that in his time, which was about a hundred years after the events recorded in Dan. chap. iii. the dress of the Babylonians consisted of a tunic of linen, reaching down to the feet, over this another tunic of woollen, and over all a white short cloak or mantle, and that on their heads they wore turbans. This Parkhurst applies, Lex. סרכל, to the explanation of Dan. iii. 21. "Then these three men were bound in their cloaks, their turbans, and their upper woollen tunics, and their under linen tunics." And as, according to this interpretation, outer garments are particularly described, we see the propriety with which it is observed in verse 27, that these were not changed by the fire.

SECT. V.

Entertainments of the Jews.

Furniture of an eastern kitchen. Fire-places; fuel, either wood, grass, or dried cow-dung. Bread, how baked, leavened, toasted. Testimony of travellers. Public ovens, their way of sending bread to them. Eastern bread not good above a day. Their better kind of cakes; their cracknels. Bread their principal food, eaten with oil, &c.; wheat, parched corn, barley, beans, summer fruits, roots; milk. Butter, how made by them; butter-milk a luxury; leban, how prepared; cheeses of the East, how made; not good. The general diet at Aleppo, and of the Arabs. An eastern breakfast, dinner, and supper. They use no spoons; are careful how they drink

[a] Page 208, 209. [b] Lib. i. cap. 195.

water; have wine at table; their wine often muddy; the cup-bearer's office; banqueting cups. Manner of sitting at meat. Public feasts: portions sent to those who could not attend; men and women sat often at different tables: the fragments given to the poor. People in the East visit after supper, as well as through the day. The earliest accounts of a grace at meat. Modern Jews very particular as to their food; have butchers with certificates that they kill according to law; two kinds of dishes; their way of eating; their bread, and manner of baking.

THE furniture of a Jewish kitchen cannot now be easily ascertained; but that of the common people was perhaps not unlike the furniture of the present Arabs, which consists of the following articles. 1st, Hair sacks, trunks, and baskets, all covered with skin, in which they keep their kettles and pots, great wooden bowls, hand-mills, and pitchers.[a] 2d, Skins for keeping water, which are made by cutting off the head and feet of a he-goat or kid, drawing out the carcass without opening the belly, sewing up the holes, and tying them round the neck when full. Thus do they resemble the goat-skin bottles of Homer,[b] and the dubbars of India; and as they are often blackened by the smoke of their tents, the Psalmist alludes to them when he says,[c] that he was "become as a bottle in the smoke." 3d, Vessels made of clay, and even of dried cow-dung;[d] but those of the emirs or chiefs are of wood, beautifully painted; or of copper, neatly tinned.[e] 4th, Earthen jars or pitchers, both for carrying water, and preserving corn from worms and insects; which might readily have supplied

[a] La Roque, p. 176, 178. Shaw, p. 231. [b] Il. xii. 246.

[c] Ps. cxix. 83.

[d] Mishna, Tractat. de Tentoriis, cap. v. sect. 5; vi. sect. 1. De Lotione Manuum, cap. i. sect. 2.

[e] La Roque, p. 11, 12.

Gideon with the number mentioned in Judges vii. 16, 19, 20. Every thing almost is kept by the Arabs in skins to keep it cool, preserve it from insects, and defend it from dust, which is there so fine, and in such quantities, that no chest can exclude it.[a]

The fire-places, in the eastern houses, are either on the hearth, or formed of two or three stones set over an ash-pit, on which are placed their pots and kettles.—But we ought particularly to remark their scarcity of fuel. There is no mention made of mineral coal in Judea; and wood, in a closely peopled and minutely divided country, could not be abundant. At the present day there are few plantations, from a different cause, the insecurity of property and of life. It is true, indeed, that the warmth of the climate required little fuel, for a great part of the year; yet the preparing of victuals, and the warming of apartments in the winter season, necessarily required a considerable quantity. Hence the methods which were often resorted to for supplying it, by collecting the prunings of vines,[b] brushwood, stubble, grass,[c] stalks of flowers, bones of animals,[d] and cow-dung. Indeed, that is the practice of these countries at the present day. For Dr. Russell tells us, that, owing to the scarcity of wood, they use wood and charcoal in their rooms; but heat their public baths with cow-dung and the parings of fruit.[e] And Pitts tells us, that, at Grand Cairo, they commonly warm their ovens with dried horse and cow-dung, or mire from the streets; what wood they have, be-

[a] Harmer, Ob. vol. i. p. 133. [b] Ezek. xv. 4. [c] Matth. vi. 30.
[d] Ezek. xxiv. 5, 10. [e] Vol. i. p. 38.

ing brought from parts adjoining to the Black Sea, and sold by weight at a high price.[a] The Arabs use dried cow-dung in baking their bread; and D'Arvieux complains that their bread smelt of it.[b] They carefully, therefore, collect in these countries, both sheep, and cow, and camel-dung; and carrying them without their cities, as Dr. Russell informs us, lay them in large heaps to dry, where they become very offensive; and then build them into stacks, and thatch them. Sir John Chardin confirms these remarks, by telling us, that the eastern people, in general, always use dried cow-dung for baking bread, boiling pots, and dressing all the kinds of victuals that are easily cooked, owing to the general scarcity of wood. The Hindoos use it for another reason, namely, to drive away gnats, mosquitos, &c. by its smell, and that no insect may be destroyed, and thereby no offence given to the doctrine of transmigration. Hence, in many parts of the East, cart-loads of dried cow-dung are brought for sale.—This usage of cow, and even of human dung, in the dressing of victuals, serves to explain some texts of Scripture:—Thus, in 1 Sam. ii. 8, it is said, that God "lifteth up the beggar from the dunghill (or place where that fuel was kept, and which was commonly the meanest part of the house,) to set him among princes." And in Ezekiel iv. 12, it hath often been the subject of ridicule among infidels, that God commanded the prophet to eat bread made of human dung; whereas he only enjoined him to bake it with that disagreeable kind of fuel, to show the Israelites the straits to which they would

[a] P. 104. [b] P. 193, 194.

be reduced in the siege; and which, when he objected against, he was allowed to exchange for dried cow-dung, or the ordinary kind of fuel.[a]—This dried dung is commonly reserved by the people of the East as their store; and, therefore, in order to save it, they employ, when they can procure them, thorns,[b] vine-twigs, whose ashes they collect for washing their linen, furze, grass, withered stalks of herbs and flowers, and whatever is thrown into the dust-hole, or into the street.[c] Hence the allusion of our Saviour in Matth. vi. 30, when he says of the grass, that it is collected, dried, and cast into the oven, to assist in dressing their victuals.

In considering the cookery of the East, the first thing naturally to be attended to is their *bread*. This is commonly baked in a wooden bowl or kneading trough, as it is called in Exod. viii. 3, and xii. 34, in which the dough is mixed with leaven,[d] formed sometimes of the lees of wine, used as yeast, but commonly of dough, kept until it becomes sour; which it does, when a part of the former day's baking is reserved to be leaven for the present.[e]—After it is leavened and formed into loaves, the most ancient way of baking, of which we have any account, is that by Sarah for the angels, in Gen. xviii. 6, when she baked them "upon the hearth;" and which is still one of the methods used in the East. Rauwolff observes that "they frequently baked bread, in the deserts of Arabia,

[a] Ezek. iv. 15. See also A Vindication of the Sacred Books and of Josephus, against Voltaire, by the late Dr. Findlay of Glasgow: Part ii. sect. 3. [b] Eccl. vii. 6. [c] Clarke's Harmer, ch. iv. ob. 20.
[d] Shaw, pref. xi. xii. and Trav. p. 231.
[e] Clarke's Harmer, ch. iv. ob. 16.

on the ground heated for that purpose by fire; covering their cakes of bread with ashes and coals, and turning them several times, till they were enough."[a] Busbequius mentions the baking of bread under the coals, by the women of Bulgaria in Turkey, as an usual practice in his time.[b]—And, not to multiply testimonies of a fact so well known, I shall only further add the account of Niebuhr.[c] "The Arabs of the desert," says he, "sometimes put a ball of paste upon coals of lighted wood, or upon camel's-dung dried; they cover it carefully with this fire, in order that it may be thoroughly penetrated by it; they afterwards take off the ashes, and eat it hot." Ray[d] says that the loaf is commonly about an inch thick.—But, although this be the most ancient way, it is far from being the only one in which the easterns bake their bread. For sometimes they bake it in a Ta-jen, or shallow earthen vessel, like a frying-pan,[e] probably alluded to in Lev. ii. 7; sometimes on small convex plates of iron or copper, which they keep for the purpose, and on which the bread is thin like skins,[f] alluded to perhaps in Lev. ii. 5; and sometimes around the outside of a great stone pitcher, properly heated, on which they pour a thin paste of meal and water, which is baked in an instant by evaporating the moisture.[g] Parkhurst thinks this alluded to in Exod. xvi. 31. Sometimes, also, they bake it in an oven in the ground, four or five feet deep, and three feet in diameter, well plastered with mortar, against whose sides, when heated,

[a] Harm. Ob. vol. i. p. 232. [b] De Legat. Turc. epist. i. p. 42.
[c] Descript. de l'Arabie, p. 46. [d] Collection of Travels, p. 149, 150.
[e] Shaw, p. 231. [f] Pococke, vol. ii. p. 96. [g] D'Arvieux, p. 192, 193.

they place the bread, which is commonly long, and not thicker than the finger, where it is baked in a moment;[a] and sometimes they use an oven about fifteen inches wide at top, and gradually growing wider towards the bottom, against the inner sides of which, when heated with wood, and perfectly cleared of smoke, by having nothing but embers below, they fix the cakes, by wetting that side of them which is to adhere to the oven, and watching them till they are ready, lest they should fall down among the embers. In this way, they can keep three or four of these in the oven at one time; and they preserve their arms from being scorched, by dipping them every time in water.[b] Not unfrequently, also, they bake their bread in a public oven, to save fuel, alluded to in Lev. xxvi. 26; and when that plan is adopted, the women prepare the dough at home; the baker sends his boys to give notice, that he is ready to receive it; those who have it ready, knock at the inside of their doors to make the boys hear; and, on their approach, open their doors a little, and hide their faces while giving it; and after it is baked it is returned with the same formalities.[c] We read in Jer. xxxvii. 21, of a bakers' street being in Jerusalem.—The common eastern cakes are small, thin, and moist; hence the reason why three are said to have been required for a single person, in Luke xi. 5. And they need to be eaten new, since, if older than a day, they are almost good for nothing; which was the reason why the person asking had none of his own, and therefore applied to a neighbour who, having children, might

[a] Clarke's Harmer, chap. iv. ob. 11.

[b] Jackson's Journey to India, p. 50.

[c] Pitts, p. 65.

have reserved some for their use, and thereby have to supply his necessity. But besides these common cakes, they have a better and richer kind, made with the yolks of eggs, and mixed and sprinkled with sesamum, coriander, and wild saffron.[a] They have also rusks, and biscuits for travelling, which will keep a long time.[b] The word translated cracknels, in 1 Kings xiv. 3, is understood by Harmer to mean, either small biscuits full of holes like a honey-comb, by means of eggs, or a solution of soap; or else that kind of bread which is spotted, or strewed over with various seeds.

Bread both was and is the principal food of the eastern nations. Dr. Shaw observes,[c] that they "are great eaters of bread; it being computed, that three persons in four live entirely upon it, or else upon such compositions as are made of barley or wheat flour." And Niebuhr[d] tells us "that the principal nourishment of the orientals in general, is fresh baked bread, and that therefore they take especial care not to want meal when they travel in the desert." Their bread is sometimes eaten by itself; sometimes dipped in cirika oil by the poor, or in oil of olives by the rich;[e] and sometimes it is eaten with salt, or summer savory, dried, powdered, and mixed with salt.[f] When they use their bread at meals, they break it, and dip it in oil, vinegar, rob, hatted milk, honey, &c.;[g] or present it in a wooden bowl, broken and mixed with some of the above ingredients.[h] Accordingly, in Ruth ii. 14, we find Boaz's reapers dipping their bread in vinegar.

[a] Ray's Travels, p. 95. [b] Russell, vol. i. p. 116. [c] P. 230.
[d] Arabie, tom. i. p. 188. [e] Pococke, vol. ii. p. 5.
[f] Russell, vol. i. p. 176. [g] Shaw, p. 232. [h] Pococke, vol. i. p. 113.

But besides bread, the people of the East have many other articles of food. Thus, in 2 Sam. xvii. 28, 29, Ezek. iv. 9, we read of sheep, flour or meal, wheat, barley, something that was parched, beans, lentils, butter, honey, millet, fitches, and something belonging to kine; and in 1 Chron. xii. 40, we have figs, raisins, wine, oil, &c.: let us notice a little the principal of these. Wheat is variously prepared for use. Sometimes it appears as bread, and sometimes as burgle, at which time it is dried, bruised in a mill so as to take off the husk, boiled like rice into a pillaw, made into balls, with meat and spices, provincially called cubby; and these balls fried or boiled as they like best.[a] Parched corn is also a part of their food;[b] but Dr. Russell thinks it should be parched barley; for they steep, parch, and grind barley in quantities, laying it up for future use; but they use corn in small quantities every day; keeping it in chests, called ambers, at Aleppo, which have a small opening at bottom to take it out; although the general way is in earthen pots or jars, and not in sacks, chests, or barrels, on account of insects.[c] The flour of parched barley is used by the Moors, in West Barbary, for food when on a journey. Their zumeet is barley flour mixed with honey, butter, and spices. Their tumeet is prepared with origan oil; and their limereea is barley flour mixed with water, as a cooling and refreshing draught. Beans boiled, and stewed with oil and garlic, are the favourite food of persons of distinction. They are also pre-

[a] Russell, vol. i. p. 117.
[b] Josh. v. 11. Ruth ii. 14. 1 Sam. xvii. 17. 2 Sam. xvii. 28.
[c] Clarke's Harmer, ch. iv. ob. 24.

sented parched, but in that state they never form a dish by themselves, but are strewed singly as a garnish over other dishes:[a] and they accompany cheese after their meals, as part of the dessert, instead of preserves, cicebs, hazel nuts, &c.[b] Melons, cucumbers, and onions, are the common food of the Egyptians in summer. Maillet says, that the Egyptian onions are sweeter than any other in the world. Endive or succory is a common food of the poor. Purslane is also common. Roman lettuces begin to be in season in November, and continue till April: they have a sugar-like taste, and are so agreeable as to be eaten without salt, oil, and vinegar. Radishes, carrots, and the leaves of the vine are also eaten; and a plant that grows near the mountains, the pith of which is used for food by the Arabs when dried. They use also the lotus, whether we understand by it the colocassia, or the water lily, or something different from both. Leeks are much eaten in Egypt; and garlic, although eaten, is imported from the islands of the Archipelago. The Copts in Egypt, of the middling and lower ranks, sit down to bread, raw onions, and a seed pounded and put into oil, which they call serich, produced by the herb simsim, or sesamum, into which they dip their bread;[c] and the better sort add salted cheese.

Goats' milk makes a great part of the diet of the East, from the beginning of April till September, and cows' milk the rest of the year; but it is not good when used sweet, from its tasting of garlic, by their being often fed from the produce of the

[a] Shaw, p. 140. [b] Ray's Travels, tom. i. p. 68.
[c] Pococke, vol. i. p. 182.

gardens. But every preparation of milk is in universal request—their butter—their butter-milk—their leban, or coagulated sour milk, and their cheese. Dr. Chandler, when in the Levant, saw milk churned by a man's treading on a skin which contained it; which may account for Solomon's words in Proverbs xxx. 33, "The pressing of milk bringeth forth butter;" and for Job's words, when he says, chap. xxxix. 6, "I washed my steps in butter." But the common manner of churning is like that mentioned by Dr. Shaw,[a] where the cream is put into a goat's skin, turned inside out, and hung between two poles of a tent or house, where it is agitated in one uniform direction, so as soon to occasion a separation between the butter and milk. Stewart, in his Journey to Mequinez, and Hasselquist,[b] in his Travels, say the same thing. Indeed, this last person is circumstantial as to the Holy Land; for, when speaking of an encampment of Arabs, which he found not far from Tiberias, at the foot of the mountain where Christ delivered his sermon, he says, "they made butter in a leather bag, hung on three poles, erected for the purpose, in the form of a cone, and drawn to and fro by two women." It is easy to suppose, that the butter obtained in that way could not be very good, and accordingly D'Arvieux[c] says, that it generally tastes of tallow from the skin. We are also informed by Shaw,[d] that it requires to be freed from hairs, and other impurities, by boiling it with salt, and straining it through a cloth, after which it is put into jars, and preserved for use. Fresh butter, he adds, soon grows sour and

[a] P. 168. [b] P. 159. [c] P. 200, 201. [d] P. 169.

rancid, from the heat of the climate. Butter-milk is a luxury, and the chief dessert among the Moors; and when they speak of the extraordinary agreeableness of any thing, they compare it to butter-milk.[a] It was no wonder, then, that Jael gave it to Sisera.[b] Dr. Russell, however, thinks that it was rather their leban, or coagulated sour milk, which she brought to that general: for although they sometimes drink sweet milk, and take much pleasure in butter-milk, yet their chief drink is leban, or coagulated sour milk. This favourite beverage is commonly prepared by putting the juice of a certain herb into it, when it curdles, to make it sourer, and consequently more refreshing; and they either drink it alone, or pour it upon their pillaw, or boiled rice. Sour curds (kaimac) and coarse bread, toasted on the coals, were given to Dr. Chandler near Smyrna.[c] The cheeses of the East are white, and of a bad taste. Their common runnet is either butter-milk,[d] or a decoction of the great-headed thistle, or wild artichoke.[e] Their cheeses rarely weigh above two or three pounds, and in shape and size are like our penny loaves. One would imagine, that the ancient Jewish cheeses were of the same shape; for the same word signifies "a hill," which in Job x. 10, is translated a "cheese;" and the Septuagint translate "the high hills," in Ps. lxviii. 15, 16, by a word which signifies "cheese-like hills."[f] The vats in which the eastern cheeses are made, are formed either of rushes, or of the dwarf palm: it

[a] Stewart's Journey to Mequinez. [b] Judges v. 25. [c] P. 157.
[d] La Roque, p. 200. [e] Shaw, p. 168. [f] Shaw, p. 168.

is no wonder, then, that Sandys tells us, that after all their pressing their cheeses are very soft.[a]

Having said thus much of some of the leading articles of food, let us next see how they appeared at table. The food of the common people of Aleppo, in winter, like those of Egypt, formerly mentioned, is very plain, and consists of bread, dibbs, (or the juice of grapes thickened to the consistence of honey,) leban, (or coagulated sour milk,) butter, rice, and a very little mutton. In summer they subsist chiefly on rice, bread, cheese, and fruits.[b] De la Roque gives the same account of the common Arabs, and adds, that "roasted meat is almost peculiar to the tables of their emirs or princes, and lambs stewed whole, and stuffed with bread, flour, mutton-fat, raisins, salt, pepper, saffron, mint, and other aromatic herbs."[c] Thevenot speaks of whole lambs and sheep being roasted in ovens, which are open at top, and into which they let down the meat in an earthen pan.[d] He mentions also another way used by the Armenians, who, after flaying the animal, wrap it in its skin, and cover it with coals, where it roasts thoroughly without being burnt.

The people of the East have always been in the practice of rising early, commonly with the dawn, that they may have leisure to rest or sleep in the middle of the day; and, as soon as they are up, they take breakfast. This consists of bread, fried eggs, cheese, honey, and leban, or coagulated sour milk;[e] but sometimes they begin with grapes, and other fruits fresh gathered, and then have for

[a] P. 57. [b] Russell, vol. i. p. 174. [c] Ch. xiv. p. 197. [d] Part ii. p. 95. [e] Russell, vol. i. p. 166. D'Arvieux, p. 24. Pococke, vol. i. p. 57. Clarke, vol. iii. p. 419, 4to edit.

breakfast, bread, coffee, and good wines, particularly one of an exquisite flavour, called muscadel.[a] —About 11 o'clock, forenoon, in winter, they dine, and rather earlier in summer. "A piece of red cloth, cut in a round form, is spread upon the divan, under the table, to prevent it from being soiled, and a long piece of silk cloth is laid round, to cover the knees of such as sit at table; but the table itself has no covering, except the victuals. Pickles, salads, small basons of leban, bread, and spoons, (which are a modern refinement, and far from general,) are disposed in proper order round the edges. The middle is for the dishes, which, among the great, are brought in one by one, and after each person has eaten a little, they are changed." This is Dr. Russell's account of the custom at Aleppo,[b] and it bears a considerable likeness to the Jewish tables mentioned by Lightfoot.[c] For he says, that two-thirds of them were spread with a cloth, and one-third left bare for the dishes and herbs; and that they were hung up in some safe place by a ring, to prevent defilement. As they had no table-cloths, it is probable that they were wiped with a sponge, like the royal table at Ithaca.[d] The Arabs resemble those of Aleppo, in having no taste in their meals, for they set before their guests all they have, however discordant, eggs, honey, curds, pillaw, or boiled rice, broth, beans, sour cream, soup, flesh, &c.; and, like the dishes at Aleppo, they are not produced at once, but in succession. The Sultana Hafiten gave Lady Mary W. Montagu a dinner at Constantinople "of fifty

[a] Chandler, p. 18. [b] Vol. i. p. 172.
[c] Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations on John xiii. 23.
[d] Odyss. xx. 152.

dishes of meat, which, after their fashion," says she, "were placed on the table, but one at a time, and was extremely tedious."[a] In general, however, the broth is brought in first, the pillaw, or boiled rice, last, and all the other dishes between them. Stewed meats are served up in gourds with different sauces; and pottage, as it is called in Scripture, is made by boiling meat cut into small pieces, with rice, flour, and parsley; and sometimes it consists of herbs and meal alone, for they eat little animal food in the East.[b] And when they intend to honour any person, the master sends him a larger portion, exactly in the same way as Joseph did Benjamin.[c] It appears, indeed, that such a practice was general in the East: for, in the Odyssey, (iv. 65,) Menelaus gave the royal portion, of the choicest chines, to each favoured friend; Ulysses, when at the court of Alcinous, king of Phæacia, carved from the chine an honorary part for the bard, who had been entertaining them:[d] and himself received it, when disguised at the cottage of Eumæus, for telling that faithful servant tidings of his master.[e] Sir John Chardin gives an account of a feast at Tifflis, the chief city of Georgia, which consisted of three courses, of about sixty dishes each. The first course was wholly made up of preparations of rice, in which meat or other things were mixed, so as to give the rice different colours and flavour; the yellow was prepared with sugar, cinnamon, and saffron; the red with pomegranate juice; but the white was the most natural, and agreeable. Their pillaw, we are told also, is sometimes seasoned with fennel, juice of cherries or mul-

[a] Letter 39. [b] La Roque, p. 199. [c] Gen. xliii. 34.
[d] Odyss. viii. 475. [e] Odyss. xiv. 437.

berries, and tamarinds, and is prepared with butter, meat, &c. in many different ways. In general it may be observed, that all the made up dishes of the easterns are literally a savoury meat,[a] or highly spiced. For Dr. Russell tells us, that "they are either greasy with fat or butter; pretty well seasoned with salt and spices; many of them made sour with verjuice, pomegranate, or lemon juice; and onion and garlic often complete the seasoning:[b] whilst others are seasoned with sweet-meats; and a whole lamb, stuffed with rice, almonds, raisins, pistachios, and stewed, is accounted a favourite dish."[c]

This strong kind of food reminds us of the marrow and fatness mentioned in Scripture, both as natural descriptions of what the Israelites were fond of, and figurative expressions for what was tender and delicious.[d]—I might add, that the Trojans were fond of the same things; for Andromache, when lamenting the fate of Astyanax, after the death of his father Hector, contrasts his present state with the time, "when upon his father's knees, he was wont to eat marrow and the fat of sheep."[e] But it may perhaps be said that the Jews were prohibited from eating both fat and blood:[f]—I reply, that the Jews had two words to express fat, חלב *heleb*, and שומן *shumen*. The first was the fat which was separate from the fibres; the second that which was intermixed with them. The first was offered, and forbidden; the second not offered, and eaten. That fat which was forbidden, is mentioned in different ways in

[a] Gen. xxvii. 4. [b] Vol. i. p. 115. [c] Russell, vol. i. p. 172.
[d] Job xxi. 24; xxxvi. 16. Ps. lxiii. 5. Jer. xxxi. 14.
[e] Il. xxii. 500. [f] Levit. iii. 17.

Scripture. 1st, As the fat which covereth the inwards,[a] or that webwork which presents itself first to the eye, on opening the belly of a cow or sheep. 2d, As the fat which was upon the inwards,[b] adhering to the intestines, but easily removed from them. Maimonides confines it to what was on the beginning of them next the ventriculum; "this," says he, "ought to be torn off, and this is the fat adhering to the small intestines, which was forbidden." 3d, The fat which was on the kidneys by the flanks.[c] And 4th, The fat which was on the rump.[d] These, therefore, distinctly define those kinds of fat in animals which should not be eaten; so that all the rest were allowed, viz. whatever adhered to the other parts, or was intermixed with them.[e] Josephus says, that Moses forbade only the fat of oxen, goats, and sheep, including the young of each, founding his authority on Lev. vii. 25; and the modern Jews observe this custom, imagining themselves at liberty to eat the fat of every other. As for the fat of those beasts which died of themselves, or were torn by wild beasts, although forbidden as food, it might be used in any other way.[f] The prohibition of blood rested on a different foundation; being intended to preserve their reverence for the Messiah, who was to shed his blood as an atoning sacrifice for the sins of the world.[g]

It will easily be seen, that the eastern dinners we have been describing, were given on public occasions, and by opulent individuals. The following account of the manner in which Cha-

[a] Lev. iii. 9, 14. [b] Ib. iii. 3, 9. [c] Ib. iii. 10. [d] Ib. iii. 9.
[e] Ikenii Dissert. Theolog. tom. ii. dissert. 4.
[f] Lev. vii. 23—25. [g] Ib. xvii. 10—12.

teaubriand usually dined at Jerusalem, in October 1806, will give us more insight into their private manners. "I scarcely ever dined," says he, "before dark, on my return from my excursions. Lentil soup, dressed with oil, was the first dish. Then came veal, stewed with cucumbers or onions; broiled kid or mutton boiled with rice. Beef is never eaten here; and buffalo's flesh has a strong taste. Of roast, I had pigeons, and sometimes partridges of the white species, called partridges of the desert. Game is very common in the plain of Rama, and in the mountains of Judea: it consists of partridges, woodcocks, hares, wild boars, and antelopes. The quail of Arabia, which fed the Israelites, is almost unknown in Jerusalem; though it is sometimes met with in the valley of Jordan. The only vegetables ever brought to my table were lentils, beans, cucumbers, and onions. The wine of Jerusalem is excellent: it has the colour and taste of the wines of Roussillon. It is still furnished by the hills of Engadi, near Bethlehem. As to fruits, I ate, as at Jaffa, large grapes, dates, pomegranates, water melons, apples, and figs of the second season; those of the sycamore, or Pharaoh's fig tree, were over. The bread made at the convent was good and well tasted."[a]

In general they sup about five o'clock in winter, and six in summer.[b] Captain Light makes it eight;[c] and their supper very much resembles their dinner. Accordingly Pococke says, that "in the supper sent him by an Egyptian aga, along with the pillaw or boiled rice, he had goat's flesh

[a] Travels in Greece, Palestine, &c. vol. ii. p. 131, 132.
[b] Russell, vol. i. p. 166. [c] Travels, p. 130.

boiled, and well peppered, hot bread, and a soup made of barley, with the husk taken off, like rice.[a]

From the above account of eastern dishes, it will easily be seen, that the higher classes especially live, if not elegantly, at least very profusely, eating their thick meats with the thumb and two fore fingers, and their milk and pottage, by dipping bread into it. When they drink water at table, it is commonly out of cups, shells, or horns;[b] but if from a river, they take it from the palm of the hand, or if from a pitcher or gourd, they suck it through their sleeve, for fear of leeches. At table their water is often acidulated with sherbet, of which they have various kinds; but the most common is from lemons, thickened to the consistence of a syrup. Wine, among the modern inhabitants of Palestine, is publicly prohibited by the Koran, but privately indulged in. Anciently, however, there was no restraint, for it was thought to rejoice the heart of God and man; was kept in leathern bottles, as our Saviour remarks;[c] and was cooled then, as it is now, by the snow of Mount Libanus, which is annually carried two or three days journey covered with straw.[d] Hence the words of Solomon, in Prov. xxv. 13, "As the cold of snow in the time of harvest, so is a faithful messenger to those who send him, for he refresheth the soul of his masters;" evidently alluding to their custom of cooling wine; for it is considered by Solomon as a gratifying thing, which is true, when applied

[a] Vol. i. p. 122, 123. [b] Clarke's Harmer, ch. iv. ob. 37.

[c] Matth. ix. 17. Homer mentions wine being brought in a goat's skin, (Il. iii. 279; Odyss. vi. 78; ix. 196, 212;) and Herodotus mentions skins filled with wine. (Lib. ii. 121.)

[d] Gesta Dei per Francos, p. 1098.

to that practice in the heat of a Syrian harvest; but it would have been quite the reverse, had snow fallen actually in harvest, which it never does. Jeremiah hath a reference to the same thing, when he says in ch. xviii. 14, "Will a man leave the snows of Lebanon? or shall the cold flowing waters that come from another place be forsaken? Because my people have forgotten me." It appears from Xenophon, that the Greeks had the same practice of cooling their wines; for in that beautiful passage generally known by The choice of Hercules, Virtue says to Pleasure, "You provide expensive wines, and run about in summer to procure snow."[a]

From their modern method of keeping wine in the East, not in casks, but in flaggons or jars, it is commonly thick and muddy;[b] and the same appears to have been the case in ancient times: for we read in Is. xxv. 6, of "wine on the lees well refined," and in the Septuagint translation of Amos vi. 6, of οινον διυλισμενον, or filtered wine, which is the method taken at present to render it pure, viz. by straining it through a cloth.—In great houses there was commonly a cup-bearer, who took charge of the wine, and poured it out to the guests;[d] but in ordinary life, every one had a cup of wine placed before him, to partake of when he pleased. The author of this work has seen four of Tippoo's banqueting cups; they were of pure gold, of the size and shape of small tea-cups, and, from the stationary nature of eastern

[a] Memorab. Socrat. lib. ii. cap. i. sect. 30.
[b] D'Arvieux, p. 197, 198. [c] Harm. Ob. vol. i. p. 373, &c.
[d] Gen. xl. 9, 11. Neh. i. 11.

customs, might, perhaps, resemble the banqueting cups of king Ahasuerus, or some of the kings of Judah or of Israel.

In Cant. viii. 2, we read of "spiced or perfumed wine of the juice of the pomegranate," with which the spouse wished to treat the bridegroom. This was different from the intoxicating draught of wine mingled with myrrh, which was given to malefactors immediately before execution, to render them insensible; and rather resembled the medicated wines of the East, which they take a pleasure in compounding. Thus Chateaubriand, when at Athens, tells us, that "in almost all Greece, it is more or less the custom to infuse the cones of the pine in the wine-vats, and this communicates to the liquor a bitter and aromatic taste, to which it is some time before you become habituated."[a] The modern Greeks and Egyptians use sugar, made with the sweet-scented violet, in their sherbets, especially when they intend to entertain their guests in an elegant manner; and the grandees sometimes add ambergris, as the highest pitch of luxury and indulgence.[b] From the juice of the pomegranate being mentioned by the spouse, we have ground to believe that the most highly esteemed wine, at the court of Solomon, was of that description.—These wines, however, were only used on extraordinary occasions. Their ordinary beverage was wine, pure, without any admixture even of water.[c] Thus Thevenot says of the Persians, that they drank their wine pure, like the people of the Levant, taking a large draught of water now and then to abate its strength;[c] and accordingly

[a] Travels, vol. i. p. 194. [b] Hasselquist, p. 254. [c] Part ii. ch. 10.

the adulteration of wine is noticed in Is. i. 22, as descriptive of a degradation of character, "Thy wine is mixed with water."

Sitting at meals till near the end of the times of the Old Testament, appears to have been universal. Hence it is justly remarked by Philo, that Joseph "made his brethren sit down according to their ages; for men were not then accustomed to lie on beds at entertainments."[a] The Hebrew word always used is ישב *isheb*, to sit,[b] never שכב *shekeb*, or any other word which signifies to lie down; and the Septuagint always render it by καθιζω, never by ανακλινω. We have the first indications of the change of posture, from sitting to lying, in Amos vi. 4, and in the apocryphal writings. It is said of Judith,[c] in the common version, that "her maid laid soft skins on the ground for her, over against Holofernes, that she might sit and eat upon them;" but the original means, "that she might eat, lying upon them." (εις το εσθιειν κατακλινομενην επ' αυτων.) And in Tobit ii. 1, the original words ανεπεσα του φαγειν should not have been rendered "I sat," but "I lay down to eat." In our Saviour's days the reclining posture at meals had become universal. Every time, therefore, that sitting at meat is mentioned in the New Testament, it ought to have been rendered "lying," to make it accord with the universal practice.[d]

The people of the East put off their sandals at their meals, delight to have their tables decorated with the flowers of the season, and have their

[a] Lib. de Josepho. [b] Exod. xxxii. 6. 1 Sam. xx. 5. Esther iii. 15. Prov. xxiii. 1. Cant. i. 12. Ezek. xliv. 3. [c] Chap. xii. 15.
[d] Dr. Campbell on the Gospels, dissert. viii. part 3.

apartments often filled with perfume. At the courts of their chiefs, also, they have two kinds of feasts; the one private, as being the ordinary entertainment of the king; the other public, on stated days, called majilis in Barbary. In the palace of the kings of Israel, the same thing seems to have obtained: for David, at the new moons, sat at Saul's table,[a] and Mephibosheth at David's,[b] which accounts for the command of David to Ziba, the servant of Mephibosheth, to bring the produce of his master's lands to Jerusalem, for the support of his master at other times.[c]—On these days of feasting they had distinguishing dresses, a circumstance alluded to in Eccl. ix. 7, 8. And in Ecclus. xxxii. 1—6, xlix. 1, we read of a master of a feast being appointed not only to weddings, as in John ii. 8, but to common entertainments, who was crowned with flowers, presided at the feast, and enlivened the meeting with concerts of music. Isaiah, in alluding to this, says of the Jews, that "they had the harp and the viol, and the tabret and the pipe, and wine at their feasts."[d] But Amos gives the most complete picture of a luxurious entertainment in chap. vi. 4—6, when he says, that "they lie upon beds of ivory, and stretch themselves upon their couches, and eat the lambs out of the flock, and the calves out of the midst of the stall; that they chant to the sound of the viol, and invent to themselves instruments of music, like David; that they drink wine in bowls, and anoint themselves with the chief ointment; but they are not grieved for the affliction of Joseph."

[a] 1 Sam. xx. 25. [b] 2 Sam. ix. 13. [c] 2 Sam. ix. 10. [d] Chap. v. 12.

In former times, portions were sent to those who were absent;[a] and it should ever be recollected, that the men and the women in higher life had separate tables,[b] as is the case in the East at the present day.[c] One of the questions which was put to an European of high rank in India, by a Ranee, or native princess, was, whether she had been rightly informed, when she was told that the wives of the Europeans ate with their husbands? And when he answered in the affirmative, she expressed the greatest astonishment. The following extract from Burckhardt will show that it descends even to the lower ranks. "I found the same custom prevail here," (meaning at Wady Osh, on the western side of the Elanitic gulf of the Red Sea,) "which I observed in my journey through the northern parts of Arabia Petræa. When meat is served up, it is the duty of one of the guests to demand a portion for the women, by calling out, 'Lahm el Ferash, meat for the apartment of the women;' and a part of it is then either set aside, or he is answered that this has been already done."[d]

The custom also of the Arabs, who never preserve fragments of their meals, but invite the poor to partake of them,[e] may explain to us the reason why Tobit sent for the poor to partake of his dinner;[f] and why the poor, the maimed, and the blind, were invited to the rich man's supper, in Luke xiv. 21.

[a] Neh. viii. 10, 12. Esther ix. 22. [b] Esther i. 9.

[c] Murray's Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Asia, book ii. chap. 8.

[d] Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, p. 484, 485.

[e] Pococke, vol. i. p. 57. [f] Chap. ii. 2.

The most ancient example that is, perhaps, to be met with of a grace, or short prayer before meat, is at the feast which Ptolemy Philadelphus gave to the seventy-two interpreters; and it is thus mentioned by Josephus: "When they were thus sat down, he (viz. Nicanor, who had been appointed by Ptolemy) bade Dorotheus attend to all those who were come to him from Judea, after the manner they used to be ministered unto in their own country. For which cause he sent away their sacred heralds, and those who slew the sacrifices, and the rest who used to say grace; but called to one of those who were come to him, whose name was Eleazar, who was a priest, and desired him to say grace, who then stood in the midst of them and prayed, 'that all prosperity might attend the king, and those who were his subjects.' Hereupon an acclamation was made by the whole company, and when that was over they began to sup."[a] The next example we have is the practice of the Essenes, both before and after meat, in Josephus's Jewish War;[b] and Philo, in his book on a contemplative life, gives a similar account of a religious sect, stricter even than the Essenes. From the Mishna it appears that the Jews had forms of thanksgiving, not only at the eating of the passover, but before and after meals, and even on the introduction of many of the dishes. And Aristæus, as quoted by Rabbi Eleazer, says, "Moses commanded that when the Jews began their meals, the company should immediately join in sacrifice, or prayer." The duty of Christians on this subject is enforced, not only by the reason of the thing, and

[a] Antiq. xii. 2. [b] Lib. ii. cap. 8.

the practice of the Greeks, Romans, and Jews, but by the example of our Saviour in Mark viii. 6, John vi. 11, 23, and of Paul in Acts xxvii. 35. In the end of the fifth book of the Apostolical Constitutions, is a form of grace or prayer for Christians, which seems to have been intended for both before and after meat.

Having said thus much as to the probable manner in which the ancient Jews prepared their food, I shall add from Buxtorff, that of the modern Jews, in those countries, especially, where they are most populous.—They are very particular, he informs us, not only in the selection of the articles of food, but in the manner of preparing them. As to the selection of food, those beasts only are eaten, which have the hoof divided, and chew the cud, as oxen and sheep; fishes which have fins and scales, &c. They do not eat the fat of the inwards and kidneys; have a book with directions for killing; and the butcher who can kill according to them, gets a certificate from a Rabbi, as to his qualification for the business, which commonly procures him much employment. The certificate is as follows: "To-day (in such a month and year) I saw and examined the excellent and remarkable N, the son of N, and found him skilled in the art of killing, both by word and hand; therefore I permit him to kill and examine cattle; and whatsoever he hath killed and examined, may be freely eaten, on this condition, that for a year to come, he shall once every week peruse diligently the directions for killing and examining; the second year once a month; and during the rest of his life once every three months only. Attested by Rabbi M." In examining the

faults of cattle, particular attention is paid to the lungs; and if the butcher be found negligent, he is admonished the first time, and his certificate taken from him the second.[a] With respect to their manner of preparing their victuals, their culinary utensils are either bought new, or, if of metal or stone, at second hand, they undergo the purification of fire and water.[b] They have two kinds of vessels for the kitchen and table, the one for flesh, and the other for preparations of milk. The vessels for milk have three distinct marks, because Moses hath thrice said, "Thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother's milk." Sometimes, however, they write the words חלב *heleb*, milk, and בשר *besher*, flesh, to show the distinction. They have also two knives to each, the one for flesh, and the other for cheese and fish: if they use the one instead of the other by mistake, it undergoes a strict purification. Preparations of flesh, and preparations of milk, are not cooked together on the same fire, nor brought to table at the same time, and they have distinct table-cloths for each. He who eats of flesh, or of broth made of flesh, ought not to eat cheese for an hour after, and those who affect piety abstain for six hours; but if he eat cheese first, he may eat flesh immediately after. If fat fall into a dish of milk, it becomes unclean; but flesh may be ever so fat, and yet eaten. The eggs of clean birds only are eaten. Flesh and fish are not brought to table at the same time; they even wash the mouth between them, or eat fruit or a crust of bread. No milk which has been drawn by a Christian, or cheese or butter that has been

[a] Synag. Jud. cap. 36. [b] Num. xxxi. 23.

made by one, is permitted; and they refrain from drinking from a covered well, for fear of poisonous animals.[a] With respect to their preparation of bread, we may remark, that as it is said in Num. xv. 20, "Ye shall offer up a cake of the first of your dough for a heave offering," therefore at every baking they separate a portion called חלה *helè*, which, as they cannot now offer to the Lord, they throw into the fire. The size of a grain of barley is sufficient; but the wise men had fixed upon the 40th part for private families, and the 48th for bakers.[b] These last proportions, however, are considered to have been binding only while the temple stood, and the priesthood required maintenance; for a small portion now is reckoned sufficient, and they even find no difficulty, in some countries, of eating bread which hath been baked by Christians.[c] Indeed, when we inquire into the customs of modern Jews, we find them much affected by local circumstances; for the Jews in Germany have usages different from those in Britain, and the same may be said of other places.

SECT. VI.

Rank and Employments of the Jewish Women.

The state of women before Christianity very degrading. Condition of Jewish women in pastoral, agricultural, and commercial situations. Grinding corn every morning; managing the concerns of the family; feeding cattle; carrying water; working with the needle; spinning; weaving; tapestry.

In times prior to the days of our Saviour, the state of women among the Egyptians, Babylonians,

[a] Synag. Judaic. cap. 33. [b] Mishna, Tractat. de Placentâ separandâ, cap. ii. sect. 7. [c] Synag. Judaic. cap. 34.

Persians, Greeks, and Romans, was much below what it ought to have been. They were too often the slaves of men's pleasures, or the drudges of their families. Some individuals, indeed, distinguished themselves by their superior talents; but it is mortifying to observe, that the most celebrated of these were women of no character, who prostituted themselves at the shrine of ambition or avarice. In the land of Judea, the female character appears to have been somewhat more exalted. Their purer religion had taught that people that women were rational and immortal, and therefore entitled to their love and confidence; yet there were several circumstances which tended to counteract the natural operation of these benevolent principles. For the traditions of the elders were more regarded than the divine institute; divorce was obtained for the most frivolous reasons; and the general practice of polygamy, by rendering women the appendages to rank, or the instruments of pleasure, tended to degrade them in the scale of society. It was reserved for the gospel to do them complete justice, by restoring the primitive institution of marriage; by teaching the equality of the sexes as to moral worth; and by considering both as candidates for a blessed and glorious immortality. From that time, therefore, we can trace a growing amelioration in their condition, in every nation where the gospel has been introduced; and are led to wish for the general diffusion of Christianity, as the triumph of virtue and piety over oppression.

The land of Judea was divided anciently into pasturage, agriculture, and commerce, and each

of these gave a different shade to the female character. In the pastoral districts, even those of the highest rank disdained not to tend their flocks, and conversed freely with men without their veils. Rachel was feeding her father's sheep when met by Jacob;[a] and the daughters of the priest of Midian were employed in the same way, when met by Moses.[b] In the agricultural districts, the lower classes generally mixed in the operations of the field, but the higher orders were more reserved. And in cities, where commerce prevailed, they had not only separate apartments, but were more removed from public view, whilst the apartments of the wives of the great seem to have resembled the modern harems.

In tracing the employments of the Jewish women, we may begin with remarking that the first business of the wives of the poor, and of the meanest female slaves of the rich, every morning at daybreak, was (like the twelve female slaves of Penelope, Odyss. xx. 107,) to grind the daily portion of corn, for meal for the family, in the hand-mill; a business which those in the same condition perform in the East at this day, as we have more than once had occasion to notice. This grinding of corn by females is several times mentioned in Scripture. Thus, when the first-born of Egypt were destroyed, it is remarked that the calamity extended "from the first-born of Pharaoh who sat on the throne, even unto the first-born of the maid-servant who was behind the mill."[c] And when Christ foretold the destruction of Jerusalem, he said,[d] that "two

[a] Gen. xxix. 9. [b] Exod. ii. 16. [c] Exod. xi. 5.
[d] Matth. xxiv. 41. Luke xvii. 35.

women should be grinding at the mill, the one taken and the other left:" which last circumstance is thus explained by Dr. Clarke: "As the operation began, one of the women, with her right hand, pushed the handle to the woman opposite, who again sent it to her companion, thus communicating a rotatory and very rapid motion to the upper stone, their left hands being all the while employed in supplying fresh corn, as fast as the bran and flour escaped from the sides of the machine:" [a]—Let me also add, that the Scriptures notice the silence of the hand-mills at daybreak, throughout the Jewish cities, as a mark of desolation. Thus, in Jer. xxv. 10, it is said, "I will take from them the voice of mirth, and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride, the sound of the millstones, and the light of the candle; and this whole land shall be a desolation and an astonishment." And in Rev. xviii. 22, when the destruction of Babylon is foretold, the same images are made use of. "The sound of a millstone shall be heard no more at all in thee; and the light of a candle shall shine no more at all in thee; and the voice of the bridegroom and of the bride shall be heard no more at all in thee."

But, leaving this their early task, let us go on to remark, that the cares of the family naturally occupied the Hebrew females through the rest of the day. This is, indeed, the present employment of the eastern women. The rich may indulge in idleness; but the wives of the poor provide food for the family, cut fuel, and fetch

[a] Travels, part ii. chap. 11.

water; which last office may point out to us the degrading punishment inflicted by Joshua on the Gibeonites.[a] For the not receiving them as allies was bad; the disarming those who had been warriors, and reducing them to the employment of women, was worse; but the condemning their posterity to the same servile employment, was worst of all. It was just now said, that the water needed by the families of the Jews was brought by the women; and it may be worthy of notice, that Homer mentions the same custom as prevailing among the Phæacians, Lestrigons, and Ithacans.[b] In the first of which passages, παρθενικῃ—νεηνιδι καλπιν ἐχουσῃ, "a youthful virgin bearing a pitcher," might serve for a description of Rebekah, in Genesis xxiv. 15, 16. In the second, we find even a king's daughter employed in the business of drawing water; whilst, in the third, no fewer than twenty virgins repair to the public well, to fetch water for washing the sacrifice to Apollo. Nor was this merely an ancient custom, for the same thing is done by the eastern females at this day. Thus Dr. Shaw,[c] when speaking of the occupations of the Moorish women in Barbary, says, "To finish the day, at the time of the evening, even at the time that the women go out to draw water,[d] they still fit themselves with a pitcher or goat's skin, and tying their sucking children behind them, trudge it in this manner two or three miles to fetch water." But though the chief time of carrying water be the evening, it is not the only time; for they do it

[a] Josh. ix. 23.
[b] Odyss. vii. 20; x. 105, 106; xx. 158.
[c] Travels, p. 421.
[d] Genesis xxiv. 11.

early in the morning also, none stirring out when the sun is high, except from necessity;[a] and when they go, they have their ear-rings, nose jewels, and ornaments for their wrists and ancles. Indeed they never appear in public without these appendages of female dress.[b] I may add, that Rebekah's pitcher was an earthen vessel, for so the original word קד *ked*, signifies; and if such, it perhaps resembled those which Dr. Chandler saw used by the women in Asia Minor. "The women," says he, "resort to the fountains by their houses, each with a large two-handled earthen jar on the back, or thrown over the shoulder for water."[c]

As he mentions this when speaking of another of their domestic employments, that of washing the clothes of the family, I shall transcribe the passage: "Although the women," says he, "live very retired, this operation is performed in public, at the fountains by the houses, or by river sides, where they have their faces veiled, and commonly in great numbers together." In Europe this operation is considered a menial employment, but it was not so anciently. For Nausicaa, the daughter of Alcinous, the king of Phæacia, went to those cisterns at a distance from the city, where the damsels were wont to wash their garments, to wash her brother's robes and her own, as preparatory to her marriage.[d] And even at the present day, such employments are not unusual among ladies of rank in the East. For Volney, in his Travels through Syria, when describing the manners of the Druses on Mount Lebanon, says, that "the women, those even of the

[a] Chardin, MS. vol. vi. quoted by Harmer.
[b] Clarke's Harmer, ch. iv. ob. 61. [c] Page 21. [d] Odyss. vi. 58.

Sheiks, make the bread, roast the coffee, wash the linen, cook the victuals, and perform all domestic offices." We read in Jer. ii. 22, of their using nitre, or the natrum of the ancients, which was a mineral alkali; and soap, or berith, as it is in the original, in these abstersive processes. In Job ix. 30, this last-mentioned substance is rendered snow-water, and is applied to cleansing. The word, indeed, signifies "a purifier;" and M. de Goguet imagines it to be "the saltwort," a plant very common in Syria, Judea, Egypt, and Arabia. They burn it, he says, and pour water upon the ashes. This water becomes impregnated with a very strong lixivial salt, proper for taking stains or impurities out of wool or cloth."[a] Perhaps it meant not one particular plant only, but the salt derived from the ashes of all those vegetables in general, which, by being burnt, produce potash.

Working with the needle was another of their female employments. And so early as the time when the Israelites were in the wilderness, we find them employed in ornamenting the hangings of the tabernacle, and the garments of the priests, with devices of blue and purple and scarlet, on a ground of fine white twined linen.[b] It would appear that the eastern needle-work was very fine, and of great value; for the mother of Sisera[c] is represented, as hoping that her son had obtained from the conquered Israelites "a prey of divers colours of needle-work; of divers colours of needle-work on both sides, meet for the necks of them that take the spoil." And in Psalm xlv. 14, the

[a] Origin of Laws, vol. i. book ii. ch. 2.
[b] Exod. xxvi. 36; xxviii. 39. [c] Judg. iv. 30.

king's daughter is said to be brought unto the king in raiment of needle-work. Indeed this is the frequent employment of the ladies of the East at the present day, for we often read of beautiful specimens of their work. Thus Chardin mentions, that they take a pleasure in ornamenting handkerchiefs with the needle, which they either wear themselves, or give in presents to their relations and friends.[a] And Lady Mary W. Montagu, in her Letters,[b] says, that "they still pass much of their time in embroidering veils and robes, surrounded by their maids." Whilst Mr. de Guys, in his Sentimental Journey through Greece, remarks, that "embroidery is the constant employment of the Greek women; those who follow it for a living, being employed in it from morning to night, as are also their daughters and slaves. I have a living picture," he adds, "of this kind constantly before my eyes. The lamp of a pretty neighbour of mine, who follows that trade, is always lighted before day; and her young assistants are all at work betimes in the morning."

Spinning was another of the employments of the Jewish women. For even so early as the making of the tabernacle, all the women who were wise-hearted did spin with their hands, and brought what they had spun, both of blue, of purple, and of scarlet, and of fine linen, to assist in the erection of that sacred tent;[c] which shows that they had brought with them from Egypt this and the other arts mentioned in Exodus, in which country, it is probable, they had long flourished. Solomon, when describing the good housewife, in Prov. xxxi. 19,

[a] MS. vol. vi. [b] Vol. ii. letter 30. [c] Exod. xxxv. 25.

says, that "she lays her hands to the spindle, and takes hold of the distaff;"[a] and Chateaubriand saw a number thus employed. For he tells us, that "the women of Zea, the ancient Ceos, generally assemble in companies to spin silk, and they seat themselves on the edge of the terraces, at the top of the houses, that they may drop the spindle to the street, and draw it up again, as they wind the thread."[b] It is impossible for us to ascertain exactly the forms of the ancient implements of art, for we have only a few notices given of them in Scripture; but every one who has seen eastern paintings by native artists, must have been struck with their simplicity; and must have felt persuaded, that however much the order of castes in Hindostan hath tended to degrade the moral character of that numerous people, it hath much improved their manufactures, by the subdivision of labour, and the transmission of trades from father to son. In the present case they are simple and suitable, and might not be unlike to those of the ancient Jews.

Weaving was another feminine employment, and, like spinning, it was a very ancient one. For it is mentioned in Exod. xxxv. 35, that God filled some with wisdom, to weave the curtains of the tabernacle, and it is often alluded to in other parts of Scripture. In general this art is understood to have been practised by the women, and the following are the arguments which may be adduced: 1st,

[a] The picture of the industrious wife given by Virgil, Æn. viii. 407, &c. bears so great a resemblance to that by Solomon, that it might almost pass for a poetical imitation of it.

[b] Travels in Greece, Palestine, &c. vol. i. p. 274.

When Samson was accused by Delilah, for concealing from her where his great strength lay, he said, that if she wove the seven locks of his head with the web, he would become like other men; and it is added, that she fastened them with the pin; which intimates that women then wrought at the loom.[a] 2dly, It is well known that among the ancient Greeks, weaving was the employment of the women. Thus Homer describes Helen as seated at her loom;[b] and Penelope's web is proverbial.[c] 3dly, It is known that, at present, weaving is commonly the employment of the women in the East. Thus Dr. Shaw informs us, that "carpets are made in Barbary and the Levant, in great numbers, and of all sizes, but coarser than in Turkey. Their chief manufacture, however, is the making of hykes, or blankets. The women are employed in this work, (as Andromache and Penelope were of old,) who do not use the shuttle, but conduct every thread of the woof with their fingers."[d] And in the Indian paintings, which the author of this work hath seen, as descriptive of their castes, trades, customs, &c. by native artists, the women were represented as sitting with a loom before them, and conducting the woof through the threads of the warp in the very manner Dr. Shaw describes. It was this last circumstance, of their using their fingers in place of a shuttle, which made Mr. Harmer doubt whether the passage in Job was rightly translated, which says[e] "My days are swifter than a weaver's shuttle;" he rather supposing that it should be, "My days are swifter than the fingers of a weaver,

[a] Judg. xvi. 13, 14. [b] Il. iii. 125.
[c] Odyss. ii. 94; vi. 52, 306. [d] Page 224. [e] Ch. vii. 6.

when passing and repassing rapidly through the threads." The matter itself is of small consequence, since the meaning in both cases is the same; only I may observe, that although shuttles are not used at present in the East, they were in use in Homer's time, for the κερκις, or shuttle, was employed by the ancient Greeks.[a] Of all their specimens in the art of weaving, however, their tapestry was the most beautiful. Perhaps the original kind was composed of pieces of cloth, of different colours, sewed together, so as to imitate figures of men, animals, and vegetables: but the most elegant were wrought in the loom, and reckoned of great value. Thus the dissolute woman, in order to captivate unwary youth, is represented[b] as having her bed decked with coverings of tapestry; and the virtuous wife, in the same book,[c] is said to have made herself coverings of the same stuff; evidently showing, that productions of that kind were in great request. The modern tapestry was borrowed from the Saracens, who, it is likely, received it from ages farther remote. So that, making some allowance for modern improvements, the present tapestry of France and of England may not be unlike to that of Judea. I ought to add, that tapestry, formed of pieces of cloth, is still made in the East: for Sir John Chardin[d] tells us, that "tailors, besides their ordinary work, make cushions, veils for doors, and other pieces of furniture of felt, in mosaic work, which represents just what they please; and this is done so neatly, that a man might suppose the figures were painted, instead of being

[a] Il. xxii. 440, 448. Odyss. v. 62.
[b] Prov. vii. 16.
[c] Prov. xxxi. 22.
[d] Voy. tome ii. p. 85.

a kind of inlaid work. Look as close as you will," says he, "the joinings cannot be seen." We may conclude the section with the following passage from the Mishna. "These are the works which a wife shall do for her husband. She shall grind his corn, bake his bread, wash his clothes, bake for the family, suckle his child, make his bed, and spin his wool. If she bring one slave to him, she shall be exempted from grinding, baking for her husband, and washing. If two, she shall not bake for the family, nor suckle his child, (by which I understand, that although she suckled it, she was to have one to relieve her from the drudgery of keeping it.) If three, she shall not make his bed, nor work in wool. And if four, she shall sit in her chair. Rabbi Eleazer says, although she bring a hundred slaves, they make her work in wool, because idleness gives occasion to luxury."[a]

SECT. VII.

Jewish Manner of Travelling.

Disposition of their dress; never travelled in the heat of the day but from necessity; saluted no person when in haste; feet washed when they entered a house. Rode on asses, horses, mules, camels, and dromedaries; had no stirrups; used hirans and counes; provender for their animals; provisions for themselves; articles of convenience and commerce. Skins for water; every article carried in skins. Distance measured by hours; wells the common resting-places; these often infested by robbers; no inns; khanes, or caravansarays.

[a] Tractat. de Dote, Literisque Matrimonialibus, cap. v. sect. 5.

Caravans; manner of travelling; sometimes very numerous. Kings travelled in state; had the dust allayed with water; harbingers sent before them, and pioneers to level the roads. Customs observed by the modern Jews on a journey.

1. When any of the Jews travelled on foot, they commonly tucked up their long upper robe with their girdle, so as to leave the leg and knee bare; had a scrip round their neck for their provisions, a staff in their hand, and shoes or sandals on their feet; and when they were going to a distance, they also carried a change of raiment, and sometimes a jar or skin bottle filled with water.[a] But when our Saviour sent his apostles to preach the gospel through the cities of Judea, he forbade them to take any of these, as their itinerancy was not to be of long continuance, and the labourer was worthy of his hire.[b] It was also a custom with those on a journey, never to travel in the heat of the day, unless in cases of necessity, since the violence of the sun's rays generally invited to rest and sleep; neither did they, when in haste, salute any who met them, since the eastern forms of salutation are often tedious. Hence Elisha's injunction to his servant Gehazi, to salute no man by the way, when he ran to lay his master's staff on the face of the Shunamite's dead son, till himself should arrive.[c] And when they reached their lodging for the night, it was usual for the master of the house to give them water to wash their feet.[d] Thus Sir John Chardin tells us,[e] that "the sweat and dust, which

[a] Gen. xxi. 14. [b] Luke ix. 3. [c] 2 Kings iv. 29.
[d] Gen. xviii. 4. Judg. xix. 21. Luke vii. 44.
[e] MS. vol. vi. quoted by Harmer. See also Shaw's Travels, page 238.

penetrate all kinds of coverings for the feet, produce a filth there, which excites a very troublesome itching; and though the eastern people are extremely careful to preserve the body clean, it is more for refreshment than cleanliness, that they wash their feet at the end of a journey." In the houses of the great, this office is performed by servants or slaves; and among the Jews, the vessel employed "contained from two logs to ten."[a] One naturally recollects the condescension of Jesus, when he washed the feet of his disciples.[b] The singularity of a superior washing the feet of inferiors would make it more impressive. But travellers had not always friends, with whom to lodge, in the places to which they went; and therefore it was usual for them to wait at the gate of the city, or in the street, till some person invited them, as the angels were by Lot,[c] and the Levite by the old man.[d] Indeed, something like this is experienced in the East at this day; for Park[e] tells us, that "as there are no public houses in Africa, it is customary for strangers to stand at the Bentang, or some other place of public resort, till they are invited to a lodging, by some of the inhabitants." And Volney, when describing the Druses on Mount Lebanon, says, "Whosoever presents himself at their door, in the quality of a suppliant or traveller, is sure to be entertained with lodging and food, in the most generous and unaffected manner. I often saw," says he, "the lowest peasants give the last morsel of bread they had in their houses, to the hungry tra-

[a] Lightfoot's Heb. and Talm. Exer. on John xiii. 5.
[b] John. xiii. 5.
[c] Gen. xix. 2.
[d] Judges xix. 15—21.
[e] Travels in Africa, ch. 4.

veller; and when it was observed to them that they wanted prudence, their answer was, 'God is liberal and great; and all men are brethren.' There are therefore no inns in their country, any more than in the rest of Turkey." Burckhardt, when travelling in the same country of the Druses, gives a similar account.[a] We may add, that in many situations, it was accounted dangerous to be exposed to the dews of the night, but not always; for at certain seasons of the year, they were in the habit of doing so, without inconvenience. Thus the shepherds of Bethlehem watched their flocks by night; and travellers have frequently made the earth their bed, and the canopy of heaven their covering. Accordingly Dr. Shaw tells us,[b] that "in his journey between Cairo and Mount Sinai, the heavens were their covering every night; the sand, with a carpet spread over it, their bed; and a change of raiment, made up into a bundle, their pillow; and that, although wet to the skin every night by the dew, there was not the least danger."

2. When the Jews travelled in greater style, they had either asses, or horses, or mules, or camels, or dromedaries. Thus Abraham, Balaam, Achsah, the daughter of Caleb, and one infinitely greater than all of these, viz. our blessed Lord, rode upon asses.[c] But white asses seem to have been most in request, and a mark of superior rank, for the judges are said to have rode on them.[d] As for horses, they are very frequently mentioned in Scripture. Mules also were often used as means of convey-

[a] Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, p. 24. [b] Preface, 11.
[c] Gen. xxii. 3. Num. xxii. 21. Josh. xv. 18. Matth. xxi. 7.
[d] Judg. v. 10.

ance. Thus, some of the posts that were sent by Ahasuerus, to defeat the decree of Haman against the Jews, rode upon mules.[a] The Jews were to be brought back to their own land on mules.[b] The Israelites who returned from the captivity had 245 of them.[c] A rate of them was brought year by year to king Solomon;[d] and they were an article of traffic in the fairs of Togarmah, in the Lesser Asia,[e] being considered more sure-footed than horses.[f] Camels were very numerous in the East. The Hagarites, and their neighbours, whom the two tribes and a half subdued, had 50,000.[g] Job, as an individual, had 3000.[h] And every one knows how generally they were used, especially in long journies, as means of conveying individuals and families.[i] The common rate at which they travel is about thirty miles a day, at the rate of thirteen hours to the day, or two and a third miles an hour; and the reason of their slowness, is partly occasioned by their being loaded, and going in company, where they wait for each other; and partly, because they are perpetually nibbling at every thing they can find in their way, as food.—But when speed was at any time required by the ancients, they commonly preferred the dromedaries, which travelled at the rate of a hundred miles

[a] Esth. viii. 10. [b] Is. lxvi. 20. [c] Ezra ii. 66.
[d] 1 Kings x. 25. [e] Ezek. xxvii. 14.

[f] The following extract from Captain Light's Travels into the Holy Land, 1814, will show the manner in which the people in the East often make use of these hardy animals: "The way in which the women and old men are carried to Jerusalem is singular; a wicker basket with seats is attached to each side of the mule, and the travellers arranged in pairs. I have seen four persons on one mule." Page 142.

[g] 1 Chron. v. 21. [h] Ch. i. 3.
[i] Gen. xxiv. 10; xxxi. 35.

a day, and were therefore used by the posts who were sent by Ahasuerus.[a]

We have no account of the manner in which these animals were accoutred in the times of Scripture, but it was probably much in the same way as is done in the East at the present day, for the customs of the East are remarkably stationary. I may notice, then, that they sometimes ride on asses, horses, and mules, without any covering, except that the women wear a veil, and have a man on foot to drive the animal,[b] like the Shunamite.[c] They have no stirrups to their saddles, Chateaubriand, amongst others, telling us, that in riding on horses from Jaffa or Joppa to Jerusalem, "pads served them for saddles, and cords instead of stirrups."[d] And when they ride on camels, they have a *hiran*, or piece of cloth, about six ells long, which is laid upon the wooden saddle, to make the seat more easy, and which serves as a mattress to lie on, while they rest during the night, their wallets answering the purpose of bolsters.[e] These are the ways in which they ride when single; but when they travel with their families, they have large ozier baskets, commonly called counes, suspended from the sides of the camels, and covered with a cloth, to exclude the sun and rain, into which they put the women and children.[f]

The provisions for a journey are different, according to circumstances, but they may all be comprehended under the four following, viz. provender and litter for the animals; provisions for

[a] Esth. viii. 10. [b] Pococke, vol. i. p. 191. [c] 2 Kings iv. 24.
[d] Travels, vol. i. p. 313. [e] La Roque, p. 127.
[f] Harm. Ob. vol. i. p. 445. Russell's Aleppo, p. 89.

the travellers; articles of convenience; and articles of commerce.—With respect to the first, their common provender is barley and chopped straw,[a] made into balls, and sometimes beans, and the pounded kernels of dates,[b] for they make no hay in those countries; and as for litter, it is commonly the animal's own dung, dried in the sun, and bruised in the hands, when they are not actually on a journey; for straw is too scarce, and in too great request ever to be applied in that way. Nay, so much are they in need even of dried dung for litter, that they take it up in the morning, dry it anew through the day, apply it again in the evening, and in summer sprinkle it with water, to keep it from corrupting.[c] As for their own provisions, the inhabitants of the East have always lived much on milk and meal, dried fruits, oil and wine.[d] Preparations, therefore, of these, with an animal slain as occasion requires; and when in haste, beef dried and reduced to a kind of meal,[e] or potted flesh, such as Dr. Shaw took for his journey through the Arabian deserts,[f] form their common food. All these, however, require some utensils; accordingly they have small wooden bowls, in which they knead their dough, and serve up their victuals when cooked.[g] They have also a round leathern coverlet, which they lay on the ground to eat upon, and which, having rings round the edge, they draw together with a chain, and make use of to carry their dough. Indeed the whole kitchen furniture of an Arab, when travelling, consists of a

[a] 1 Kings iv. 28. [b] Maillet, lett. 9. [c] D'Arvieux, p. 168.
[d] Judith x. 5. [e] Busbequius, Epist. 3.
[f] Travels, Pref. 11. [g] Shaw, Preface, 11, 12, 13.

wooden bowl, some brass dishes of different sizes to go within each other, and this skin bag.[a] As for water, if the wells be near each other, they content themselves with taking it as they pass; but as that is often not the case, they have commonly a sufficient number of skin bottles, made of untanned hides, lapped round frames of wicker work, and formed into a neck, in which they carry a supply; but these skins are apt to give it an oily taste, unless carefully washed with salt before they are used. The gerbas which Mr. Bruce had in Abyssinia, held sixty gallons each, and two of them loaded a camel.[b] By articles of convenience in travelling, I mean those articles, besides food, which were thought necessary, as changes of raiment, presents for individuals, &c. And as for articles of commerce, these consisted in all those productions of nature and of art, which one country exchanges with, or purchases from another. Every article is carried in goat or kid skins, to preserve it from dust and insects; and these, for greater security, are inclosed in large coarse woollen sacks, called tambellit, covered with leather, from the middle to the foot.

In travelling, they never measure distance by miles, but by hours, each of which is equal to two and one-third miles, because the camel travels at that rate; or three miles when they travel with a horse; and their common resting-places are at wells. Hence, in a set of instructions, given in Sir Robert Wilson's account of the British expedition in Egypt, the distance between the wells is particularly mentioned. But these are often in-

[a] Pococke, vol. i. p. 182. [b] Shaw's Abridg. p. 329.

fested by the Arabs, who lurk near them to rob the unwary traveller;[a] and hence Jer. iii. 2, "In the ways hast thou sat for them, as the Arabian in the wilderness." These descendants of Ishmael are indeed a singular nation; for although they rob travellers, where they chance to meet them, yet if these strangers commit themselves to them through the night, they will treat them most hospitably. Accordingly Dr. Shaw tells us, that travellers take advantage of this feature in their character; for they commonly, in the temperate season of the year, arise at break of day, set forward with the sun, and travel till the middle of the afternoon; when they begin to look out for an encampment of Arabs to receive hospitality.[b] This time of the afternoon is accordingly expressed in Judges xix. 9, by saying, that "the day groweth to an end," or in the original, that "it is pitching time of day." In the hot season, however, they frequently travel in the night, pitch in the forenoon, and proceed in the afternoon.

We should notice farther on this subject, that even in the eastern cities, they have nothing that corresponds with the inns of the more civilized parts of Europe. Persons of note, indeed, find accommodation every where, but travellers of less consideration put up, for the night, in an unfurnished house, often not water-tight; with only an outer door, which is shut during the night to prevent theft, and called in these countries a caravansaray, khan, simsera, or manzil. There they either prepare their own provisions, or receive a supply from

[a] Judg. v. 11. [b] Page 17.

the sheik of the place.[a] Bernier's account of the caravansarays in the Mogul empire is as follows: "They are like great barns, where hundreds of men are found pell-mell together, with their horses, mules, and camels; where one is stifled with heat in summer, and starved with cold in winter."[b] But the inconveniencies arising from uncomfortable caravansarays are trifling when compared with the dangers, to which travellers are often exposed from wild beasts, in the unfrequented parts of the country. These set upon them in the night, and carry off men or animals as they can lay hold of them: to prevent which, those who travel are forced either to keep constant watch, or surround themselves by a large fire. Tenreiro gives us an account of this last kind of defence, when, in speaking of the embassy which was sent by the Portuguese governor of India to the Persian court in 1520, he says, that "in several parts of the road, very alarming accounts were received of the dangers to be apprehended from wild beasts; but the embassy, by keeping themselves nightly enclosed within a circle of large fires, escaped even the sight of these formidable visitants."[c] May not Jehovah have alluded to this, when in Zech. ii. 5, he says concerning Jerusalem, "I will be unto her a wall of fire round about; and the glory in the midst of her." "My attributes shall surround her, like the travellers' fire. My presence, like the shechinah, shall render her illustrious."

[a] La Roque, p. 67. Niebuhr, tom. i. p. 314.

[b] Murray's Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Asia, book ii. ch. 5.

[c] Murray, book i. ch. 8.

Hitherto we have spoken only of individuals, or small companies, travelling in the East; but they sometimes travel in large numbers, called caravans, which are formed for the purposes either of commerce or religion. The mercantile caravans have a certain route, according to the particular views of the persons who compose them. Before the way to India by the Cape of Good Hope was discovered, immense caravans travelled annually from India to Egypt, with the produce of the East, to be transported across the Mediterranean to the countries of Europe; and even at the present day, the greater part of the commerce of the East is carried on by caravans. But as there are caravans formed for commerce, so there are also several which are regularly formed for the purposes of religion. Thus four go annually to Mecca; the first of which is from Damascus, composed of the pilgrims of Europe and Asia; the second from Cairo, for the Mahometans of Barbary; the third from Zibith, near the mouth of the Red Sea, where those of Arabia and India meet; and the fourth from Babylon, where the Persians assemble. The reason of their travelling in such numbers, is for defence against the Arabs, and other robbers who waylay them, and endeavour to despoil them of a part of their wealth. And as they commonly require some time to collect, so it is customary for the merchants to send their goods to some place of rendezvous, to be ready against the time of departing.[a] Nor do they travel at random when they set out, for they commonly travel four camels abreast; and are divided into cottars or companies, which have their

[a] Clarke's Harmer, ch. v. ob. 4, 6.

peculiar standards, formed of iron work, like a grate, on the top of a pole, whose shape through the day, and flame through the night, when filled with fuel, direct the merchants or pilgrims to what company they belong.[a] These caravans are sometimes very numerous. That from Egypt to Mecca, in 1697, consisted of 100,000 souls, according to Maillet, and nearly as many camels. The camels and horses have often bells suspended from their necks, and the road is not unfrequently beguiled by songs and music. It was in allusion to this eastern manner of travelling, that Laban complained of Jacob, that he had stolen away so privately, as to deny him the pleasure of sending him away with mirth, and with songs, with tabret and with harp.[b]

The most ancient commercial caravan that we read of in Scripture, was that which purchased Joseph of his brethren;[c] where, although only two companies appear in our translation, there are three in the original, viz. the Ishmaelites, or descendants of Ishmael, in verse 25; the Midianites, (מדינים *Medinim*,) or descendants of Midian, the fourth son of Abraham by Keturah, in verse 28; and the Medanites, (מדנים *Medenim*,) in verse 36, (improperly rendered Midianites in our version,) descended from Medan, the third son of Abraham by Keturah,[d] who lived in the neighbourhood of Midian. Thus their caravan consisted of three distinct companies; and their merchandize was spicery, balm, and myrrh.—We read, long afterwards, of the labour of Egypt, and the merchandize of Ethiopia, and of the Sabeans coming to Judea.[e] Many ca-

[a] Harmer's Ob. vol. i. p. 472, &c. Hasselquist, p. 77—83.
[b] Gen. xxxi. 27. [c] Gen. xxxvii. 25, &c. [d] Gen. xxv. 2. [e] Is. xlv. 14.

ravans with merchandize went also to Tyre, during the period of her glory, as the general mart of nations;[a] and in many passages of Scripture, do we read of merchants travelling from place to place to dispose of their merchandize.—As for religious caravans or companies, we have none mentioned in Scripture that exactly resemble the caravans to Mecca; but we have several examples of multitudes travelling from one place to another. Thus the Israelites, in their journey from Egypt to Canaan, had all the regularity of a caravan; and the Jews which returned from Babylon, under Ezra and Nehemiah, would naturally take precautions, to preserve order among such a multitude.

It seldom happens that eastern monarchs make long journeys, the influence of the climate, and immemorial usage, keeping them commonly retired in their palaces; but, when they do go abroad, it is with great magnificence; and in former times, harbingers were sent to prepare all things for their reception, and pioneers to open passes, level inequalities, and remove every impediment. Diodorus's account of Semiramis's marches into Media and Persia will give us a distinct idea of the preparation of the way, for a royal expedition. "In her march to Ecbatane, she came to the Zarcean mountain, which extending many furlongs, and being full of craggy precipices and deep hollows, could not be passed without taking a great compass about. Being, therefore, desirous of leaving an everlasting memorial of herself, as well as of shortening the way, she ordered the precipices to be digged down, and the hollows to be filled up; and, at a great ex-

[a] Ezek. xxvii. 9, &c.

pense, she made a shorter and more expeditious road, which, to this day, is called from her the road of Semiramis. Afterward she went into Persia, and all the other countries of Asia, subject to her dominion; and wherever she went, she ordered the mountains and precipices to be levelled; raised causeways in the plain country, and, at a great expense, made the roads passable." Long after Semiramis, Josephus,[a] when speaking of Titus, says, that "there went before him, the establishment of the king, and all the army, among whom were (ὁδοποιοι) the pioneers;" literally the makers or levellers of roads. It must be obvious to every one, that this gives a beauty and force to Is. xl. 3, 4, "The voice of one crying in the wilderness, prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God. Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low, and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain." The words are descriptive of John the Baptist, as the harbinger of the Messiah, the king of Zion, before whose presence and religion every difficulty was to disappear.

In the absence of more particular information concerning the manner of travelling among the ancient Jews, I shall add the customs of the modern Jews when taking a journey. They make a valedictory supper the night before. When gone, their remaining relations sweep not the house for an hour, to distinguish the undertaking a journey from their manner of carrying out the dead; and when the travellers reach the fourth milestone, they turn round and say, "Let it please thee, O Lord our

[a] Bello, vi. 6.

God, and the God of our fathers, to lead me out, and cause me to return to my house in peace; to protect me from the hand of the enemy, and of him who lays snares in the way. Take me to my destined place, and make me return home in peace, for thou art the God who hearest prayer. Blessed be thou who hearest prayer." They are enjoined to avoid no tolls, to defraud no person, to throw themselves unnecessarily into no danger, as if God were to work a miracle in their behalf, and never to conceal that they are Jews. And, to show their jealousy of Christians, it is recommended that when walking with one who has a sword, they shall keep on his right hand, to see when he draws it; and with one who has a spear, they shall walk on the left, for the same reason; that in going up a hill, the Jew shall precede the Christian, and in coming down, he shall follow, because the highest was thought to have the advantage; although it is evident, that, in ascending, the danger lay in being wounded before he was aware.[a]

SECT. VIII.

Jewish Marks of Honour and Disgrace.

1. Marks of honour which servants paid to their masters. Slaves, their price; their submissive attitude; washed the hands of their master; served him before they ate themselves; servants of different ranks; eunuchs; singing men and singing women. 2. Marks of respect paid by inferiors in general to superiors. Bowing the head; bowing the knee; bowing to the ground; kissing the hand, or what came from it; giving them the chief seat; making yearly presents; allaying the dust before them when travelling; spread-

[a] Buxtorff, Synag. Judaic. cap. 43.

ing their garments. A spear, or lamps, indicated the tent of a chief. 3. Marks of respect among equals. The salam, or salutation; eastern salutations took up much time; their way of saluting when at a distance, and when at hand; kissing; falling on the neck; taking hold of the beard. Manner of conducting visits; these held in the court in summer, and house in winter. The entertainment at an eastern visit; sprinkling with rose-water; perfuming the guests; their signs of mirth. 4. Marks of honour paid to inferiors; those to principal officers; Joseph; Mordecai; changes of raiment; purple robe; gold buckle and clasp; a key on the shoulder a mark of office; explanation of a horn as an emblem of dignity and power; breaking a chain a mark of freedom. 5. Marks of disgrace. Cutting off the beard; plucking off the hair; spitting in the face; clapping the hands, hissing, and wagging the head; gnashing the teeth; speaking evil of one's mother.

In every country there hath always been a distinction of ranks; and certain marks have been established to show, on the one hand, the respect which an inferior hath for a superior, and, on the other, the honour which a person of rank wishes to confer on humble merit. In the East, these marks have been long established, being the same almost now that they were in the times of the Old Testament; so that they serve as a commentary on this part of the Jewish customs.

For the sake of perspicuity, we shall divide our observations into four parts. 1st, Those which servants, or rather slaves, paid to their masters. 2d, Those which inferiors, in general, paid to superiors. 3d, Those which equals showed to each other: and 4th, Those marks of honour, which persons of rank were wont to pay to those in a humbler station.

1st, As for the conduct of servants or slaves to their masters, it was most submissive; and arose from their own peculiar situation, and the general state of society. For servants, among the Jews,

were either strangers, meaning by that term persons of other nations, who had been taken in war, or bought with money, and therefore accounted property.[a] Or they were the children of strangers, who had been born in their master's house, and were consequently in the same situation as their parents.[b] Or they were Hebrews who, being poor, had sold themselves for seven years; or were sold by their creditors to pay their debts; or by their parents from necessity.[c] Lightfoot[d] tells us from Maimonides, that "the stated price of a slave, whether old or young, male or female, was thirty selaas or shekels of good silver, whether he was worth a hundred pounds or only worth a penny." But it is easy to see that the stated would vary much from the real price; since purchasers would be guided often by the age, beauty, and utility of the person bought. This sum of thirty shekels was the price of a slave, as stated in the law; and in Zechariah xi. 12, 13, it is expressly prophesied, as the sum which Judas should receive for betraying his master.[e]

The implicit obedience of eastern servants has been frequently remarked by travellers.—Thus Dr. Pococke says, that at a visit in Egypt, "every thing was done with the greatest decency, and the most profound silence; the slaves or servants standing at the bottom of the room, with their hands joined before them, watching with the utmost attention every motion of their master, who com-

[a] Lev. xxv. 44, 45. [b] Gen. xiv. 14.
[c] Lev. xxv. 47—55. Matth. xviii. 25.
[d] Harmony of the New Testament, sect. 81.
[e] Compare Matth. xxvi. 15; xxvii. 3—10.

manded them by signs."[a] Savary says, "The slaves, with their hands crossed on their breast, wait in silence at the end of the apartment; and, with their looks fixed on their master, they try to anticipate his least wish."[b] And Dr. Russell gives us two prints, in one of which stands a male servant, attending on a Turk of dignity, in that dress, and humble submissive attitude, in which they are accustomed to wait on their masters; and, in the other, a female servant is, in like manner, waiting on her mistress.[c] How beautifully, therefore, do these extracts explain the words of the Psalmist:[d] "Behold, as the eyes of servants look unto the hand of their masters, and as the eyes of a maiden unto the hand of her mistress; so our eyes wait upon the Lord our God, until that he have mercy upon us."

Among the several duties of servants mentioned in Scripture, that of pouring water on their masters' hands is particularly noticed.—Thus, Elishah's being the attendant or servant of Elijah, is expressed by his pouring water on that prophet's hands.[e] Indeed the custom was not peculiar to the Jews, for we find the same office performed by servants, in the days of Homer. Thus, Asphalion, the male slave of Menelaus, pours water on the hands of his master and the other guests;[f] and, in various parts of the Odyssey, female slaves are employed in the same office.[g] This custom of pouring water on the hands of superiors is still the

[a] Newbury's Coll. vol. xii. p. 68.
[b] Letters on Egypt, p. 135.
[c] Nat. Hist. of Aleppo, p. 101.
[d] Ps. cxxiii. 2.
[e] 2 Kings iii. 11.
[f] Odyss. iv. 216.
[g] Odyss. i. 136; iv. 52; vii. 172; x. 350; xv. 135; xvii. 91.

practice of the East. For Mr. Hanway,[a] when speaking of a Persian supper, says, "Supper being brought in, a servant presented a basin of water, and a napkin hung over his shoulders; he went to every one in the company, and poured water on their hands to wash."

The humanity which is now shown to servants, in Christian countries, would make it appear harsh, to desire a servant, when coming tired from the field, to wait upon his master while he dined, before himself had taken any refreshment. And yet this is not inconsistent with eastern usage, for our Lord supposes such a case in Luke xvii. 7—9. "Which of you," says he, "having a servant plowing or feeding cattle, will say unto him by and by, when he is come from the field, Go and sit down to meat? and will not rather say unto him, Make ready wherewith I may sup, and gird thyself, and serve me, till I have eaten and drunken; and afterward thou shalt eat and drink? Doth he thank that servant because he did the things that were commanded him? I trow not."

In the houses of the great among the Jews, there were many servants, and each had a distinct office, with which none of his fellow-servants interfered, and consequently, for the discharge of which he was accountable.—But of all the servants in the courts of kings, during the last period of the scripture history, the eunuchs appear to have been the most confidential;[b] they had no distinct family interest, and the employment of them prevented that jealousy which was often the cause of great evils in eastern courts. They commonly,

[a] Travels, vol. i. p. 223. [b] Dan. i. 3, 8. Acts viii. 27.

therefore, guarded the beds of the eastern despots, their treasures, and their wives.—In the houses of the great, also, there were companies of singing men and singing women. Solomon speaks of them in Eccl. ii. 8; and when describing the effects of old age,[a] he tells us that "all the daughters of music shall then be brought low:" meaning, that aged persons, from deafness, and the general decline of their senses and faculties, take little pleasure in music.—Accordingly, Barzillai, the friend of David, when urged to leave the place of his nativity, and spend the evening of his days at the court of that monarch, made this beautiful reply:[b] "How long have I to live, that I should go up with the king unto Jerusalem? I am this day fourscore years old; and can I discern between good and evil? Can thy servant taste what I eat, or what I drink? Can I hear any more the voice of singing men and singing women? Wherefore then should thy servant be yet a burden unto my lord the king?" Mr. Park[c] speaks of these singing men, as commonly to be met with in Africa. And Dr. Clarke, in his Travels, repeatedly notices the almehs, or singing women of Egypt.[d] Whilst every one conversant with Hindoo customs must know, that women of the same description are common in Hindostan.

2. As for the marks of respect which were paid by inferiors among the Jews to their superiors, they were as follow. The first and most common

[a] Eccl. xii. 4. [b] 2 Sam. xix. 34, 35.

[c] Travels in Africa, chap. iv. vi. xx.

[d] There is a print of these almehs in Luigi Mayer's Views in Egypt. And for the nature of the dances of the almehs at Adrianople, see Lady Mary W. Montagu's Letters, letter 33.

was a low inclination of the head, with the hands folded on the breast;[a] and when the person was much their superior, or when they had a petition to ask of him, they either bowed the knee,[b] or bowed themselves to the ground,[c] or kissed his hand, his feet, or the hem of his garment,[d] or caught him by the feet.[e] It was customary, also, for inferiors to testify their respect, by kissing whatever was delivered to them from a superior, and putting it to their forehead.[f] And it is to this that Pharaoh alludes,[g] when he says concerning Joseph, "According to thy word shall all my people be ruled—or kiss," thereby intimating, that they should receive his orders with the profoundest respect.

Were an inferior in Britain, to come with a present to a superior, when he asked a favour, it would be construed as an insult; but it is otherwise understood in the East. Thus Maundrell[h] tells us, "it is accounted uncivil, to visit in Syria, without an offering in hand. All great men expect it, as a kind of tribute to their character and authority; and look upon themselves as affronted, and even defrauded, when this compliment is omitted. Even in familiar visits amongst inferiors, you will seldom see them come without bringing a flower, or an orange, or some other token of respect, to the person visited; the Turks, in this point, keeping up the ancient oriental custom,

[a] Gen. xliii. 28. [b] Gen. xli. 43.
[c] Gen. xlii. 6. Matth. xviii. 26, 29. [d] Luke vii. 38, 45.
[e] Matth. xxviii. 9. Joseph. War, iii. 7.
[f] Pococke, vol. i. p. 113, 182. [g] Gen. xli. 40.
[h] Travels, p. 26. See also Murray's Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Asia, vol. iii. p. 49, 69.

hinted 1 Sam. ix. 7, 8. "If we go," says Saul, "what shall we bring the man of God? There is not a present—and the servant answered Saul again, and said, Behold I have here at hand, the fourth part of a shekel of silver, that will I give to the man to tell us our way;" which words, adds Maundrell, are unquestionably to be understood, in conformity to this eastern custom, as relating to a token of respect, and not a price of divination." In Mal. i. 8, we hear God reproving Israel, by an allusion to this custom, in the following words: "If ye offer the blind for sacrifice, is it not evil? and if ye offer the lame and sick, is it not evil? offer it now unto thy governor, will he be pleased with thee, or accept thy person? saith the Lord of Hosts."—So general, indeed, are these presents, that when one invites a superior to a feast, it is said by Chardin to be usual to make him a present after it, and frequently before it, as an acknowledgment of the trouble he has taken. At such entertainments the chief seat is commonly given him; and, whilst he remains in the house, as the corner of the room is the honourable place, being the place where the principal divan is; so the corner of the divan is the principal seat,[a] into which he is set, if he be much the superior of the master of the house; or he is placed on his right hand, if only a little more elevated, in rank or office. Dr. Pococke also tells us, that it is accounted a very humble posture in an inferior, when in the presence of his superior, to sit so, as that the most muscular part of his body shall rest on his heels.[b] One would think it strange for superiors to exact

[a] Pococke, vol. i. p. 172. [b] Vol. i. p. 102, 213.

presents from their inferiors, but this is sometimes done in the East; and tributary princes, or those who wish to be thought in friendship with princes, make a point of sending them presents, either yearly or occasionally. It is to this part of eastern usage that reference is made in 2 Chron. ix. 23, 24, when it is said that, "All the kings of the earth sought the presence of Solomon, to hear his wisdom, that God had put in his heart: and they brought every man his present, vessels of silver, and vessels of gold, and raiment, harness, and spices, horses and mules, a rate year by year."

It seldom happens that princes travel far from their palace, but on such occasions it is usual to have persons preceding them, whose office it is to allay the dust with water, which in those sultry climates is accounted a luxury. Accordingly, Dr. Pococke tells us,[a] that at Cairo, according to an ancient custom of the state, a man went before, and sprinkled water on the ground, to allay the dust, before him who was to be greatly honoured, or treated like a prince. And Sir Thomas Roe, when on an embassy from the Court of England to the Mogul, in 1612, says, that when that illustrious person travelled, "runners with water, or skins, made a continual shower before him."[b] If this was done in Judea, in the days of David, it will explain Shimei's behaviour,[c] and give it great energy; who, in direct opposition to it, threw stones and dust at the king in the day of his affliction. David had been wont to have the dust allayed before him, in the day of his prosperity;

[a] Vol. i. p. 17. [b] Murray's Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Asia, book ii. ch. 4. [c] 2 Sam. xvi. 13.

but Shimei, in the day of his distress, added insult to his rebellion.

It would appear that one of the ways of proclaiming a king, was by spreading their garments on the ground, and blowing with trumpets. Thus, when Jehu was made king by his companions in arms,[a] it is said that "they hasted, and took every man his garment, and put it under him, on the top of the stairs, and blew with trumpets, saying, Jehu is king:" a circumstance which serves to give a peculiar degree of force to the conduct of the multitude, who spread their garments in the way, and strewed branches of trees, and exclaimed Hosanna, when Christ made his triumphal entry into Jerusalem.[b] In Sir John Malcolm's History of Persia[c] we have a more splendid way of doing the same thing. For, when Abbas the Second wished to do honour to an Usbeg prince, he went out seven miles to meet him, and the whole road to Ispahan was covered with rich silks, upon which the two sovereigns rode. In general, the farther they go to meet a person in the East, the greater is the honour.

But besides the kings of Israel, whose residence was stationary at Jerusalem, the Scriptures take notice of the chiefs among the Arab tribes; I may therefore add, that whilst a spear was an emblem of authority among the warlike tribes, one or more lamps, suspended near the tent of a chief, was the emblem of authority among others, of a milder disposition. Thus Norden tells us,[d] that the tent of the bey of Girge was distinguished

[a] 2 Kings ix. 5, 13.
[b] Matth. xxi. 8, 9.
[c] Vol. i. ch. 15.
[d] Part ii. p. 45.

from others, by forty lamps disposed like chequer work.—Holofernes had silver lamps carried before him, when he went to visit Judith.[a]—And the basha of Egypt, mentioned by Thevenot, had two hundred lamps hung between two great trees, at the gate of the inclosure that surrounded his pavilion.[b] May not these serve to explain the words of Job, an Arab emir or chief, when he says,[c] "O that I were as in months past, as in the days when God preserved me, when his candle shined upon my head, and when by his light I walked through darkness?" For, may he not here allude to the lamps which hung around his tent, in his days of prosperity, and thereby contrast his former with his present condition? In 2 Maccab. iv. 22, when Jason received Antiochus into Jerusalem by torch-light, and with great shoutings, it was intended as an honour, and received as such.

But while treating of marks of respect due to superiors, we should not overlook the guards of kings, which served the purposes of splendour, security, and the execution of justice. For, in the East, where despotism, under various forms, has always prevailed, the sentence and the execution usually tread on the heels of each other.—Thus Potiphar, the captain of Pharaoh's guard, was literally the captain of the executioners. Herod sent one of his guard to behead John the Baptist. And the Cherethites, Pelethites, and Gittites of David, were also persons of that description: for the Cherethites (כרתי *kereti*) mean the cutters off, or executioners; the Pelethites (פלתי *pheleti*) mean the di-

[a] Ch. x. 22.
[b] Thevenot, part i. p. 160.
[c] Job xxix. 2, 3.

viders, or severers; and the Gittites (גתים *getim*) mean the pounders, or bruisers.[a]

3. As for the marks of respect and friendship among equals, they had a peculiar degree of dignity and solemnity.—Thus, when saluting each other, it was generally in the words they use at present, "Peace be unto you,—Salam aleikum," which, when the Arabs pronounce, they lay their right hand upon their heart: and the answer is, "Aleikum essalam, with you be peace;" to which aged persons are inclined to add, "and the mercy and blessing of God."[b] Salutations in the East commonly take up much time; hence Elisha[c] enjoins Gehazi to salute no man by the way, when he was sent to recover the Shunamite's son. "The ordinary way of saluting people in Egypt," says Maillet,[d] "when at a distance, is bringing the hand down to the knees, and then carrying it to the stomach; marking their devotedness to a person by holding down the hand; as they do their affection, by their after raising it to their head; and when they come close together, they take each other by the hand, in token of friendship." The common salutation to an equal, when at hand, is to lay the right hand on the bosom, with a gentle inclination of the body; and persons of equal age and dignity, when under the impulse of strong feelings, kiss each other's hand, head or shoulder.[e]—Hence the conduct of Esau to Jacob;[f] of Joseph to his brethren;[g] and of the father of the prodigal.[h]—Taking hold of the beard, and kissing the person, is also

[a] 2 Sam. xv. 18; xx. 7, 23; 1 Kings i. 44. [b] Niebuhr.
[c] 2 Kings iv. 29. [d] Lett. 11th. [e] Shaw, p. 237.
[f] Gen. xxxiii. 4. [g] Gen. xlv. 14, 15. [h] Luke xv. 20.

a token of respect;[a] hence Joab took Amaza by the beard to kiss him.[b] But any affront done to the beard was accounted a great injury; hence David's resentment at Hanun's conduct to his ambassadors in 2 Sam. x. 5. Protestations of friendship were also not unfrequently confirmed by touching the forehead, and swearing by it. Thus, when Mr. Wolf was at Cairo, in September 1821, the president of one of the synagogues "touched his head, and swore that he would give him letters of introduction to Rabbi J. A. from Poland, who had returned from Cairo to Jerusalem." A manner of swearing, as Mr. Wolf remarks, which explains the words of our Lord in Matth. v. 36, "Neither shalt thou swear by thy head."[c]

But besides the marks of respect which equals showed to each other in their occasional meetings, there were others which appeared in their friendly visits. The court or quadrangle in the middle of their houses, which was noticed in our description of the habitations of the East, was formerly, and is still, the place for receiving company when the weather permits; for rarely do they enter the family apartments, except in winter. Hence they have either moveable divans, to suit the sun or the shade, in their courts, or small places by the wall, more elegantly paved than the rest, on which to lay their carpets and cushions. Not unfrequently, too, do they screen a certain portion of the court, by fixing curtains to the sides of the house, and fastening them to poles, or other fixtures in the court,

[a] Thevenot, part i. p. 30. [b] 2 Sam. xx. 9.

[c] Journal quoted in the Scottish Missionary Register for April 1822, p. 149.

that the company may either sit or walk, as under a porch; and the entertainment consists of each sitting according to his rank, and receiving a pipe, sweetmeats, coffee, and sherbet. The sweetmeats are commonly prepared with conserve of red roses, acidulated with lemon-juice: the coffee is made very strong, without either sugar or milk; and the sherbet is some syrup, chiefly of lemon mixed with sugar.[a] The pipes of the middling classes are plain, and about four or five feet long; but those of the nobility, commonly known in the East by the name of the Persian calean, or Bengal hookah, are of a more complicated kind. The calean which Mr. Bruce saw at Gondar, the capital of Abyssinia, had "a long pliable tube or worm, covered with Turkey leather, with an amber mouth-piece, and a crystal vase for smoking tobacco through water, which is accounted a great luxury in the eastern countries."[b] The Bengal hookah, which the author of this work saw, consisted, 1st, of a crystal vase, two-thirds full of rose-water when used, exactly the shape of the lowest part of the glass apparatus, that is used for making alkaline aerated water, and similar, as it would appear, to that seen by Mr. Bruce. 2dly, A silver cup for holding the tobacco, covered with a silver globe full of holes, about four inches in diameter, and fixed to the stopper of the crystal vase by means of a tube, which descended to the bottom of the rose-water to cool the smoke. And, 3dly, A flexible tube, six yards and a half long, beautifully covered with threads of green and white silk, in the form of net-work, which had a mouth-piece on the one end, and was fixed to another metal

[a] Russell's Aleppo, p. 81. [b] Shaw's Abridgment, p. 268.

tube, in the stopper of the vase, on the other, to receive the smoke after it had passed through the rose-water. The reader will observe, that the smoke, on leaving the tube at the bottom, literally passes through the water, ascends to the top of the vase with a bubbling noise, and thus cooled, enters the second tube, which conveys it to the mouth.—Hence the singular and not unpleasant sound which is heard in the apartment where a number of hookahs are in action.—It resembles, in some measure, a purling rill.—The following account of a visit by the Rev. Henry Martyn, will show us how these matters were usually conducted. "One day," says he, "we called on the governor, (of Bushire in Persia,) a Persian khan; he was very particular in his attentions, seated me in his own seat, and then sat by my side. After the usual salutations and inquiries, the calean was introduced; then coffee in china cups, placed within silver ones; then calean, then some rose-water syrup, then calean. As there were long intervals, often, in which nought was heard but the gurgling of calean, I looked around with some anxiety for something to discourse upon."*

It is uncertain whether the Jews, in their entertainments, indulged in the calean or hookah; but if it was in use in Persia, and Hindostan, in the days of Solomon, it would probably be introduced by that luxurious monarch; since the commerce of India came then overland to Egypt; and Tadmor in the wilderness, or Palmyra, as it was afterwards named, was built by Solomon, as a great commercial station for the caravans, when coming from, or returning to, the East.

* Memoirs, p. 353. Third edit.

At the conclusion of a visit, it is common in the East to sprinkle rose-water, or some other sweet-scented water, on the hands and bodies of the guests,[a] and to perfume them with lign aloes, or the smoke of frankincense, as a signal for departure.[b] Hence, probably, the reason why sweet odours were brought to Daniel, in ch. ii. 47. In general, the conversation, at these visits, is rather of a grave kind; but they also indulge, occasionally, in subjects of a light and cheerful nature, when the different passions and affections are allowed to appear, and when they are attended with their natural signs and gestures. Thus, striking the lip with four fingers of one of the hands, so as to form the quickly repeated sound of yow, yow, yow, is said by Pitts,[c] to be their manner of expressing benevolent joy; while a tremulous application of the tongue to the palate, so as to produce the sound heli, li, li, li, is the ziraleet of Syria, or female mode of expressing exultation.[d]

4th, With respect to the marks of *honour*, which superiors showed to inferiors, the following were the principal and most common. As it was impossible for kings to attend to every part of their dominions, it became necessary to delegate a part of their power to others; hence viceroys, lieutenants, chief governors, satraps, tetrarchs, &c., who acted in their name, and were accountable to them for their conduct. Thus Darius set 120 princes or chief men over the kingdom of Babylon, and ordered them to render an account of their administration, to three presidents, of whom Daniel

[a] Maillet, lett. 1st. [b] Maundrell, p. 30, 31. Pococke, vol. i. p. 45.
[c] P. 85. [d] Clarke's Harmer, ch. vi. ob. 50.

was the chief:[a] these, of course, represented the king, and had a suitable revenue and salary. The same thing might be said, but on a lesser scale, of all those who held important offices, under the kings of Israel and Judah. They were either heads of the tribes, or relations of the king, or had been distinguished by their valour: but they depended on the royal favour for their continuance in office, and were dismissible at pleasure. In such an oscillancy in human affairs, it became necessary to inform the public, by some established etiquette, of the appointment of the new favourite. Accordingly, when Joseph was taken from a prison, and made prime minister of Egypt, he received the king's ring, in which was the royal seal that confirmed the royal decrees; was arrayed in white linen; had a gold chain put about his neck; was conducted in grand procession through the streets of the capital, in the second state chariot; while a crier proclaimed to the multitude, "Bow the knee."[b] And when Mordecai was raised to a similar dignity by Ahasuerus, we are told that he was clothed in royal apparel; rode on the king's horse of state, richly caparisoned; had the crown royal set on his head; and one of the chief of the princes heading the procession; while a crier proclaimed before him, "Thus shall it be done to the man whom the king delighteth to honour."[c]

In the days of Saul, bracelets appear to have been ensigns of royalty, for the crown and bracelets which he wore, were brought to David after his death.[d] Isaiah[e] tells us, that in his days, the in-

[a] Dan. vi. 1, 2. [b] Gen. xli. 42, 43. [c] Esther vi. 7—9.
[d] 2 Sam. i. 10. [e] Chap. xxii. 21, 22.

signia of a governor were a robe, a girdle, and a key.—And in the East, the ceremony of investiture to dominions granted by the kalif, is by sending letters patent, a crown, a chain, and bracelets.[a] Changes of raiment, consisting either of caffetans or whole suits, called khelauts in India, are marks both of honour and of office, and are always given by a superior to an inferior.[b]—Thus Daniel, if he could interpret the handwriting on the wall, was promised by Belshazzar to be clothed in scarlet; to have a gold chain about his neck; and to be the third ruler in the kingdom.[c] Alexander, the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, when he appointed Jonathan Maccabæus high priest, and declared him the king's friend, sent him a purple robe and a crown of gold;[d] he afterwards honoured him still more by sending him a buckle of gold, to wear on the shoulder, and to fasten his purple robe, as the use was to be given to such as were of the king's blood.[e] And when Alexander died, his son confirmed Jonathan in the high priesthood, sent him golden vessels to be served in, and gave him leave to drink in gold, to be clothed in purple, and to wear a golden buckle or clasp.[f] Nearly the same things were promised by Darius, to the person who should excel in wisdom.[g] They were considered a distinguished honour, as being a part of the insignia of royalty; for Lucian, in his Dialogues of the Dead, makes Diogenes the cynic say to Alexander the Great, that "he would feel sorrowful to leave his honour, and glory, and distinction in managing

[a] D'Herbelot, p. 541. [b] Sir John Malcolm's Hist. of Persia, vol. i. ch. 10. His Memoir of Central India, vol. i. p. 157, 163, 320.
[c] Dan. v. 16. [d] 1 Macc. x. 20. [e] 1 Macc. x. 89.
[f] 1 Macc. xi. 57, 58. [g] 1 Esdras iii. 6.

his chariot, and his head bound with a white fillet, and his purple garment fastened with a buckle—*πορφυρεὶδα εμπεπορπημενον.*" Nestor's purple mantle was fastened with gold buckles.[a] Ulysses, when under a feigned character, describing to Penelope the portrait of her husband, says, that "illustrious on his breast, the double clasping gold buckle indicated the king."[b] And Virgil tells us that Dido's robe was fastened with a gold buckle.[c] From all which we see, that it was an indication of royalty, and that the giving permission to wear it, was considered a singular honour, conferred on rulers of provinces, and the chief ministers of religion.

The princes of the East, even at the present day, have many changes of raiment ready, both as an article of wealth, which large wardrobes have always been in that country, and to suit the occasion. And in Persia, they are of different degrees of fineness and richness, according to the rank or merit of the persons to whom they are given; but in Turkey they are all nearly of an equal fineness, and the honour lies in the number given.[d] Party-coloured garments are also, in these countries, counted a mark of honour, and were worn even by kings' daughters.[e] Perhaps Joseph's coat of many colours[f] resembled the stuffs in Barbary, which are formed of pieces of cloth, of different colours, sewed together; or it may have been richly embroidered, like that which Telemachus, when leaving the court of Sparta in quest of his father, received from Helen, whom Menelaus had

[a] Il. x. 133. [b] Odyss. xix. 226. [c] Æn. iv. 139.
[d] Clarke's Harmer, ch. vi. ob. 33. [e] 2 Sam. xiii. 18.
[f] Gen. xxxiii. 7.

received again into favour after the destruction of Troy.[a] For a superior to give his own garment to an inferior, was reckoned a great mark of regard.[b] Hence Jonathan gave his to David.[c] And the following extract from the History of Persia, by Sir John Malcolm,[d] may serve to throw some light on Elisha's request, to have the mantle of Elijah.[e] "When the Khalifa," says he, "or teacher of the Sooffees, dies, he bequeaths his patched garment, which is all his worldly wealth, to the disciple whom he esteems the most worthy to become his successor; and the moment the latter puts on the holy mantle, he is vested with the power of his predecessor."

Thevenot[f] informs us, that superiors in the East, in order to court popularity, sometimes use the salutation which is given to equals; instancing, as an example, the Grand Signor, when riding along the streets of Constantinople. And every one knows the arts which Absalom used, to win the hearts of the people from his father: he put forth his hand, and took them and kissed them;[g] a mark of kindness, which David showed to Barzillai, for a better end.[h] We may next add, that a horn, in ancient times, was an emblem of power, which the following extract will set in a new light: "One thing observable in the cavalcade, which Mr. Bruce witnessed in Abyssinia, was the head-dress of the governors of provinces. A large broad fillet was bound upon their forehead, and tied behind, in the middle of which was a horn, or conical piece of sil-

[a] Odyss. xv. 105. [b] D'Herbelot, p. 571. [c] 1 Sam. xviii. 4.
[d] History of Persia, ch. xxii. [e] 2 Kings ii. 13.
[f] Part i. p. 87. [g] 2 Sam. xv. 5. [h] 2 Sam. xix. 39.

ver, gilt, about four inches long, much in the shape of our common candle extinguishers. This is called *kirn*, and is only worn at reviews, or parades after a victory."[a] In the quarto edition of Bruce's Travels, a plate is given of this ensign of office, and I may add, that the Abyssinian word *kirn* is the same as קרן *keren*, which is the Hebrew word for a horn, and is often alluded to in Scripture. Thus in Ps. lxxv. 4, 5, "I said unto the fools, Deal not foolishly; and to the wicked, Lift not up the horn: lift not up your horn on high; speak not with a stiff neck." Ps. xcii. 10, "But my horn shalt thou exalt, like the horn of the unicorn." And in Ps. cxii. 9, "His horn shall be exalted with honour." Perhaps a remnant of this ancient practice is to be found still in the neighbourhood of Lebanon; for Captain Light, in 1814, saw the females of the Maronites and Druses, "wearing on their heads a tin or silver conical tube, about twelve inches long, and twice the size of a common post horn, over which was thrown a white piece of linen that completely enveloped the body."[b] The horn of the emir's wife was of gold, enriched with precious stones.[c] And in the vignette prefixed to part ii. ch. 3, he gives us a drawing of a Druse female, in the costume of the country.

Let me add, before concluding these marks of honour, that, as in despotic countries there are sudden elevations to rank, and depressions to poverty, bondage, or death, according to the character and caprice of the tyrant; so it was customary, when a worthy person was restored to liberty, to declare

[a] Shaw's Abridgment of Bruce's Travels, p. 199.
[b] Travels in Palestine, p. 220. [c] Page 222.

his restoration, by some appropriate action. Thus when Josephus was taken by the Romans, after the storming of Jotapata in Galilee, he was bound, like Paul, with a chain; but having prophesied that Vespasian would become emperor, at a time when there was no appearance of his prophecy being fulfilled, the emperor's son, Titus, after the event had justified the prediction, besought his father, on Josephus's falling into their hands, not only to loose, but to cut in pieces his chain, as the completest evidence that he had been unworthily treated. Accordingly the historian tells us, that a person was introduced, who cut his chain in pieces, as was the usual method with those who had been bound without cause, and thereby restored him to liberty and honour.[a]

But after having spoken of their marks of honour, we shall also notice *their marks of disgrace*. These were many; but the chief of them were the following. Sometimes they condemned men to the employments of women, like the Jewish youth to grind corn in Babylon.[b] Cutting off the beard, was accounted a great insult;[c] and plucking off the hair, was adding cruelty to insult.[d] To spit in the face of a person, was also accounted disgraceful,[e] and is still practised in the East. For Hanway tells us, that in the year 1744, when a rebel prisoner was brought before Nadir Shah's general, "the soldiers were ordered to spit in his face, an indignity," adds the historian, "of great antiquity in the East."[f] Clapping the hands, making a

[a] War, iv. 10. [b] Lam. v. 13. [c] 2 Sam. x. 5. [d] Is. l. 6.
[e] Is. l. 6, Mark xiv. 65; xv. 19. Luke xviii. 31, 32.
[f] Travels, vol. i. p. 298.

wide mouth, pushing out the tongue, and hissing, were likewise the marks of malignant joy and contempt.[a] Accordingly Job says,[b] "Men shall clap their hands at him, and shall hiss him out of his place." And Jeremiah[c] mentions clapping their hands, hissing, wagging their heads, and gnashing their teeth, as the tokens whereby the inhabitants of Jerusalem showed their hatred. Whilst Isaiah[d] says of Israel, "Against whom make ye a wide mouth, and draw out the tongue?"—We formerly noticed the conduct of Shimei to David, in throwing dust in the air, and may now add, that the Jews insulted Paul, many centuries after, in a similar manner:[e] for it is said of them, that "they gave him audience unto this word, and then lifted up their voices and said, Away with such a fellow from the earth—and they cried out, and cast off their clothes, and threw dust into the air." On which conduct of theirs, the following extract from Captain Light's Travels forms an excellent commentary: "They, (viz. the inhabitants of Galabshee, a village on the Nile,) seemed more jealous of my appearance among them, than any I had seen. I was surrounded by them, and 'a present, a present,' echoed from all quarters, before they would allow me to look at their temple. One more violent than the rest threw dust in the air, the signal both of rage and defiance; ran for his shield, and came towards me dancing, howling, and striking the shield with the head of his javelin to intimidate me. A promise of a present, however, pacified him."[f]

[a] Ezek. xxv. 6. [b] Ch. xxvii. 23. [c] Lam. ii. 15. [d] Ch. lvii. 4.
[e] Acts xxii. 22. [f] Travels into Egypt, &c. p. 61.

But, perhaps, the greatest insult which could be given, apart from bodily injury, was the contempt that was cast on their mother. Hence the cutting reproach of Saul to his son Jonathan, for the friendship he had shown to David, "Thou son of the perverse, rebellious woman, do not I know that thou hast chosen the son of Jesse to thy own confusion, and unto the confusion of thy mother's nakedness?"[a] David, likewise, when reproving Joab, his nephew, uses similar language.—"These men, the sons of Zeruiah, be too hard for me."[b] And when Abishai, the brother of Joab, wished to kill Shimei for cursing David, the king replied, "What have I to do with you, ye sons of Zeruiah?"[c] which Zeruiah was David's full sister.[d] This tenderness for a mother's character, and desire to resent any affront that was cast upon her, was owing to polygamy; where the children of the same mother became naturally more attached to her, and to each other.[e] And it is for the same reason, that we have the names of the mothers of the kings of Israel, so frequently mentioned.[f] It distinguished them from the other children of the kings, by their other wives; and served to ascertain their descent and propinquity.—But marks of disgrace were not confined to the living. They often extended to the dead, by refusing them the rites of sepulture;[g] raising them after they had been interred;[h] forbidding them to be publicly lamented; allowing them to become the prey of

[a] 1 Sam. xx. 30.
[b] 2 Sam. iii. 39.
[c] 2 Sam. xvi. 10; xix. 22.
[d] 1 Chron. ii. 15, 16.
[e] Parke's Travels in Africa, ch. iv.
[f] 1 Kings xiv. 31; xv. 2, 10, &c.
[g] Rev. xi. 1—12.
[h] Jer. viii. 1.

ravenous animals;[a] casting them, like Urijah's, into the graves of the common people;[b] and burning their bones into lime, as Moab did the king of Edom's.[c]

Josephus, when deserted by his soldiers, through the intrigues of John of Gischala, while governor of Galilee, showed his sense of the disgrace which they had put upon him as their general, in the following striking manner: "He leaped out of his house to them, while they were going to set it on fire, with his clothes rent, and ashes sprinkled on his head, with his hands behind him, and his sword hanging at his neck." At this humbling sight, they pitied his situation, repented of their fault, and returned to their duty.[d] This suspending the sword from the neck, is several times mentioned in Sir John Malcolm's History of Persia, as the mark either of degradation or deep supplication; and the same thing may be said of those who, with sackcloth on their loins, and ropes on their necks, supplicated the conquerors for mercy.[e]

SECT. IX.

Jewish Measures.

1. *Of length.* A finger; a handbreadth; a span; a foot; a cubit; a fathom; a reed; the measuring line; a furlong; a sabbath day's journey; a mile; a Berè; a Parsa; a common day's journey; an Egyptian aroura; the Levitical cities. 2. Liquid measure. Their

[a] Jer. xvi. 5—7; xix. 7; xxii. 18, 19. 2 Macc. v. 10.
[b] Jer. xxvi. 23. [c] Amos ii. 1. [d] War, ii. 21.
[e] 1 Kings xx. 31, 32: and Josephus's account of it in his Antiq. viii. 14.

quadrans; log or sextarius: firkin; hin; measure; bath; cor. 3. Dry measure. Their cab; omer, or tenth deal; seah; ephah; lethec; humer. 4. Weights. The shekel; manè, or minah; talent. 5. Money. The shekel; bekah; diner, or denarius; meah, gerah, or zuz; pondion; assar; semissis, or mesimes; farthing; mite.—Maneh or mina; talent; shekel of gold; talent of gold; drachma; didrachma; stater; Daric, Suidas's table of Jewish money. Relative value of gold and silver; their original form in commerce; usury between Jews prohibited; allowed with strangers. Money changers, their origin, utility, abuse. The custom of transacting money in sealed purses common in the East.

I. *Measures of Length.*

A finger, אצבע *Atzebo*, was the breadth of the thumb, or of six barley corns laid beside each other, where they are thickest.[a] Bishop Cumberland makes it the twenty-fourth part of a cubit, and equal to ·912 parts of an inch,[b] adopting the finger in place of the thumb, which the Jews used.

A hand-breadth, טפח *Thepheh*, was equal to four fingers' breadth, or 18 barley corns, because the width of the four fingers was reckoned equal only to three thumbs. It was the sixth part of a cubit, and equal to three inches and ·648 parts of an inch, according to Bishop Cumberland.

A span, זרת *Zeret*, σπιθαμη, was equal to the width between the top of the thumb, and the top of the little finger when extended; or about nine

[a] Godwin.

[b] To prevent the frequent quoting of authorities, it may be proper to add, that the following account of Jewish measures is drawn up from a careful examination of the meaning of the words as used in Scripture: Lightfoot's Harmony of the Four Evangelists, on John ii. 6; his Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations on Matth. v. 26; his Prospect of the Temple, ch. x.; Godwin's Moses and Aaron, book vi. ch. 9; Bernardus Lamy, lib. i. cap. 8, 9; Bishop Cumberland's Essay on Jewish Measures and Weights; and Leusden's Philologus Hebræo-mixtus, dissert. 28—32.

inches. In Ezekiel xliii. 13, 17, however, the span is said to be half a cubit; and as he measures the altar by the larger cubit, which was a common cubit of 18 inches and a hand-breadth,[a] or about 21 inches, so Parkhurst makes the span about $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and Bishop Cumberland 10·944 inches.

A foot, פעם *Phom*, was equal to 12 inches, or 72 barley corns laid by the side of each other.

A cubit, אמה *Amè*, (πηχυς, Matth. vi. 27,) from a comparison of Exod. xxxvii. 1, 10, with Josephus, Antiq. iii. 6, was equal to two σπιθαμοι, or spans, somewhat less than 18 inches, or the length of the human arm of a middle-sized man, from the elbow to the top of the middle finger. But Bishop Cumberland makes the Mosaic cubit the same as the Egyptian, and larger cubit of Ezekiel,[b] and consequently equal to 21·888, or $21\frac{3}{4}$ inches nearly.

A fathom was 4 cubits, or 7 feet 3·552 inches, according to Bishop Cumberland; being 7 feet, and rather more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

A reed, קנה *Kenè*, was equal to 6 cubits, and a handbreadth; which Parkhurst explains as a handbreadth to each cubit. Accordingly, it will correspond with 6 of the long cubits of 21·888 inches, and be equal to 10 feet 11.328 inches, or 10 feet $11\frac{1}{4}$ inches nearly.

The measuring line, חבל *Hebel*, was used for measuring land, but thought by Godwin to be of uncertain length. Bishop Cumberland, however, states it at 80 cubits, or 145 feet 11·040 inches, nearly 146 feet.

A furlong, σταδιον, stadium, was reckoned equal to 125 paces, of three Roman feet each.[c] Bishop Cumberland makes it 400 cubits, or $729\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

[a] Verse 13. [b] Ezek. xl. 5. [c] Pliny, lib. xiii. cap. 23.

A sabbath day's journey was 2000 cubits,[a] founded, probably, on Josh. iii. 4, where it was commanded, that 2000 cubits should be betwixt the Israelites and the ark, and which, at 21·888 inches to a cubit, make 1216 yards, or nearly three quarters of an English mile.

A mile, (μιλιον, Matth. v. 41,) *milliarium*, among the Romans was equal to 1000 paces; but the eastern mile, according to Bishop Cumberland, was equal to 4000 cubits, which, at 21·888 inches to the cubit, make 7296 feet, or nearly an English mile and a half. A Talmudic mile was only $7\frac{1}{2}$ furlongs.[b]

The *Berè*, ברה, among the Jews, was as far as one could walk easily between meals.

A Parsa, פרסה *Pheresè*, was equal to 4 miles. They made the whole land of Israel a square of 400 parsæ, or 1600 miles; and in the Arabic version of Rev. xiv. 20, the words, which in our translation are rendered 1600 furlongs, are rendered 1600 miles.[c]

A day's journey at the equinox, or a diet, as it is sometimes called in the Talmudic writings, was usually 30 miles, of $7\frac{1}{2}$ furlongs each, but sometimes 40 miles, or 10 parsæ, divided thus: 5 miles from dawn till sunrise; 15 from sunrise till noon; 15 from noon till sunset; and 5 from sunset till the stars appear.[d] A day's march to the festivals was 30 miles for individuals, and 10 miles for companies.[e] Bishop Cumberland makes a day's journey to have been 96,000 cubits, or 33 English miles, 1 furlong, 544 yards.

[a] Lightfoot, Comment. on Acts i. 12: and Heb. and Talm. Exer. on Luke xxiv. 50. [b] Lightf. Chorog. Dec. on Mark, ch. viii. sect. 1. [c] Ib. [d] Ib. [e] Lightf. Heb. and Talm. Exer. on Luke ii. 44.

An Eyyptian Aroura was equal to 100 cubits long, by 100 cubits broad, or 10,000 square cubits. Accordingly, the court of the tabernacle, which was 100 cubits by 50, was equal to 5000 square cubits, or half an aroura; and the mountain of the Lord's house, which was 500 cubits square, was equal to 250,000 square cubits, or 25 arouras.

The Levitical cities, as we saw when treating of the glebes of the priests and Levites, had each 76 English acres, 1 rood, 20 poles, and 80 feet, on each side of the city, or 305 acres, 2 roods, 1 pole in all. So that the whole land, that was attached to the 48 cities, was equal to 14,664 acres, 1 rood, 8 poles, or about the 1321st part of the whole of Judea, supposing it to have been 200 square miles: a quantity this, far less than they would have been entitled to, had their tribe got a share like the rest; and therefore, requiring all that additional provision, in the form of stipend, which the law enjoined, to make up the deficiency of their worldly right.

II. *Liquid Measure.*

As barley corns were the standard of measures of length, so egg shells were the standard of measures of capacity, thus:

The Quadrans, רביעית *Rebioit*, or smallest measure, was equal to 1½ egg shell full.[a]

The Log, לוג *Lug*, or *Sextarius*, (ξεστος, Luke vii. 4,) was equal to four quadrantes, or 6 egg shells full. Bishop Cumberland makes it equal to 24·3 solid inches.

[a] Lightf. Harm. of Four Evang. John ii. 6.

The Firkin, (μετρητης, John ii. 6,) is stated by Bishop Cumberland at 7 English pints (of 29 solid inches each nearly,) and 4·9 solid inches; but Lightfoot makes it the same as the bath or ephah.

The Hin, חין, was equal to 12 logs, or 72 egg shells full; and Bishop Cumberland makes it equal to 1 gallon, 2 pints, 2·5 solid inches.

The Shelesh, שלש, translated *a measure* in Is. xl. 12, appears, from its name, to have been the third part of the bath, and so to have been equal to 2 hins, or 144 egg shells full.

The Bath, בת *Bet,* was the same in liquid measure, that the ephah was in dry.[a] It was equal to 6 hins, or 432 egg shells full. Bishop Cumberland makes it 7 gallons, 4 pints, 15·2 solid inches.

Their largest liquid measure was the *Cor,* כר *Ker,* or *Corus.* It was of the same size as the *Homer* in dry measure;[b] held, according to Lightfoot, 4320 egg shells full; and according to Bishop Cumberland, 75 gallons, 5 pints, 7·6 solid inches.

III. *Dry Measure.*

The Cab, קב *Keb,* was their least measure. It is called χοινιξ, or *measure,* in Rev. vi. 6, and was equal to 24 egg shells full. Bishop Cumberland makes it the 0·15 of an English pint. But if Grotius's account from Herodotus, Hippocrates, Diogenes Laertius, and Athenæus may be depended on, it was considerably more; being equal to the allowance of a healthy man for a day; or, according to Lamy, it was the allowance to a slave.[c]

The Omer, עמר or *tenth deal,* because the tenth

[a] Ezek. xlv. 11. [b] Ezek. xlv. 14. [c] Lib. i. cap. 6, sect. 2.

part of an ephah,[a] was equal to $43\frac{2}{10}$ egg shells full; and Bishop Cumberland makes it equal to 2·9 pints, or 3 pints nearly.

The Seah, or סאה *Saè*, (σατον, Matth. xiii. 33,) *Satum*, (μοδιος, Matth. vi. 15,) *Modius*, or *Measure*, was equal to 6 cabs, or 144 egg shells full. Bishop Cumberland makes it equal to 1 peck, 1·1 pint. The three measures of meal mentioned Matth. xiii. 33, consequently mean an ephah.

The Ephah, איפה *Aiphè*, in dry measure was the same with the bath in liquid,[b] and was equal to three seahs, or 432 egg shells full. Bishop Cumberland makes it equal to 3 pecks, 3·4 pints.

The Letek, לתך, Hosea iii. 2, was equal to 5 ephahs, or 2160 egg shells full; and Bishop Cumberland states it at 4 bushels, 0·8 pints.

The Humer, חומר or ass's load, was the largest dry measure among the Jews; and was of the same capacity as the cor in liquid measure. It was equal to 2 leteks, or 10 ephahs, and contained 4320 egg shells full. Bishop Cumberland makes it 8 bushels, 1·6 pint.

IV. *Weights.*

The Shekel, שקל or weight, by way of eminence, was the standard among the Jews, to which all their other weights were reduced. Bishop Cumberland makes it equal to 7 dwts. 15 grains; but Michaelis[c] estimates the weight of the shekel at no more than $92\frac{2}{3}$ grains Paris weight, or $74\frac{1}{4}$ grains troy. As for the shekel of the sanctuary, mentioned in Exod. xxx. 13, and elsewhere, it was not

[a] Exod. xvi. 36. [b] Ezek. xlv. 11. Supplem. ad Lex. Heb. p. 367.

different in weight from the civil or common shekel, as is evident from Exod. xxx. 13, compared with Ezek. xlv. 12; from which passages, it is plain that they were both equal to 20 gerahs. The reason, therefore, of the appellation seems to have been, that the standard of this, as the foundation of all the other weights and measures, was kept in the sanctuary, and afterwards in the temple, according to 1 Chron. xxiii. 29, as our standards are kept at present in the Exchequer.

The Maneh, מנה *Menè*, or *Mina*, was equal to 60 shekels,[a] and consequently weighed, according to Bishop Cumberland, 1 lb. 1 oz. 7 dwts. 8 grains. But Parkhurst thinks, that by comparing 1 Kings x. 17, with 2 Chron. ix. 16, it was equal to 100 shekels, when used as a weight; and 60 shekels, when applied to money.

The Talent, ככר *Keker*, was equal to 3000 shekels, or 93 lbs. 12 ounces avoirdupois, or 125 lbs. troy, according to Bishop Cumberland; but Michaelis reckons it only at 32½ lbs. avoirdupois, or 44 lbs. 4 ounces troy.

V. *Money.*

The Shekel of silver, mentioned in the law, is the same coin as *the silverling*, mentioned Is. vii. 23; and is said to have had Aaron's rod on the one side, and the pot of manna on the other. It weighed originally 320 barley corns; but the wise men afterwards made it equal to the coin *selaa*, or סלע *selo*, which weighed 384 barley corns;[b] and

[a] Ezek. xlv. 12.

[b] Maimonides de Siclis, cap. i.

its value being considered equal to four Roman denarii, was *2s. 7d.* Bishop Cumberland, however, makes it only 28·287 pence, or *2s.* $4\frac{1}{4}d.$ and its weight 9 dwts. and 3 grains troy, equal to the Roman, and nearly to our half ounce avoirdupois.[a]

The Bekah, or בקע *Beko*, was equal to half a shekel,[b] or 192 barley corns, and its value in money, according to Bishop Cumberland, was $14\frac{1}{2}d.$

The Diner, דינר or *Denarius*, was one-fourth of a shekel, or 96 barley corns, and equal to $7\frac{3}{4}d.$ of our money.

The Meah, or מיעה *Mioè*, *Gerah*, or גרה *Gerè*, and זוז *Zuz*, were each the 6th part of the diner, and the 24th part of the shekel, or 16 barley corns; equal in value to 1·178, or rather less than $1\frac{1}{4}d.$[c] In Exodus xxx. 13, and Ezek. xlv. 12, it is mentioned that the gerah was the 20th part of the shekel; but this makes no difference as to the value, which is here given to it. For 320 barley corns, or the original weight of the shekel, bears the same

[a] In Leusden's Philologus Hebræo-mixtus, dissert. xxviii. are the figures of three kinds of shekels. The first is the common or Jerusalem shekel, having on the one side a pot of incense, with words, which, when translated, signify "The shekel of Israel;" and on the other, Aaron's rod in blossom, with words signifying "The holy Jerusalem." The second is the Judæo-Christian shekel, having on the one side a head of our Saviour, with his name Jesu, in Hebrew characters; and on the other, words of the following import, "The king Messiah comes with peace, and light made by man (meaning Christ) is life." The third called the Proper, has on the one side a tower, with words signifying, "Jerusalem the city of holiness;" and on the other words signifying "David the king, and his son Solomon the king."

[b] Exod. xxxviii. 26.

[c] This is Dr. Lightfoot's estimation of the zuz in his Heb. and Talm. Exer. on Matth. v. 26; but in his Heb. and Talm. Exer. on Mark vi. 37, he makes it equal to the diner, or $7\frac{3}{4}d.$

proportion to 20, that 384, or the amended weight, does to 24.

The Pondion, or פונדיון *Phunediun*, was the half of the meah, and the 48th part of the shekel, or 8 barley corns; and valued at ·589, or rather more than a halfpenny of our money.

The Assar, אסר *Aser*, or Ασσαριος,[a] was half a pondion, or the 96th part of a shekel. Its weight was equal to 4 barley corns, and its value the ·294th of a penny, or rather more than a farthing.

The Semissis, or מסימס *Mesimes*, was the half of an assar, or the 192d part of a shekel. Its weight was 2 barley corns, and its value equal to ·146, or the 7th part nearly of a penny sterling.

The Farthing, קרדיונטס *Kerediunethes*, or Κοδραντης;[b] was the half of the semissis, or the 384th part of a shekel. Its weight was one barley corn, and its value ·073, or the 13th part of a penny sterling.

The Mite, פרוטה *Pheruthè*, was the half of a farthing, or the 768th part of a shekel. Its weight was half a barley corn, and its value was ·036, or the 26th part of a penny sterling. The two mites, therefore, which the widow cast into the treasury,[c] were equal to a Jewish farthing, or the 13th part of a penny sterling.

The above were the coins below the shekel; but there were also denominations of money above it, which shall next be mentioned: thus,

The Maneh, מנה *Meně*, or *Mina*, was equal to 60 shekels,[d] or 23,040 barley corns, and its value at 28·287; or 2*s*. 4¼*d*. was 5*l*. 17*s*. 10¼*d*.

[a] Matth. x. 29. [b] Matth. v. 26. [c] Luke xxi. 2. [d] Ezek. xlv. 12.

The Talent ככר *Keker*, was 50 manehs, or 3000 shekels, and weighed 1,152,000 barley corns. Its value, according to Bishop Cumberland, was 353*l.* 11*s.* 10*d.*

Hitherto we have spoken only of the brass and silver coins. The value of the gold coins was as follows:

A Shekel of gold is valued by Bishop Cumberland at 1*l.* 13*s.* 7½*d.* or about 14¼ times the value of silver.

A Talent of gold consisted of 3000 shekels; so that at 1*l.* 13*s.* 7½*d.* the shekel, it would be equal in value to 5043*l.* 15*s.*: but it is valued very differently, according as men have valued the shekel, or fixed the relative value of gold and silver.

The Drachma was equal to a Roman denarius, or 7¾*d.* of our money.

The Didrachma, (διδραχμα,[a]) or tribute money, was equal to two drachmas, or 15½*d.* It was originally exacted for the service of the tabernacle and temple, but when Judea became a Roman province, it was converted into a tax, and sent to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at Rome.[b] As to its particular form, it is said to have been stamped with a harp on the one side, and a vine on the other. Remote synagogues, in sending their half shekels, commonly sent them in gold, for the convenience of carriage; but the synagogues in Judea sent theirs in silver.

The Stater, (στατηρ,) or *piece of money*, which Peter found in the fish's mouth,[c] was exactly two didrachmas, or half shekels; and the precise sum,

[a] Matth. xvii. 24. [b] Lightf. Heb. and Talm. Exer. on Matth. xvii. 24. [c] Matth. xvii. 27.

consequently, which was required as tribute money for Jesus and himself: its value was the same as the shekel, or 2*s.* 7*d.*

A Daric, translated "drams" in 1 Chron. xxix. 7, Ezra viii. 27, was a gold coin struck, not by Darius Hystaspes, as some have thought, but by Cyaxares, the uncle of Cyrus, and afterwards his father-in-law; for Cyrus married his daughter, and got Media with her as her portion. His name in Scripture is Darius the Mede, and the coins were struck by him, while Cyrus was subduing the nations on the shores of the Red Sea and Ethiopia.[a] Dr. Bernard values them at two grains weight more than our guinea, or about 1*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.*;[b] but Parkhurst makes them equal to 1*l.* 5*s.* They bore the device of an archer.

Suidas's account of the Jewish money, inserted by Lightfoot,[c] is as follows:

7 Mites (λεπτοι) . . .	=	1 χαλκευς, or brass coin.
6 Brass coins . . .	=	1 Obolus (ὀβολος)
6 Oboli	=	1 Drachma (δραχμη.)
100 Drachmæ	=	1 Pound (μνᾶ.)
60 Pounds	=	1 Talent (ταλαντον.)
A Roman penny, a Jerusalem penny, and the ⅛th of a Tyrian penny, were each	=	¼ Shekel, or $7\frac{3}{4}$*d.*

A gold penny is stated by Lightfoot to have been equal to 25 silver pence.[d] Bishop Cumberland's proportion between gold and silver is lower than that, being $14\frac{1}{4}$ nearly to 1. At present (1820) it is as $15\frac{1}{15}$ to 1.

[a] Prideaux, Connex. A. A. C. 538. [b] De Ponderibus, p. 171.
[c] Heb. and Talm. Exer. Luke xix. 13.
[d] Heb. and Talm. Exer. on Matth. xx. 2.

The original *form* of the precious metals as media of exchange, appears to have been in the state of bullion. This was weighed in the balance, and was either increased or diminished till the parties were satisfied. It was in the favour of these metals, that they could be divided, and subdivided, without injuring their value. They were in that respect superior to the diamond; and, from their hardness and acknowledged worth, were not easily injured, and contained much value in little bulk. They were, therefore, a convenient symbol of commodities. But whilst they continued in the form of bullion, they were liable to some inconveniences, for it was troublesome to weigh them at every transaction, and they might be adulterated. Hence the invention of bars of a certain size, and of a determinate purity, ascertained by some mark generally known. So early as the days of Abraham, we read of weighing pieces of silver which were current money with the merchant, or of the legal purity.[a] And when Jacob bought the parcel of ground from Hamor,[b] it would appear that the hundred pieces which he gave, had a determinate mark upon them, for they are called a hundred (קשיטה) *keshithè* in the original. Now keshithè signifies "lambs," yet these could not have been given; for we are told in Acts vii. 16, that the price was in money. Must not these 100 pieces, then, have been so called, because the figure of a lamb was impressed upon them, to ascertain their purity? But the most convenient improvement, on the form and value of the precious metals, as media of ex-

[a] Gen. xxiii. 16. [b] Gen. xxxiii. 19.

change, was that of coinage. It ascertained their fineness and value at first sight; whilst by their variety, they could easily be accommodated to every transaction.

Usury. When a nation becomes wealthy, it is natural for those who are possessed of wealth, to lay it out to advantage, either in the way of trade themselves, or at interest to others. Accordingly this is generally sanctioned by the laws of society, and a certain rate of interest is fixed upon, to prevent rapacity; but usury, or exorbitant interest, is generally condemned. Although it hath been urged, that if doubly hazardous insurance be more liberally rewarded than hazardous, those who lend their money at risk, should receive a proportionate consideration.[a] In the Mosaic law, usury, or even profit of any kind, on goods or money lent by a Jew to a Jew, was expressly forbidden.[b] They were children of the same family, professors of the same religion, and should, therefore, feel for their needy brethren, and remember their distress in the land of Egypt. But usury was allowed between Jews and strangers.[c] They might take from them a consideration, less or more, according to circumstances, for the money lent; as the risk of losing it might be greater, and the tie of consanguinity did not exist. Yet there was a difference between simple usury or interest, and biting usury or extortion. There are, indeed, four phrases on the subject, perfectly distinct from each other. Thus משה *meshè*, was the loan be-

[a] Bentham's Defence of Usury.
[b] Exod. xxii. 25. Levit. xxv. 35—38.
[c] Deut. xxiii. 19, 20.

tween Jew and Jew, of any article that was needed on the ground of pledge, till it was restored, without any pecuniary consideration for that loan.[a] תרבית *terebit*, meant simple addition to stock, or simple interest for money.[b] מרבית *merebit*, meant a premium expected from the loan of provisions.[c] And נשך *neshek*, usury, or higher interest than was commonly received. All of these kinds might be practised between Jews and strangers:[d] "Unto a stranger thou mayst lend upon *neshek*, or usury;" but none but the first was allowed among Jews. Accordingly it is said in Levit. xxv. 36, "Take thou no usury, nor even increase, *(terebit,)* meaning simple interest, but fear thy God, that thy brother may live with thee." And in Ezek. xviii. 8, 13, 17, it is mentioned as the mark of a good man, that he had not been guilty of exacting from his brethren either simple interest or usury.[e] After all, it is much to be doubted, whether self-interest did not often prevail over duty; for we find a widow complaining to Elisha, that her husband's creditors, after his death, were either demanding payment, or for taking her two sons as bondsmen.[f] In Nehemiah v. 1—12, we have strong complaints by that good man, against the nobles and rulers, for the exaction of usury in various shapes. And our Saviour, in the parable of the talents,[g] supposes the practice to have become general; for he says to the unprofitable servant, "Thou oughtest to have put my money to the exchangers, and then

[a] Deut. xxiv. 10, 11. [b] Lev. xxv. 36.
[c] Lev. xxv. 37. Deut. xxiii. 19. [d] Deut. xxiii. 20.
[e] See Mishna, Codex Medius de Damnis, cap. v. sect. 1.
[f] 2 Kings iv. 1. [g] Matth. xxv. 27.

at my coming, I should have received mine own with usury."[a]

Exchangers. For a long time the Jews were so insulated, that they had little communication with the surrounding nations. Their trade, of course, consisted chiefly in home consumption; and the first person we hear of who extended it to other countries, was Solomon; who sent caravans to Egypt for linen yarn, horses, and chariots;[b] and ships to Ophir for gold, and other articles of luxury.[c] After the captivity, however, their intercourse became more general. A great number of their brethren were in Assyria, Egypt, and the Lesser Asia, &c. and a number of these, and of the proselytes from heathenism, visited Jerusalem at the solemn feasts. This gave rise, therefore, to a new class of men, the money exchangers. Foreign coins required to be exchanged for Jewish, in order to purchase sacrifices, pay the half shekel to the temple, and procure provisions and other necessaries to the strangers while at Jerusalem. It appears, then, that there were two classes of exchangers; one for money in general, and the other for collecting the half shekel for the temple. But it could not be expected, that these could attend gratis. There was trouble attending the transaction, and both trouble and risk in the transmission of the coins to their respective countries; a small premium was, therefore, demanded. We are not told how much that premium was for transactions in general; but when any person came to procure two half shekels for a shekel, in order to pay his

[a] See a sensible dissertation on usury in Spencer de Legib. Heb. Rit. lib. i. [b] 1 Kings x. 28, 29. [c] 1 Kings x. 22.

annual rate to the collectors, we saw, when describing the Court of the Gentiles, that they demanded the 12th part of a denarius, or about 2¼ farthings. Perhaps it was this practice, which afterwards gave rise to exchangers in general; as it is to the Jews also, that we owe the invention of bills of exchange; for we find money changers and money lenders very common in the East. In the payment of large sums, it is customary to have the money counted, and sealed up in bags or purses. This is done by a shroff, or exchanger, and is called shroffing in India; after which it passes from hand to hand, without the least suspicion, for the particular sum which is marked upon it. Sir John Chardin, in his Travels into Persia,[a] says, that "the money bags are made of leather, long and narrow." Mr. Macdonald Kinneir states, that "in Asia Minor, near Iconium, the purses contained 2000 piastres each," equal to a hundred pounds sterling.[b] Lady Mary W. Montagu says, that "the inhabitants of Belgrade killed their Bassa, because he had suffered himself to be bribed by five purses, equal to five hundred pounds sterling."[c] At Damascus, the purse, in 1810, was equal to twenty-five pounds sterling.[d] And Maillet[e] tells us, that "a purse in the Levant contains money to the value of 1500 livres, or 500 crowns," equal to about L.65 in our money. The money which was put into the sacks of Joseph's brethren, is said to have been literally "bundles of money."[f]

[a] Tom. ii. p. 204.

[b] Journey through Asia Minor, &c. p. 231, 342, compared with p. 11.

[c] Letter 24.

[d] Burckhardt's Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, p. 57.

[e] Letter 10.

[f] Gen. xlii. 35.

The money bags which Naaman gave Gehazi,* seem to have been of the value of a talent each, for they are delivered to him with apparent ease. And in Exodus xxxii. 4, the word which is rendered "with a graving tool," is the same as that used in 2 Kings v. 23, and translated "bags," and would certainly have been much more faithfully rendered "bags and purses" in that verse also, as Bochart has abundantly proved, vol. ii. p. 334. Compare Judg. viii. 24, 25. This confidence, however, is not universal. For in many parts of India, the money is poured out of the bags, in the presence of the shroff, to be weighed; who examines its purity, detects what is bad, and receives a small per centage for his trouble.

SECT. X.

Division of Time among the Jews.

1. Days; their length; why the evening put before the morning; not peculiar to the Jews. Division of the day into morning, noon, and night; then into 12 hours and 12 hours. Origin of dials; that of Ahaz considered. The clepsydra, or water-clock; Jews had three kinds of days; natural, artificial, prophetical. 2. Weeks, their origin; the seven Hebrew numerals descriptive of the seven days' work of creation; computation by weeks very general. 3. Months, four kinds of; the Jewish feasts and fasts depended on their months. 4. Years; lunar; solar; periodical; siderial. Jewish division into civil and ecclesiastical: these described. The Hebrew and Syro-Macedonian names of the months. The intercalation of years explained; the translation of feasts depended on this intercalation; their lunary, political, and mixed translations.

1. *Days.* The Jewish day consisted of 24 hours, and was computed from evening to evening. Hence

* 2 Kings v. 23.

in the account of the creation, we are always told, that the "evening and the morning," or the evening 12 hours, and the morning 12 hours, when joined together, made a complete revolution of the earth round its own axis, or one day.[a] Yet a question occurs, why the evening was put before the morning, or why their day began at the evening? Some interpreters, by way of solution, have observed, that Moses spoke according to the common method of computing time among the Jews; but it is unsatisfactory, for the question still recurs, what made them do so? Was their method of reckoning time merely arbitrary, or was it occasioned by some fixed specific reason? Two answers may be given to this. The first is, that as all strong feelings are commonly more noticed than those which are weaker, and generally expressed before them, so our first parents, in relating the history of the creation to their children, might have said, that the evening or night, whose effects, when it first appeared, they so much dreaded, and the morning or day which preceded it, when taken together, made the first day; thus introducing that particular form of speech, which was afterwards used by their posterity. But there is an objection to this. For although such an answer may be deemed satisfactory, when applied to the time after the creation of our first parents, it is not so satisfactory, when applied to the time which preceded their creation. The whole six days of creation, for instance, are thus denoted, and by an inspired historian too, who must certainly have spoken according to truth. We ought, therefore,

[a] Gen. i. 5.

to look back for a reason, as old as the day to which it was first applied. The following or second reason is, therefore, submitted. As the modern philosophy, contrary to the vulgar opinion, makes the sun to be at rest, and the true motion of the earth, round its own axis, to be the reverse of the apparent motion of the sun, or in the direction of from west to east; so if we suppose that the Divine Being, when giving that diurnal motion to the earth, communicated the impulse to the eastern edge of it, the natural consequence would be, that the part touched would gradually sink into darkness, through all the successive stages of night, for the ensuing twelve hours; and at the end of that time, would emerge at the western edge, to go through all the successive stages of day, for the twelve hours next following, till it reached the east again, to repeat its former course. On this supposition, the evening twelve hours, or the time that the part, where the motion was first communicated, remained in darkness, would naturally precede the morning twelve hours, or the time when it was illuminated. I may add, that this manner of computing time, although it began with the Jews, was not confined to them; for the Phœnicians, Athenians, Numidians, Germans, Gauls, Druids, Bohemians, and Poles, did the same.*

Hours, as equal divisions of the day, were long unknown among the ancients: their primary method of measuring time, being by their own shadow, at different times of the day; and dividing the scale into 20 parts, in order to regulate

* See the authorities quoted by Grotius, De Verit. Relig. Christ. lib. i. sect. 16, not. p.

their meals. Thus, when their shadow was of a certain length, they breakfasted; when of a certain length, they dined; and when of a certain length, they supped. The Jews do not appear to have been more ingenious than the other nations, in this respect; for their first division of the day was into morning, noon, and night; then into the four day and night watches for the temple;[a] and then into twelve hours during the day, and twelve during the night; all of which numbers are frequently noticed in Scripture.[b] But the question occurs, how these hours became generally known among the Jews, and other ancient nations? For that there does exist a certain proportion between the shadow of the human body and the hour of the day, is unquestionable; but then that shadow was rather a standard for individuals, than for the public; since every man's shadow was his own rule. Nor would a pole of any determinate length, if substituted in place of the human figure, have been any great improvement; because, although it would have been a true dial at the equator, it could only have been a twelve o'clock hour-line at every other place. The invention, then, of a dial, on just and general principles, would be accounted by them a valuable improvement. Yet every one acquainted with the principles of dialing knows, that these are such as to require considerable acquaintance with geometry; and that, however easy the rules now appear, they might have been long undiscovered by the ancient philosophers. For it is not the mere drawing certain lines at random, and calling them hours, which forms a dial: these hour-lines

[a] Mark xiii. 35. [b] Basnage, book v. ch. 10.

must be regulated by the latitude of the place, and the style must also correspond with that latitude. Every latitude, therefore, must have its own dial.

It was owing to these and other causes, that dials were so long unknown at Rome. For the first that appeared there, is mentioned by Pliny,[a] and was fixed upon the temple of Quirinus, by Lucius Papirius the censor, about the 12th year of the war with Pyrrhus. But the first that was of any use to the public, was set up in the forum, by Valerius Messala the consul, after the taking of Catana in Sicily; from whence it was brought, 30 years after the first had been set up by Papirius, and 260 years before Christ. But even that was imperfect, the lines of it not exactly corresponding with the several hours; yet they made use of it for many years, till Q. Marcius Philippus placed another beside it, greatly improved.[b] The Greeks, indeed, had dials earlier; for Anaximander brought one from Chaldea, in the 58th Olympiad,[c] and before Christ 544. But the Jews were acquainted with them much earlier than either the Greeks or Romans. For the dial of Ahaz, which probably came also from Chaldea, about the 3d year of his reign, when he formed an alliance with the king of Assyria, was set up at Jerusalem in the 9th Olympiad, or 740 years before Christ. Thus was there a dial at Jerusalem, 196 years before they were known in Greece, and 480 years before they were known at Rome.

With respect to the form of the dial of Ahaz,

[a] Lib. i. cap. 20.

[b] Cicero's dial at his house at Tusculum was dug up A. D. 1741. It is described in the Edinburgh Encyclopædia, article Dialing, sect. 11—14, along with several others. [c] Herodot. lib. ii.

the common opinion is, that it was a number of steps of a stair so disposed, that the sun, by shining in at a window, could mark the hours on the different steps. Parkhurst's, which appears to me the more probable, is as follows. "From an attentive examination," says he, "of the two places where it is mentioned, it appears, 1. That the שמש *shemesh*, or solar light's going backward, Is. xxxviii. 8, is equivalent to the shadow's going backward in 2 Kings xx. 9, 10, 11; for the latter depends on the former, and on a dial, the light is exactly defined by the shadow. 2. That the dial, or horological instrument here referred to, was not an horizontal, but probably a vertical dial; on which kind of dial the shadow descends (which is expressed in 2 Kings by "going down") from sunrise till noon. 3. That the miracle of the light's or shadow's (שב *sheb*) going backward, or in the contrary direction to going down, that is, its ascending the dial again, must have been in the afternoon; since it ascends the dial naturally every day in the afternoon. And, 4. That though we cannot exactly determine how much time was marked by ten degrees, (מעלות *molut*,) yet it could not be more than six hours, or the time from sunrising till noon. 5. That it seems not improbable, that each degree might mark half an hour of time; and consequently the 10 degrees, 5 hours, since on this supposition the miracle would be more remarkable."[a]

So much concerning their measuring time by dials, which, although an improvement on the human shadow, had this defect, that it showed the time, only while the sun shone. Hence the need

[a] Lex. עלה.

of some instrument, that could do it during the 24 hours. The clepsydra, or water-clock, was of that kind; which, by a fall of water from one vessel into another, marked equal divisions of time. It was used by the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, and perhaps by the Jews; but it had two defects. The first was, that the water ran out with greater or less velocity, as the air was more or less heavy; and the other, that the water ran more rapidly at the beginning than at the end, from the additional weight of the column on that which was passing through the hole.[a] Yet it certainly was an improvement on the sun dial. The hour glass of sand measures time on the same principle as the clepsydra, and with nearly the same defects. And when discoursing on the megeruphita, or bell, which lay between the porch and the altar,[b] we saw that the natives of India, to this day, measure time by a species of clepsydra.

With respect to clocks, these were much posterior to the destruction of Jerusalem; unless we rank Archimedes' sphere, mentioned by Claudian, and that of Posidonius, mentioned by Cicero, among the number, but to which they can have no claim; for, although they moved by means of hidden weights or springs, with wheels or pullies, they were not employed to measure time. It is probable, therefore, that the only artificial methods of

[a] If the whole depth of the vessel, through which the surface of the water sinks in 12 hours, be divided into 144 parts, it will sink through 23 of these the first hour; 21 the second; 19 the third; and so on according to the series of the odd numbers. This may give us a scale for making a clepsydra. (Playfair's Outlines of Nat. Phil. No. 286.)

[b] Part ii. sect. 6.

measuring time, among the ancients, were by dials and clepsydræ. The Jews appear to have had three kinds of days. 1. The natural day of 24 hours, from sunset to sunset. 2. The artificial day of 12 hours, from sunrising to sunset, at the time of the equinox, or from 6 till 6; which hours were regularly numbered, and are often mentioned in the sacred Scriptures. Thus we read of the 3d, 6th, 9th, 11th hours, &c. And, 3. The prophetical day, which was equivalent to a year, and only used by the prophets. It is needless, however, to notice these more particularly.

2. *Weeks.* The next division of time among the Jews was that of weeks. These took their rise from the days of the creation, and the rest which followed it; and it is somewhat remarkable, that the seven Hebrew numerals have an evident allusion to that important event; and are a proof, that the Mosaic account of the creation was coeval with the structure of the Hebrew language. Thus, the *first* day's work was employed in uniting the light and the darkness, so as to form that portion of time which is called a day: hence the first Hebrew numeral, אחד *ahed*, comes from a root which signifies "to unite," and may be called "the uniter." On the *second* day, when the firmament was formed by a repetition of the Creator's power, and the earth had likewise repeated its revolution round its axis, what was more natural than to call the second Hebrew numeral שני *sheni*, or "the repeater?" As the heavens began, on the *third* day, to exert that rule, which God had given them the day before, in drying the earth, and causing it to bring forth vegetables, we may see the propriety of call-

ing the third Hebrew numeral שלישי *shelishi*, or "the ruler." Hitherto the agitation which the air experienced, from the influence of light and heat, was evidently occasioned by the immediate power of God; but on the *fourth* day, he created particular agents for that purpose: any one, therefore, who remembers what influence these heavenly bodies have, in agitating the air and the ocean, will not be surprised to find, that the fourth Hebrew numeral should be termed רביעי *rebioi*, or "the agitator." As on the *fifth* day, the earth was furnished with every thing necessary for man, and the other animals, the Hebrew numeral for five would seem to allude to this, for it is חמישי *hemishi*, or "the furnisher." On the *sixth* day, every thing being now created, the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy; why should not then the number for the day denote the sentiments it excited, and the sixth Hebrew numeral be called ששי *esheshi*, or "the rejoicer?" And as on the *seventh* day, God rested from all his work; had the satisfaction of seeing it answer the purpose for which it was created; and appointed that day as a day of rest for man and beast, and a day on which he was to receive the homage of all his subjects; was it not natural that the seventh Hebrew numeral, שביעי *shebioi*, should signify "rest, satisfaction, and devotion?"

This division of time into weeks, which began after the creation, has extended itself over the whole world. So that, as the president De Goguet[a] well observes, "we find, from time immemorial, the use of this period among all nations, without

[a] Origin of Laws, vol. i. book iii. ch. 2, art. 2.

any variation in the form of it. The Israelites, Assyrians, Egyptians, Indians, Arabians, and, in a word, all the nations of the East, have in all ages made use of a week of seven days. We find the same custom among the ancient Romans, Gauls, Britons, Germans, the nations of the north, and America. Many vain conjectures have been formed, concerning the reasons and motives which determined all mankind to agree in this primitive division of time; but nothing but tradition, concerning the space of time employed in the creation of the world, could give rise to this universal, immemorial practice."[a]

3. *Months.* The next division of time among the Jews was their months; but they were of different degrees of length. Indeed, there are no fewer than four kinds of months, which either were, or might have been known to that people. 1. In the time of the flood, the months consisted of 30 days each; for Moses reckons 150 days, from the 7th day of the 2d month, till the 7th day of the 7th month, which makes an interval of five months, of 30 days each. This kind of month was in use, for some time also, in Egypt and in Greece. 2. The moon takes 27 days and 43 minutes, to pass through the zodiac, and return to the same point from which she set out. This is called her period. 3. She takes 29 days, 12 hours, and 44 minutes, betwixt passing from the point in which she is in a straight line with the sun, and returning to it again. This is called her synod, or conjunction; and for ease

[a] See more on the same subject in Grotius de Verit. Relig. Christ. lib. i. sect. 16; and in Dr. Jamieson's Use of Sacred History, vol. i. p. 167.

of calculation, the ancients made the lunary months to consist of 29 and 30 days alternately, calling the one חסרים *heserim*, menses cavi, and the other מלאים *melaim*, menses pleni. 4. The last kind of month, was between the one appearance and the other, of that luminary; which could never be certain, since it depended on the clearness or haziness of the atmosphere. Critics are much divided, which of the two last mentioned was the way, by which the Jews regulated their feasts and fasts; but the greater number seem inclined to the latter opinion. And, in conformity with it, they explain the following words in 1 Chron. xii. 32, "The children of Issachar, who were men that had understanding of the times, to know what Israel ought to do," as referring to their knowledge in astronomy, which enabled them to make calendars for the Israelites, that they might keep their festivals, and plough and sow, and gather in their harvests and vintage in due season.

4. *Years.* The last common division of time among the Jews was into years. These, before the improvements in astronomy, generally consisted of 360 days, or 12 lunar months of 30 days each; and these months and years, says Sir Isaac Newton,* they corrected from time to time, by the courses of the sun and moon, omitting a day or two in the month, as often as they found the month too long for the course of the moon; and adding a month to the year, as often as they found the 12 lunar months too short, for the return of the four seasons. Cleobulus, one of the seven wise men of Greece, alluded to this year, in his parable of a father who

* Chronology of the Greeks, p. 74.

had 12 sons, each of whom had 30 daughters, half white and half black;[a] and Thales calls the last of the month τριακαδα, or "the 30th."[b] The Egyptian method of counting the days of the year was originally very simple. For Diodorus Siculus[c] tells us, that in the temple of Osiris, the priest appointed thereto, filled 360 bowls with milk every day; by which was probably meant, that there stood 360 such bowls in the temple, and that the priest filled one of these bowls every day, till he had completed the whole. It is well known that the Israelites either brought the knowledge of the Egyptian year along with them out of Egypt, or used one of the same kind; for Moses computes time by it, uniformly in his writings. This year of 360 days was certainly nearer the truth than the lunar year of 354 days, which falls short of the solar year of 365¼ days, by more than 11 days. But there are some who suppose, that the Jews actually counted by the solar year, and found their arguments on a minute examination of the Hebrew.[d] One thing is certain, that they required some plan for settling the seasons, in order to the observance of their religious festivals, and other rites; but that was by intercalations, as we shall see afterwards. Indeed, it is not be expected that their ideas, either of the lunar or solar year, could be very exact, since the improvements in astronomy on which they depend, were much posterior to the times we are treating of. For it is now found, that there are really four

[a] Εἰς ὁ πατηρ, παιδες δε δυωδεκα· των δε ἑκαστῳ
Παιδες τριηκοντα, διανδιχα ειδος ἐχουσαι,
Apud Laertium, lib. i. p. 63.

[b] Laert. in Thalete. [c] Lib. i. p. 13. [d] Parkhurst, ירח.

years, of different lengths: viz. the lunar year, of 254 days, 8 hours, and 48 minutes; the natural solar year, or period of the seasons, of 365 days, 5 hours, 48 minutes, 45½ seconds; the periodical year, or time of the earth's revolution in its orbit, of 365 days, 6 hours, 15 minutes, and 20 seconds; and the siderial year, or time employed by the sun, in returning to the same apparent position with respect to a fixed star, of 365 days, 6 hours, 9 minutes, 1¼ second. But although the Jews, like the other nations of antiquity, were ignorant of these improvements in astronomy, they divided the year with sufficient precision for ordinary purposes. Thus they had, 1st, a civil year, which began on the appearance of the moon in September, or about the autumnal equinox, because the world was supposed to have been created at that time. It was used for every purpose, till the time that the Israelites left Egypt; but after that, it was confined to civil purposes chiefly, as fixing the dates of contracts, and births of children. It was by this, also, that they counted the time of service to bondmen, the year of rest to the land and its fruits, the year of jubilee, and the time by which the period of impurity of trees, lately planted, was determined. Thus if the tree was planted in June, the first year of its planting ended in August, the second year of it began in September, and the third year at the September following; so that at the third year they began to be tithed. 2dly, They had an ecclesiastical year, which began at the appearance of the moon in March, or about the vernal equinox; by which they fixed the reigns of their kings, regulated their religious feasts and fasts, and by which

the prophets sometimes dated their prophecies.[a] 3dly, They had a year which began with the new moon, in Elul, or the middle of August, for tithing the lambs of that season: and, 4thly, They had a year which began with the first appearance of the moon, or, as Hillel taught, with the 15th day after its appearance in Shebat, which corresponded with the middle of January, or beginning of February. This was for tithing the fruits of trees; for they gave no tithes of the fruits of those trees which budded before that time, but paid tithes of all that budded after.[b]

The names of the Jewish months are familiar to every one; but it may be proper to compare them with the Syro-Macedonian names, which Josephus gives in his writings:—thus,

Hebrew Names.	Syro-Macedonian ditto.	Roman Names.
1. Abib, or Nisan,	Xanthicus,	March, April,
2. Zif, Jair, or Jyar,	Artemisius,	April, May,
3. Sivan,	Dæsius,	May, June,
4. Tamuz,	Panemus,	June, July,
5. Ab,	Lous,	July, August,
6. Elul,	Gorpiæus,	August, September,
7. Ethanim, Tisri,	Hyperberetæus,	September, October,
8. Bul, Marchesuan,	Dius,	October, November,
9. Chisleu,	Apellæus,	November, December,
10. Thebeth,	Audinæus,	December, January,
11. Shebeth,	Peritius,	January, February,
12. Adar,	Dystrus,	February, March.

Intercalations.—We are now come to the most intricate part of the subject, viz. that of their intercalations; but I shall endeavour to simplify it as

[a] Zech. vii. 1.

[b] Mishna, Tractat. de Principio Anni, cap. i. sect. 1. Buxtorff de Synag. Jud. cap. xvii. Basnage, book v. ch. 10. Leusden's Philol. Hebræo-mixtus, dissert. 33, 34: and the Abbé Fleury's Manners of the Ancient Israelites, part iv. ch. 3.

as much as possible. As the Jews are generally supposed to have computed time, by the appearances of the moon, after their leaving Egypt, in order to the fixing of their religious festivals; it is evident, that there would soon be a confusion as to the keeping of these feasts, if some method had not been taken to correct it; since the lunar year is only 254 days, 8 hours, and 48 minutes, and the solar year is 365 days, 6 hours, 15 minutes, and 20 seconds.—Accordingly, the way they avoided it was as follows. They intercalated a month after their 12th month Adar, when they found that the 15th day of the following month Abib, which was the first month of their ecclesiastical year, would fall before the vernal equinox. And the way they gave the intimation to the public was as follows: "Peace be multiplied unto you. We give you to understand, that, since the lambs are too young, the pigeons too small, and the time of the first ripe ears is not yet come, it seemed good to me and my companions, to add 30 days to this year."[a] Dr. Reland adds another reason, viz. when it was seen that the people would not get home, from the feast of tabernacles, before the rains in autumn began to fall.[b] This intercalated month was named Ve-adar, or "the second Adar,"[c] and was inserted every second or third year, as they saw occasion; so that the difference between the lunar and solar year could never, in this way, be more than a month. And this was their manner of intercalating years, till towards the end of the times of the Old Testament. But after the death of Alexander the Great,

[a] Talm. Jerus. Sanhed. fol. 18, col. 4. [b] Antiq. Sacræ, p. iv. cap. 1.
[c] ואדר Et-Adar, quasi Adar iteratus.

A. A. C. 323, and which corresponds with the times of the Apocrypha; when numbers of Jews were settled in Alexandria, and the other cities of Lower Egypt, Libya, Cyrene, Syria, and the Lesser Asia, under the Syro-Egyptian and Syro-Macedonian kings, they discarded the above rude way of calculation; and applied the knowledge which they had of astronomy, to the subject in question. For, long before this, cycles of 2, 4, and 8 years, had been formed by the Greeks, in order to make their computation by lunar months suit the length of the solar year; that they might the better regulate the Olympic games; but without effect. Meton, therefore, the illustrious Athenian astronomer, who flourished A. A. C. 432, invented his cycle of 19 years, or the cycle of the moon; which by intercalating 7 years, of 13 months each, with 12 of the common length, was thought to bring the sun and moon into the same point of the heavens, that they were at the beginning of the cycle; and, consequently, to have the same new and full moons always returning at the same times. And it is to the honour of Meton that, after a trial of a hundred years, this cycle had an error only of 6 hours more than the truth; for Meton had made 19 Julian years to contain 6940 days; whereas they were really found to be 6939 days and 18 hours; which Calippus wishing to correct, added four Metonic cycles together, and thereby formed his own cycle of 76 years, about the year before Christ 330; but it only lessened the error by 10 minutes, leaving a surplus of 5 hours and 50 minutes still to be accounted for.

It was this cycle of Calippus, which was the high-

est in repute among the learned, when the Jews wished to regulate their feasts, after the death of Alexander; but, in place of adopting it implicitly, as they ought to have done, they added the formerly discarded one of 8 years, and formed a new cycle of 84 years; which, in 19 years, increased the error from 5 hours and 50 minutes to 30 hours and 51 minutes. Yet that was the cycle which was continued, both by Jews and Christians, till so late as A. D. 360; when Rabbi Hillel recalled the attention of his countrymen to the cycle of Meton, as sooner completed than that of Calippus, as far more just, and, therefore, as better adapted to the regulation of their feasts and fasts. According to him, the intercalated years of 13 months, are the 3d, 6th, 8th, 11th, 14th, 17th, and 19th; and all the others are common years, of 12 months each.[a]

But besides the manner in which they intercalated their years, they had also a custom of changing the days of their religious festivals, which depended on that intercalation. This translation or change was threefold: lunary, political, and mixed. The reason of *lunary translation* was, that they might not observe the feast of the new moon, until the old was quite ended; for the understanding of which, three things are to be remembered: 1. The Hebrews counted their holydays from night to night, beginning at six o'clock: so that from six o'clock at night till the following noon, were just eighteen hours. 2. Always before the new moon, there is a conjunction between the sun and moon, during which she was called "luna silens," by reason of her darkness; and all this time there is a

[a] Prideaux, Con. vol. i. preface, and also A. A. C. 432, 162.

participation with the old moon. 3. If the conjunction ended before noontide, namely, in any of these first eighteen hours, then the new moon was celebrated the same day. But if it continued but one minute after twelve o'clock noon, the feast was translated to the day following; because otherwise, they would have begun their holyday in the time of the old moon; and this translation they noted with the abbreviation יח, the Hebrew numerals for 18, because of those eighteen hours which occasioned it. So much for their lunary translation.

The reason of their *political translation* was, that two sabbaths, or feast-days, might not immediately follow each other: because it was unlawful, during those two days, to dress meat, or bury the dead; and it was likewise inconvenient to keep meat dressed, or the dead unburied, two days. Yet here two exceptions were allowed, when the meeting of two sabbaths could not be avoided; viz. 1. When the passover, or the 15th day of Abib, which was the first month of their ecclesiastical year, fell on Saturday, which was their sabbath; for then the feast of Pentecost must needs fall on the day after, or on our sabbath. And, 2. When their passover fell on our sabbath, for then the passover immediately followed Saturday, which was their weekly sabbath. The author of this political translation was one Eleazar, who lived A. A. C. 350; and the several kinds of it were five. The first אדו *Adu*, the second בדו *Bedu*, the third גהז *Gez*, the fourth זבד *Zebed*, and the fifth אגו *Agu*: for the understanding of which, we must know, that in these five words the letters only stand for numbers, and are applied to the seven days of the week thus; א Sun-

day, ב Monday, ג Tuesday, ד Wednesday, ה Thursday, ו Friday, and ז Saturday; and the way of applying them was as follows. 1. That neither their new year's day of the civil year, which was the first of the month Tisri, or September, nor their feast of tabernacles, which was the 15th of the same month, should be celebrated on Adu, that is, on Sunday, Wednesday, or Friday:—not on Sunday or Friday, because then the Jewish weekly sabbath, on Saturday, would concur with it, by either going immediately before, or coming after; and not on Wednesday, because then the fast of expiation, which was on the 10th of that month, would fall on Friday, or the day before the Jewish sabbath. This instance which is given concerning the feast of Tisri, or the feast of trumpets, on the first day of the civil year, holds equally for the 15th, or the feast of tabernacles, because the 15th must always necessarily be on the same day of the week with the first.—Therefore, if the first be not Adu, the 15th cannot be Adu. The second rule was, that the passover should not be observed on Bedu, that is, on Monday, Wednesday, or Friday; but it is needless to be particular about the reasons. The third rule was, that Pentecost was not observed on Gez, or on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday. The fourth rule was, that the feast of Purim should not be observed on Zebed, or on Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday. And the fifth rule was, that the feast of expiation should not be observed on Agu, or on Sunday, Tuesday, and Friday. Such were their rules for what was termed political translation.

With respect to the *mixed translation*, it was

that in which both the lunary and political met, in the changing of days; and was divided by the Jews into simple and double. *Simple translation* was, when the feast was translated to the next day following. For example, if the moon changed after 12 o'clock on Sunday, the feast was translated for two reasons: the first lunary, because the point of the change was after 18 hours; the second political, because the rule Adu forbade Sunday to be kept. Notwithstanding, inasmuch as the next day, namely Monday, was observed, the translation was termed simple. Of this sort was that translation which they called Bethu-tekepheth, (בטו־תקפט) a word of no particular meaning, but invented for the help of memory, each letter being a numeral, and thus resolved: ב equal to 2, ט equal to 15, and תקפט equal to 589. The meaning of which is, that in the year following that, in which one whole month was intercalated, if the point of the change happened upon the second day of the week, that is, on Monday, and not before the 15th hour, and the 589th moment, (1080 moments being an hour,*) then the feast of the new moon was translated to Tuesday. But how the lunary and political translations work in this change, must be referred to Scaliger, De Emend. Temp. lib. ii. p. 87.— This, then, may serve as an explanation of simple mixed translation. And with respect to the *double mixed translation*, it was when the feast was translated, not to the next, but to some further day. As

* By the Chaldeans, Jews, and Arabians, the hour is divided into 1080 scruples, or moments; so that one hour contains 60 minutes, and each minute 18 scruples, or moments. Hence $60 \times 18 = 1080$. (Encycl. Perth. art. Chronology, part i. sect. 1.

if the first day of the month Tisri, or the first day of their civil year, should happen upon Saturday; here, if the moon had not finished her conjunction before the afternoon, lunary translation removed this feast till Sunday, because of the יח or 18 hours; and political translation removed it till Monday, as appeareth by the rule Adu, forbidding Sunday. Of this sort was Gethered, (גטרד) a word of no meaning, but composed to assist the memory, of a set of numerals, thus explained: ג signifies 3, ט signifies 9, and רד 204:—The meaning therefore, is, that if in their common year, when a whole month was not inserted, the point of change happened on the third day of the week, viz. Tuesday, and not before the 9th hour, and the 204th moment of an hour, then the new moon was translated to Thursday.

The feast of tabernacles was observed in the month Tisri, and therefore that could not be observed on the morrow after the sabbath, as appeareth by the rule Adu. The passover was observed in the month Abib, and therefore that might be observed the morrow after the sabbath, by the rule Bedu. Should it be asked, however, why the passover might be observed on the day after the sabbath, and the feast of tabernacles might not? I answer, that all the subsequent translations depended on the first translation, of the first new moon in Tisri: but as that could not be changed, so as to prevent all concurrence between the several feasts, they thought the above plan the most convenient, since the greater part of them were thereby prevented.[a]

[a] Godwin's Moses and Aaron, book iii. ch. 8: but to be found at large in Maimonides, de Consecratione Calendarum, et de ratione intercalendi. Cap. 6—21.

So much, then, concerning the Jewish methods of fixing the times of their feasts and fasts. They were, indeed, a solemn kind of trifling, but they show the desire which the Jews had for accuracy, and may gratify the curiosity of some of my readers. I might add, that the Jews never counted by the year of the world till A. D. 1040, when, being driven from the East, and forced to remove to Spain, France, England, and Germany, they learned it from some of the Christian chronologers. Their common method of fixing dates before that was, by the reigns of their kings; and afterwards by the era of the Seleucidæ, called by them the era of contracts: because, after they fell under the government of the Syro-Macedonian kings, they were forced to use it, in all their contracts about civil affairs.—It began at the retaking of Babylon by Seleucus, A. A. C. 312.[a]

SECT. XI.

Commerce of Judea.

Internal; external with Arabia, Egypt, and Tyre; remarks on the nations that have distinguished themselves by trade. The fleets of Solomon to Tarshish and Ophir particularly considered. The situation of these two places.

THE commerce of Judea was either domestic or foreign. The domestic commerce consisted in those numberless exchanges, which the individuals of the tribes made with each other, either for money or produce;[b] and the foreign, in that which was

[a] Prideaux, Connex. sub Ann. [b] Ecclus. xxvi. 29.

carried on with other nations, either near or remote. With Babylon and Persia, on the north-east, the Jews seem to have had little intercourse, till a late period of their history; and even then it was rather military than commercial. They had more with the Arabs on the east, who were naturally of a restless turn, and acted as the carriers of their own surplus produce, and that of their more easterly neighbours.[a] So early as the days of Joseph, we read of them going southward to Egypt in caravans: for they were the persons who bought him from his brethren, and sold him to Potiphar. The Egyptians and Jews had a considerable traffic. In times of scarcity, the Jews went down to Egypt for corn. Solomon bought from thence, large quantities of linen yarn, either for the purposes of weaving or embroidery:[b] and, to add to his magnificence and military strength, he also purchased chariots from the same quarter, for 600 shekels of silver each, and horses for 150 shekels each. He was, indeed, the first king of Judea who attended to this species of force, and had no fewer than sixteen hundred chariots, and twelve thousand horsemen.[c] But we hear little of the commercial relations between Judea and Egypt, from the time of Solomon's death, till the conquests of Alexander the Great; who, in order to people his new capital, settled a great many Jews in Alexandria, and granted them privileges equal to those of the Macedonians. That kindness of his increased the intercourse between these nations, which was still farther cemented by Ptolemy Soter, who carried

[a] See a full proof of this in Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws, book xxi. chap. 16. [b] 1 Kings x. 28. [c] 1 Kings x. 26—29.

numbers of Jews to the same place, and gave them such encouragement, that multitudes went voluntarily to settle there; insomuch, that Philo reckons, that in his time there were a million of Jews in that country. It is easy to see how the productions of either country would come into request, in such circumstances.—As for the Phœnicians, they very early distinguished themselves as a commercial nation, especially the inhabitants of Tyre and Sidon; and being on the shore of the Mediterranean, and on the confines, or rather within the limits of the land of Judea, the Jews and they had frequent intercourse. From Tyre, therefore, as from the best frequented market in the world, did the luxuries of other nations find their way among the Jews, during the prosperity of these enterprising cities.—They were, indeed, excellently situated for trade: and as trade, and not territory, was the cause of their greatness, they found it their interest to draw every nation to their ports. Hence the numerous caravans from every quarter by land, and the ships by sea.

It deserves notice, that the greatest trading nations in the world had not originally the greatest territory. The domains of Tyre and Sidon extended only a few miles from the coast; neither of them, according to Dr. Chandler, exceeding twenty miles in length, and four or five in breadth. When Solomon's temple, therefore, and that after the captivity were building, the Tyrians and Sidonians were paid in wheat, barley, wine, and oil, rather than in money.[a] Carthage, on the coast of Africa, which was founded by a colony of Tyrians,

[a] 2 Chron. ii. 10, 15. Ezra iii. 7.

was only three hundred and sixty stadia, or forty-five miles, in circumference.[a] Venice and Holland, to which the centre of commerce was chiefly transferred, after the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, are only of narrow limits. And Britain, which is now the principal commercial nation, is an inconsiderable island, as to extent. It is true that, as these increased in commercial prosperity, they increased in colonies; but the original observation still holds good, that great nations, like extensive landed proprietors, have, in general, rather contented themselves with the fruits of the soil, internal commerce, and becoming the customers of general merchants, than been general merchants themselves; whilst several of the smaller states, who had no extensive territory to boast of, and were situated on the sea-shore, have turned their genius from their soil to their ships, and, by becoming the centre of attraction and confidence, have enriched themselves, and become the benefactors of the universe. Let us look at Tyre only, at present, for a confirmation of this remark. Although originally an inconsiderable city, and now a rock to dry nets on, yet in the days of her prosperity, she was the emporium of every trading nation:—to her, as to a centre, came all that was valuable; and from her, as the general market of nations, did all derive those foreign productions which they severally required. In the 27th chapter of Ezekiel, we have a catalogue of part of those articles in which she traded, and the effect they had in increasing her prosperity. It is painful to add, that they accelerated her fall, by exciting the jea-

[a] Strabo, xvii. 832.

lousy of Alexander the Great, who wished to transfer the centre of commerce from Tyre to Alexandria.[a]

We hear little of any attempts at foreign trade among the Jews, by means of ships, but in the days of Solomon; who cultivated the friendship of Hiram, king of Tyre, and had fleets of ships manned by his sailors; or guided at least by his pilots, in their voyages to Ophir and Tarshish. The words of Scripture[b] are, that "the navy of Hiram, which brought gold from Ophir, brought also from thence, great plenty of almug trees, and precious stones." And in 1 Kings x. 22, and 2 Chron. ix. 21, we are told, that "the king had at sea a navy of Tarshish, with the navy of Hiram, and that once in the three years, came the navy of Tarshish, bringing gold, and silver, and ivory, and apes, and peacocks." Had we heard nothing more of these fleets, we should naturally have supposed, that the fleet to Ophir sailed down the Red Sea, somewhere to the south; and that the fleet to Tarshish sailed from Tyre, at the east end of the Mediterranean, to Tartessus in Spain, near the ancient Gades, now Cadiz, at the mouth of the Bætis or Guadalquivir, without the straits of Gibraltar. But 1 Kings xxii. 48, goes against this idea, for it tells us, that "Jehoshaphat made ships of Tarshish, to go to Ophir for gold; but they went not, for the ships were broken at Ezion-geber." Now this Ezion-geber is at the foot of the Elanitic gulf, in the Red Sea; and was the place to which the Israelites returned, when God

[a] See farther in Prideaux, Connex. A. A. C. 259.

[b] 1 Kings x. 11. 2 Chron. ix. 10.

sware that they should not enter immediately into the land of Canaan; but should sojourn in the wilderness, till the generation that had sinned, should be entirely consumed. The above passage, therefore, tells us, that Solomon's ships intended for Tartessus, were to sail up the Red Sea, pass the straits of Babelmandel, and go round Africa by the Cape of Good Hope, taking Ophir, which lay somewhere in that direction, in their way. This was certainly a circuitous passage, and might well take three years to accomplish, in their coasting way of sailing, before the discovery of the compass. Unless, therefore, one had strong reasons to the contrary, he would be led to explain the word rendered Tarshish, not as a city, but as descriptive of the ships engaged in that enterprise. For Tarshish is compounded of תר *ter*, a merchant, and שיש *shish*, white linen or cotton; and the verse might have been rendered, "Jehoshaphat made ships of merchandise freighted with fine linen or cotton to Ophir, in exchange for gold: but they went not, for the ships were broken at Ezion-geber," by a tempest probably, while they were getting ready to sail.

As it is generally believed, however, that the words in our translation are rightly rendered, and that the ships intended for Tarshish, did sail from Ezion-geber, at the foot of the Red Sea; it next becomes a question, whether they really doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and went to Tartessus in Spain; or whether there might not be a place of that name, somewhere in the Indian ocean, nearer than the Cape? Those who maintain that they doubled the Cape, and went to Tartessus, place

Ophir somewhere on the coast of Arabia or Africa; and show that the passage by the Cape, from Asia to Europe, was no new discovery by Vasco di Gama in the year 1497; but only the revival of one anciently known, and afterwards lost during the dark ages, when men became ignorant of the records of history. For Herodotus tells us,[a] that this very voyage was made by the Phœnicians, in the reign of Pharaoh-necho, who lived about 200 years after Solomon; and that they sailed from the Red Sea, and returned by the Mediterranean, performing it in three years, which was the same length of time, that the voyage under Solomon had taken. And it appears from Pliny,[b] that the passage round the Cape of Good Hope was known before his time, by one Eudoxus, in the time of Ptolemy Lathyrus, king of Egypt.—These, it will be noticed, set out from the Red Sea, and went to the straits of Gibraltar; but, before the invention of the mariner's compass, every attempt in a contrary direction, from the straits of Gibraltar to the Red Sea, failed of success.—History records two of these, viz. Sataspes, who was sent by Xerxes, and whose voyage, with all its difficulties, is described by Herodotus (in Melpom.); and Hanno who was sent by the Carthaginians, and wrote a periplus of his own voyage.[c] The following observations by Montesquieu[d] will sufficiently account for the failure. "The capital point," says he, "in surrounding Africa was, to discover and double

[a] iv. 42. [b] Hist. Nat. ii. 67.

[c] See its contents noticed, and credibility defended by Montesquieu in his Spirit of Laws, book xxi. ch. 11.

[d] Spirit of Laws, book xxi. ch. 10.

the Cape of Good Hope.—Those who set out from the Red Sea, found this Cape nearer by half, than it would have been, in setting out from the Mediterranean.—The shore from the Red Sea is not so shallow as that from the Cape to Hercules' Pillars. The discovery of the Cape by Hercules' Pillars, was owing to the invention of the compass, which permitted them to leave the coast of Africa, and to launch out into the vast ocean, in order to sail towards the island of St. Helena, or toward the coasts of Brazil. It was therefore very possible for them to sail from the Red Sea into the Mediterranean; but not to set out from the Mediterranean, to return by the Red Sea. Thus, without making this grand circuit, after which they could hardly ever hope to return, it was most natural (for the ancients) to trade to the east of Africa by the Red Sea, and to the western coast (of Africa) by Hercules' Pillars."

On these grounds, then, it appears, that the ancients were not ignorant of the passage from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean, and, consequently, to Europe by the Cape of Good Hope; but there still appears a difficulty, why Solomon and Jehoshaphat should prefer the circuitous route by the Cape, to the direct line from Tyre to the straits of Gibraltar. This, therefore, hath led the advocates of the second opinion to suggest, that there might be another Tarshish and Ophir, even nearer than the Cape, somewhere on the coast of Arabia, on the east, or on the coast of Africa on the west, and, most probably, on the latter. For the astonishment which filled the whole of Europe, Egypt, and the East, at the discovery of the Indian sea by

Alexander the Great, is to them a sufficient proof that the fleets of Solomon did not trade to India. And Africa is preferred to Arabia, from this consideration, that, in trading to the countries east of the Red Sea, bullion has always been carried thither, as the exchange for commodities, and never brought back as an article of trade; whereas the Jewish fleets brought gold and silver, as a part of their cargo, from Ophir; a circumstance which corresponds with the trade with Africa, where these metals abound; but not with Arabia and India, where they are deficient. The espousers, therefore, of this opinion think, that they are led by a kind of necessity, to look for Tarshish and Ophir, somewhere between the mouth of the Red Sea, and the Cape of Good Hope.

I know none who hath defended this opinion with so much ability as Mr. Bruce, in his History of Abyssinia,[a] and shall therefore state it nearly in his own words. He places Ophir in the kingdom of Sofala, in Africa, opposite to Madagascar, near the head of the river Zambese, where were gold and silver mines, and evident marks of ancient excavations; and Tarshish he places in the small harbour of Mocha, near Melinda. His reasoning is as follows. In the Red Sea, a monsoon blows from April to October north-west, and from November till April south-east. Between the bottom of the Red Sea and Cape Gardefan, the winds are south-west, or variable. The next monsoon is between Cape Gardefan and Tarshish, which blows from October till April north-east, and from May to October south-west. The third monsoon is be-

[a] Vol. i. p. 427, &c. 4to edit.

tween Tarshish and Sofala, where it blows from May till October north-east, and south-west from October till May. Now let us see how these monsoons make the voyage from Ezion-geber to Sofala, and the return from thence, just three years. Supposing the vessels trading to Ophir or Sofala, to have sailed from Ezion-geber in June, with the monsoon at north, which carried them to Mocha, near the straits of Babelmandel: there the monsoon would fail them, by the change of the direction of the gulf; and the south-west winds, which blow at Cape Gardefan in the Indian ocean, forcing themselves round the Cape, so as to be felt in the road of Mocha, would make it uneasy riding there. But these soon change, the weather becomes moderate, and Mr. Bruce supposes, that the vessels in August would be safe at anchor under Cape Gardefan.—There, however, they would be obliged to stay till November; because, in all the summer months, the wind, south of the Cape, is a south-west one, directly in the teeth of a voyage to Sofala. But that time would not be lost; for part of the goods to be ready at their return, were ivory, frankincense, and myrrh, and the ships were then at the principal mart for these. Mr. Bruce supposes, that in November, the vessels sailed with the wind at north-east; with which they would soon have made their voyage, had they not, off the coast of Melinda, in the beginning of December, met with an anomalous monsoon at south-east; which cut off their voyage to Sofala, and obliged them to put into the small harbour of Mocha, near Melinda, or the very place which Mr. Bruce takes for Tarshish. Thus, in the voy-

age from Ezion-geber, there were two Mochas; the one within the straits of Babelmandel, the other near Melinda.—At this last mentioned Mocha, the ships were obliged to stay till the month of April, in the second year; but the time spent there was not lost, for this Mocha, near Melinda, being the Tarshish of Mr. Bruce, part of their cargo was to be brought from that port, and it was probably bespoke, to be ready at their return from Sofala. In May, the wind sets in at north-east, and probably carried them that same month to Sofala: but from this May in the second year, till the end of the monsoon in October, the vessels could not stir, the wind being north-east. There was, however, no delay; for the whole of that time would be necessary for getting their cargo, and making ready for their return. The ships then would sail homewards in the month of November, the second year, with the monsoon south-west, which, in a very few weeks, would have brought them to the Red Sea; but, off Mocha, or Tarshish, near Melinda, they would meet with the north-east monsoon, and be obliged to go into that port till the end of it.—After which, a south-west wind would come to their relief, in May, of the third year, with which they would reach Mocha, within the straits of Babelmandel; and there they would be again confined, by the summer monsoon blowing up the Red Sea from Suez, till October or November, when it changed from north-west to south-east, and would bring them in safety to Ezion-geber, (whence they had set out,) in the middle or end of December, the third year. They had no need of more time to complete their voy-

age, and it was not possible they could do it in less. In short, they felt the change of the monsoons six times, which is thirty-six months; and Mr. Bruce remarks, that there is not another combination of monsoons over the globe, as far as is known, that can effect the same.

We have been thus long on the voyage of Solomon's ships to Tarshish and Ophir, as being the only one which the Jews seem to have made; for, although Elath and Ezion-geber are sometimes mentioned, it does not appear, that the commerce carried on at these ports, tended to enrich the Jewish nation. Indeed, Josephus, in his Book against Apion, says that his nation, being entirely employed in agriculture, knew little of navigation. The Jews, therefore, traded only occasionally in the Red Sea. They took from the Idumeans Elath and Ezion-geber, from whom they received this commerce: they lost these cities, and with them, lost their taste for navigation and foreign trade.*

* 2 Kings xvi. 6. See some sensible observations on the Jewish trade by the Red Sea, in Prideaux, Connexion, vol. i. p. 5—10. We might add, that considering the thousands of miles between Ezion-geber and the Mediterranean, by the Cape of Good Hope, and the very short distance between Ezion-geber and Alexandria, across the isthmus of Suez, only about seventy miles, it is matter of wonder, that a canal has never been cut between the two places. The unsettled state of the Turkish government, and the nature of the soil through which it must pass, are the reasons commonly assigned. Yet these, under a better government, and with sufficient skill and capital, might easily be surmounted. When the French were in Egypt in 1801, and wished the occupation of that country, in order to injure the British trade in India, a survey was made from the Red Sea to the Nile at Cairo, and from Cairo to Alexandria, for the purpose of forming a canal. It was found, that the Nile at Cairo was seven feet lower than the Red Sea, when at its lowest; but fourteen

SECT. XII.

The Jewish Mode of Warfare.

Causes of the Jewish wars; number of their armies; degree of efficiency; arms, a helmet, breastplate, habergeon, girdle, greaves, sword, shield, battle-ax, sling, bow, quiver, poisoned arrows. The Jewish cavalry: their accoutrements; chariots of war; camels of the kings of Midian; qualifications of an ancient warrior; time of going to war; methods taken to distress an invading enemy; order of encampment among the Jews; camps on hills; religious ceremony before fighting; method of fighting; their cruelty afterwards. The transplanting of nations; making of treaties; return of the victor with triumphal songs; armies disbanded after their return; public armour lodged in public repositories; war destructive to the male population; connexion of the sword with famine and pestilence. The improvement which Christianity has made in war.

THE causes of war, among the Jews, resembled those of other nations, with the exceptions which arose from the peculiarity of their situation. For in their first wars, they were enjoined by the Supreme Being, as king of Israel, the punisher of vice, and the disposer of kingdoms, to exterminate the Canaanites, and plant themselves in their room. And, in their subsequent expeditions, they either

feet higher than it, during the inundation. And that, taking the whole distance between the two seas, the waters of the Mediterranean were thirty feet lower than those of the Red Sea, when the waters were lowest; but only twenty-four when at the highest. The plan was, to have prevented any water from flowing into the canal, unless at low water, which, in a distance of thirty leagues, in its passage to the Mediterranean, was thought to have been of little consequence. The estimated expense was eighteen millions franks (or L.750,000 sterling, valuing the frank at 10d. English); and two years labour. (Napoleon's Conversations with O'Meara, vol. i. p. 438.)

fought with the surrounding nations, for the redress of particular grievances, or with each other, after the establishment of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah. As for the times posterior to those of the Old Testament, and prior to those of the New, the Jews were always so reduced, as to be forced to yield to their more powerful neighbours; yet, so far favoured by them, as to enjoy both their religion and their laws: till, in the days of our Saviour, they became a Roman province, and afterwards ceased to exist as a nation.

But leaving the causes which influenced the Jews in their several wars, let us attend to the state of the Jewish army.—And on this subject we may notice, that the numbers which they brought into the field were very great. Thus, in revenging the death of the Levite's concubine, the Israelites collected 400,000 footmen that drew the sword, to fight against the Benjamites, who could muster only 26,000.[a] When Saul, immediately after he was made king, went to relieve Jabesh Gilead from the Ammonites, he had 330,000;[b] and when he went to destroy Amalek, he had 210,000.[c] These, we may naturally suppose, were a levy en masse, rather than a regular army. But, under a succession of kings, they assumed a more warlike character, and became more effective; being trained up to the use of arms as a militia, an enrolment made of those who were most expert, and arms given to them when called to the field, if they had none of their own. It is no wonder, then, that we read of 340,822 expert, and ready armed for the war, who

[a] Judg. xx. 2, 15. [b] 1 Sam. xi. 8. [c] 1 Sam. xv. 4.

came to make David king;[a] and, when he numbered the people, of 1,608,000, who drew the sword, independently of the tribe of Benjamin, which was not numbered.[b] Indeed, all those of the military age seem to have been more or less trained, and in a state of requisition. But his standing army was only 288,000, which, in time of peace, were on duty one month in the year, or 24,000 at a time.[c] Solomon, his son, was of a different character. His care was rather to preserve and improve his territory, than to enlarge it; yet he was not indifferent to the national defence. He was, indeed, the first who introduced cavalry into the Jewish army; for, at the beginning of his reign, he had 1400 chariots, and 12,000 horsemen;[d] and at the end of it, he had 4000 chariots, and 12,000 horsemen.[e] This change was introduced for two reasons: 1st, That he might cope with his enemies in the same species of force; and, 2dly, Because he could afford the expense, from his attention to commerce, which increased the quantity of the precious metals: but in doing so he acted against the command of God, in Deut. xvii. 16. When his son Rehoboam lost the ten tribes by his imprudence, he collected from Judah and Benjamin alone 180,000 chosen men.[f] And his son Abijah had 400,000 valiant men, when he fought against Jeroboam king of Israel, who had 800,000 mighty men of valour.[g] If we descend farther down the Jewish history, we shall still find them maintaining a military character, till they were carried away to Babylon. Thus Asa, the son of

[a] 1 Chron. xii. 23—38. [b] 1 Chron. xxi. 5; xxiii. 3.
[c] 1 Chron. xxvii. 1—15. [d] 2 Chron. i. 14. [e] 2 Chron. ix. 25.
[f] 2 Chron. xi. 1. [g] 2 Chron. xiii. 3.

Abijah, had of those who bare targets and spears, out of Judah 300,000, and out of Benjamin, who bare shields and drew bows, 280,000, making a total of 580,000, all mighty men of valour; with whom he fought against Zerah king of Ethiopia, who had a million of infantry, and 300 chariots.[a] In Jehoshaphat's reign, the military force in Judah was 780,000, and in Benjamin 380,000, making a total of 1,160,000; besides those in the fenced cities, to garrison them.[b] Amaziah could number 300,000 choice men, in Judah and Benjamin, above twenty years old, and hired 100,000 from Ephraim.[c] And Uzziah, king of Judah, had an army of 307,500, under 2600 leaders, who made war with mighty power.[d] The above particulars, it will be noticed, refer chiefly to the kingdom of Judah, because these only are mentioned in Scripture; but we may suppose, that the kingdom of Israel had warriors in proportion. And from the whole we may conclude, that from the troubled state of these kingdoms, either by internal jealousies or external wars, every man almost who could bear arms, was a soldier; that many of them had arms of their own; and that, when called to the field, each would carry his portion of provisions, without becoming a burden to the state.

It is easy to see, however, that this last regulation would be subject to several limitations, and that different methods would be adopted according to circumstances.—Thus, in Judg. xx. 10, when the Israelites went against Benjamin, to revenge the injury done to the Levite's concubine, one-

[a] 2 Chron. xiv. 8, 9.
[b] 2 Chron. xvii. 14—18.
[c] 2 Chron. xxv. 5, 6.
[d] 2 Chron. xxvi. 12, 13.

tenth of the army was appointed to forage for the rest.—And, in a much later period of the Jewish history, Josephus informs us,[a] that the way he provisioned his army in Galilee was, by "the cities sending out half their men to the army, and retaining the other half at home, in order to get provisions for them: insomuch, that the one part went to the war, and the other part to their work; and so those who sent out their corn, were paid for it by those who were in arms, by that security which they enjoyed from them." It is probable that this method would be often resorted to, in regular sieges or campaigns; but in shorter expeditions, they would act as we formerly said, and as Josephus tells us in his Life, he made his army in Galilee do, "when he had given orders that 5000 of them should come to him armed, and with provisions for their maintenance; he sending the rest away to their homes." A little after, on another sudden expedition, he ordered a detachment of 200, and another of 600, "to take their arms, to bring three days' provisions with them, and to be with him next day," in order to guard the roads, and intercept the couriers who were going from his enemies to Jerusalem. We have the same custom of providing their own food, on these sudden expeditions, mentioned by him five days after the former detachments had been sent off; for he tells us, that when he was at Gabaroth, he found the entire plain, before the village, full of armed men, who had come out of Galilee to assist him; and that his advice to them, after returning his acknowledgments, was, "to fight with nobody, nor to spoil the

[a] War, ii. 20.

country, but to pitch their tents in the plain, and be contented with the sustenance they had brought with them; for he intended to compose the troubles, which threatened him and them, without bloodshed."

The arms of the Jewish warrior were different according to circumstances.—Thus, some of the infantry were clothed in complete armour; consisting of a helmet of brass,[a] a habergeon, cuirass or breastplate of brass, a defence for the back, a girdle for the loins, and greaves of brass for the legs and feet,[b] with a sword for the right hand, and a shield or buckler for the left. Hence the beautiful allusion to all these, in St. Paul's description of the Christian soldier, Eph. vi. 13—17, where nothing is left undefended but the back; to teach us that Christ hates a coward, and an apostate; that as long as we undauntedly face the foe we are safe; but if we turn our backs, we do it at our hazard. But although some individuals in the Jewish armies were completely armed, the greater part were in ordinary clothing, and arranged into companies, according to their armour. Thus, one part had swords and bucklers; another spears and javelins; a third battle-axes;[c] a fourth slings;[d] and a fifth bows.[e] These bows were sometimes made of steel;[f] which, if three cubits long, as was the case with those of the Persians, mentioned by Xenophon, must have had great power.[g] Bows, in the East, are generally kept in cases, to prevent their being injured. Hence, many of the human figures, on the walls of the ancient palace at

[a] 1 Sam. xvii. 5. [b] 1 Sam. xvii. 6. [c] Jer. li. 20.
[d] Judg. xx. 16. 2 Kings iii. 25. [e] 1 Sam. xxxi. 3. 1 Ch. v. 18; xii. 2.
[f] Job xx. 24. Ps. xviii. 34. [g] Anab. iv.

Persepolis, are represented carrying bow-cases;[a] and the bow of Minerva, in the Iliad,[b] is said to have been cased; which may serve to explain what is said in Hab. iii. 9, "Thy bow was made quite naked:" meaning, that it was taken from its case, and ready for use. Every one must see, that quivers full of arrows, were absolutely necessary to such a division of the army: but it is not generally noticed, that the Jews were acquainted with the use of poisoned arrows: yet thus much may be conjectured, from what is said in Job vi. 4, "The arrows of the Almighty are within me, the poison whereof drinketh up my spirit." That various nations among the heathen used such arrows, we have good authority. Every classical scholar recollects the venenatæ sagittæ of the ancient Moors;[c] the envenomed arrows and javelins of the Parthians;[d] and the journey of Ulysses to Ephyra, a city in Thessaly, to procure deadly poison, for besmearing his brazen-pointed arrows, from Ilus, the son of Mermerus, a descendant of Medea and Jason.[e] In the latter period of the Jewish state, the short sword, or scimitar, was in use; and it was with these that the Sicarii, or robbers, committed so many murders.—For Josephus tells us, that "they made use of small swords, not much different in length from the Persian acinacæ, but somewhat crooked, and like the Roman sicæ, or sickles, and with these they slew a great many: for they mingled themselves among the multitude at their festivals, when they were come up in crowds, from

[a] Niebuhr, Voy. tom. ii. p. 104, and tab. 21, 22, 29.
[b] Il. iv. 105, &c.
[c] Hor. lib. i. od. 22.
[d] Virgil. Æn. xii. 857.
[e] Odyss. i. 260.

all parts, to the city, to worship God, and easily slew those they had a mind to slay."[a] If they were thus formidable in the hands of the ruffian, they would be equally so, in the hands of the regularly trained soldier. We have only once mention made of the Sicarii in Scripture, viz. in Acts xxi. 38, where we read of a certain Egyptian, who led out four thousand murderers, or Sicarii, (σικαριων,) into the wilderness.[b]

The Jewish cavalry, although they had bridles to direct them in their course, yet had no saddles. For, as De Goguet observes,[c] "no nation of antiquity knew the use of either saddles or stirrups." Their only covering, therefore, would be a cloth, similar perhaps to that which is used by the Arabians at the present day:[d] and their horses' saddles might perhaps resemble those of Chateaubriand and his company, when travelling, 3d Oct. 1806, from Jerusalem to Rama, when "pads served them for saddles, and cords instead of stirrups."[e] It is well known, that the shoeing of horses, with plates of iron round the hoof, was also unknown to the ancients: for the horses' shoes of leather and of iron, which are mentioned by them, and the shoes of silver and of gold, with which Nero and Poppea shod their mules, were not like those in present use, but were cases which enclosed the whole hoof. Hence the value which they put upon flint-hoofed horses; and hence the reason, why the prophet Isaiah[f] speaks of "horses' hoofs, which

[a] Antiq. xx. 8.

[b] For the Asiatic armour and weapons, see Grose's Military Antiquities, vol. ii. plates 50—56.

[c] Origin of Laws, vol. iii. p. 172. [d] Hasselquist, p. 52.

[e] Travels in Greece, Palestine, &c. vol. i. p. 362. [f] Is. v. 28.

should be counted as flint." A troop of Jewish cavalry, therefore, would have their horses unshod; their bridles of a simple but efficient construction; and horse-cloths, without stirrups, to sit upon, in place of saddles; while the riders would depend on their swords or their spears.—Yet that species of cavalry was not the only one, which was attached to the Jewish army; for a considerable part sometimes consisted of chariots, which held two persons, viz. the charioteer who directed the horses, and the warrior who fought with the spear or the bow. As for the chariots of iron, which the Canaanites had, when the Israelites entered the country;[a] they were not probably of solid iron, since that would have rendered them too weighty; but were either covered with plates of iron, or had such parts of them made of iron, as would prevent their breaking down in the day of battle. It is uncertain, however, whether they used scythes at the sides of the chariots, as some have thought, in order to render them more destructive; for we never hear of these in history, till Cyrus introduced them among the Persians; which was considerably later than the period of the Jewish military glory.[b] As for camels and mules, although they were used for other purposes, they made no part of the Jewish armies. The kings of Midian, indeed, are said to have had camels, with chains about their necks, when they were discomfited by Gideon;[c] but these were rather as marks of state, than for attack; like those agas in Egypt, whom Dr. Pococke saw,[d] whose camels had chains of silver, hanging from the bridle to the breastplate.

[a] Josh. xvii. 16, 18. Judg. i. 19; iv. 3.
[b] Cyropæd. lib. vi. p. 324. [c] Judg. viii. 26. [d] Vol. i. p. 264.

The qualifications of an ancient warrior were very different from those which are reckoned essential in modern times. At present, the merit of a soldier consists in implicitly obeying the commands of his general, without aspiring to have a will of his own; but anciently, the meanest soldier had an opportunity of distinguishing himself. His bodily strength, if great, enabled him to bear down his opponent; and, when that was wanting, his dexterity in the use of arms, his pretended flight and sudden return, were all employed to deceive and defeat his adversary; whilst the closeness of the combat rendered the disarming, or death of his antagonist, the only mean of preserving himself. Bodily strength, therefore, complete presence of mind, experience in the art of war, and swiftness as a roe, when swiftness was necessary, either to pursue after or avoid the foe, were indispensable ingredients in an ancient warrior; whilst his eye acquired an animation, his countenance an expression, his voice a variety of cadence, and his whole frame a degree of athletic force, which are in vain sought for, in the mechanical mass of a modern army. Nor should we forget, that the valour of the Jews had often peculiar motives to strengthen it, viz. the motives of religion; for they frequently went to the field, under the immediate direction of Jehovah, and with the positive assurance of success.

The warmth of friendship, amongst companions in arms, has been often admired. It is formed by their peculiar habits, frequent intercourse, and common danger. The ancient soldiers, therefore, loved each other as brethren, and delighted to bestow, or

accept tokens of affection. Thus Jonathan gave his armour to David, as Thrasymed afterwards did to Ulysses and Diomed, when they were about to vssit the Trojan camp as spies;[a] for it is worthy of remark, that officers of the first rank and character did not, in those early days, hesitate to do that which is now the task of common soldiers. Thus Gideon went as a spy by night into the camp of the Midianites;[b] and Jonathan into that of the Philistines.[c]

In Judea, the time of war, unless in cases of immediate urgency, is said to have been either in spring or autumn, but most generally in spring. Hence Benhadad, king of Syria, came against Ahab, king of Israel, "at the return of the year;" (1 Kings xx. 22, 26;) the Moabites invaded Judea "at the coming in of the year;"[d] and David sent Joab to destroy the Ammonites, "after the year was expired, at the time when kings go out to battle;"[e] which expressions may either mean that they went in April, when the ecclesiastical year had expired, at the vernal equinox, like Benhadad,[f] and Crœsus;[g] or in October, when the civil year had expired, at the autumnal equinox. Basnage explains Joab's expedition to have been at the latter time;[h] but Holofernes's army took the field in spring, as is evident from his reaching Damascus in wheat-harvest, or May.[i] At whatever time, however, they went to war, the Jews made it a point of religion, during the whole period of the Old

[a] Il. x. 255—260. [b] Judges vii. 11. [c] 1 Sam. xiv. 1.
[d] 2 Kings xiii. 20. [e] 2 Sam. xi. 1. 1 Chron. xx. 1.
[f] 1 Kings xx. 26. Joseph. Antiq. viii. 14.
[g] Prideaux, Connex. A. A. C. 548.
[h] Relig. of the Jews, book v. ch. 10. [i] Judith ii. 27; iv. 5.

Testament history, neither to attack an enemy, nor defend themselves, on the sabbath day. And it was not till the days of Mattathias, the father of the Maccabees, that the practice was changed, in consequence of a thousand Jews having been killed, by the soldiers of Antiochus Epiphanes, on that holy day; who feared, that by defending themselves, they would violate the sabbath.[a] Yet even then they were guilty of a strange inconsistency; for though they considered it no violation of the sabbath to defend themselves in battle, they allowed their enemies to erect works, during a siege, on that day, without the least molestation; which was taken advantage of by them, and was, indeed, the principal occasion of Jerusalem's being taken, first by Pompey,[b] then by Sosius,[c] and, lastly, by Titus. The first instance which we have of the Jews acting offensively on the sabbath is, when on the approach of Cestius Gallus with a Roman army to Jerusalem, after the murder of some of the people of Lydda, those who attended the feast of tabernacles were so enraged, that they left the feast, attacked him even on the sabbath day, and overcame him.[d]

War is at all times destructive; but it is the duty of those who are attacked, to do every thing in their power to defend themselves, and destroy the resources of an invading enemy. Hence the conduct of Hezekiah, in stopping up all the fountains near Jerusalem, that he might the more effectually distress the army of the Assyrians.[e] We are not particularly informed how this was done, so as not

[a] 1 Macc. ii. 32—41. [b] Antiq. xiv. 4. [c] Antiq. xiv. 16.
[d] Joseph. War, ii. 19. [e] 2 Chron. xxxii. 3, 4.

to injure the future usefulness of the wells; but the following extract from the Hon. Mr. Elphinstone may give us a key to it; for he says, that "on his road to Cabul, near the head of the Indus, he met with very deep wells, several three hundred, and one three hundred and forty-five feet deep. Their insides were lined with masonry, and they have a way of covering them with boards, heaped with sand, that effectually conceals them from an enemy."[a] The Jews had also another practice, of throwing filth into springs, and reservoirs of rain-water, to render them useless to their invaders; a practice which is alluded to in Prov. xxv. 26; for in a season of drought nothing would sooner destroy an army; and Josephus adds, that they laid up their corn in citadels in such seasons, and burnt the grass with fire.[b]

When the Israelites were encamped, there seems to have been a certain order observed. For the spear of Saul is mentioned in 1 Sam. xxvi. 7, as having been stuck in the ground, at his head, while he slept, (like Diomed's afterwards,[c]) and was equivalent to the place of the general's tent. His armour-bearer and principal officers slept around him, and the rest of the army, in their different divisions, in a circle without. We may suppose, therefore, that this was their general manner of encampment; for neither in the Scriptures, nor in Josephus, do we meet with any regularly formed camps, like those of the Romans. Indeed, being always near home, there was little occasion for them; and armies of their description would be little inclined to

[a] Account of the kingdom of Cabul, Introd. p. 6.
[b] Antiq. xx. 4. [c] Il. x. 150—155.

take the precautions that were reckoned necessary for the safety of the Romans, when in foreign countries, and surrounded by enemies. Yet the Jews were no strangers to the Roman tactics, in the latter period of their history; and Josephus has given as accurate a description as we have anywhere, of the Roman camp under Vespasian, the arms of the Roman soldier, the order of the Roman army while on the march, and their manner of attacking fortified cities.[a]

When the Romans, however, obtained a footing in Judea, the Jewish soldiers, from their peculiar rites, found a difficulty in brigading with the Roman troops, and, therefore, all those of them who obtained the privilege of Roman citizens, were exempted from serving in the Roman armies. Josephus has preserved the decrees which gave them these privileges.[b]

Before the Jews engaged in battle, the following ceremonies were observed: 1st, The priest approached them and said, "Hear, O Israel, ye approach this day into battle against your enemies; let not your hearts faint; fear not, and do not tremble, neither be ye terrified because of them; for the Lord your God is He that goeth with you, to fight for you against your enemies, to save you." Thus did religion lend its aid to valour, and the love of their country. 2dly, The officers proclaimed to the army, that all who had built a new house, and had not dedicated it; or who had planted a vineyard, and had not eaten the fruit thereof; or had betrothed a wife, and had not married her; or who were fearful and faint-hearted; might return

[a] War, iii. 5, 6, 7; v. 2. [b] Antiq. xiv. 10.

to their several homes; which was purging the army of disaffection. And then, 3dly, The whole who remained, being as one man, hearty in the cause, were led forward to the battle.[a] Josephus mentions an additional circumstance, which was observed by Herod, viz. the offering of sacrifices, before he made war against the Arabians.[b] It is not to be expected that the Jewish writers, at the beginning of an expedition, should always have mentioned the observance of the above regulations; but to show that they were acted upon, in a late period of the Jewish history, we may remark, that Judas Maccabæus, before attacking the Syrians, proclaimed them; which reduced his army from 6000 to 3000, and yet with these he obtained a victory.[c]

As for the battle itself, after giving the watchword, like Judas Maccabæus,[d] it was sometimes open and pitched; and at other times, a part of the army lay in ambush, while the rest showed themselves to the enemy;[e] and if one of the armies was afraid to engage, it sometimes made use of a *ruse de guerre*, in kindling fires in the usual manner, and then escaping under covert of night. This was the plan that the generals of Demetrius took when afraid of Jonathan, one of the Maccabees.[f] Every one recollects the stratagem, by which Gideon overcame the Midianites in the night; by his little army of 300 men with their trumpets, and lamps concealed in empty pitchers, till they got unexpectedly among them.[g] Nearly the same

[a] Deut. xx. 1—9. [b] Antiq. xv. 5. War, i. 19.
[c] Prideaux, Connex. A. A. C. 166. [d] 2 Macc. viii. 23; xiii. 15.
[e] Josh. vii. 4, 5. [f] 1 Macc. xii. 28, 29. [g] Judg. vii. 16—22.

thing was done, many ages after, by Camillus, against the Gauls, after they had taken Rome, A. A. C. 350, and were scattered in a careless and secure manner over the country. "As soon," says Plutarch, "as he was informed of it by his spies, (forgetting the injury he had received from his ungrateful countrymen, who had forced him to quit Rome, and live in voluntary banishment at Ardea,) he led the Ardeates out, and having passed the intermediate space without noise, he reached their camp about midnight. He then ordered a loud shout to be set up, and the trumpets to sound on all sides, to cause the greater confusion; but it was with difficulty that they recovered themselves from their sleep and intoxication. A few, whom fear had made sober, snatched up their arms to oppose Camillus, and fell with their weapons in their hands; but the chief part of them, buried in sleep and wine, were surprised unarmed, and easily dispatched."[a] Niebuhr mentions a similar stratagem, as having been practised by Achmed, an iman in the south of Africa, against his antagonist Bel Arrab. "He divided his little troop," says he, "into detachments, who seized the passes of the valleys, and sounded their trumpets. Bel Arrab, supposing himself to be circumvented by a strong army, was struck with a panic, fled, and was slain in his flight by a son of Achmed."[b]—Fenced cities, before the invention of fire-arms, were commonly much depended on, and the taking of them was a matter both of difficulty and of time. They either, therefore, drew lines of circumvallation, to prevent escape, or hewed down trees, and built forts against them round about;[c]

[a] Life of Camillus. [b] Heron's edit. vol. ii. p. 98.
[c] 2 Kings xxv. 1. Is. xxix. 3. Jer. vi. 6.

or planted battering-rams ;[a] or endeavoured to enter them by burning the gates, and cutting the towers of wood that were around them with axes.[b] Every method, indeed, seems to have been taken that could insure success.

But the most careless reader of Scripture must have noticed the horrors to which the besieged were sometimes reduced ;[c] and the difference of treatment as to the captives, in ancient and modern times. For, independently of that severity which God enjoined with respect to the Canaanites, to punish them for their profligacy, and insure the future safety and morals of Israel, we find the conquerors setting their feet on the necks of their enemies,[d] cutting off the heads of some,[e] the noses and ears of others,[f] and the hands and feet of others,[g] putting them under the threshing drag, or wain,[h] and under saws and harrows of iron, and making them pass through the brick kiln,[i] whilst they emasculated the seed royal, to prevent their aspiring to the throne.[k] Even the fair sex were most shamefully abused. For some were exposed to a brutal soldiery ;[l] mothers were destroyed with their children ;[m] children were dashed against the stones ;[n] and women with child ripped up ;[o] whilst those of rank were wantonly stripped naked, to walk in that state exposed to every inclemency of

[a] Ezek. iv. 2 ; xxi. 22. [b] Ezek. xxvi. 9.
[c] 2 Kings vi. 25—29. Jer. xix. 9. Lam. ii. 20 ; iv. 10.
[d] Josh. x. 24. [e] 1 Sam. xxxi. 9. [f] Ezek. xxiii. 25.
[g] 2 Sam. iv. 12. [h] Prov. xx. 26. [i] 2 Sam. xii. 31.
[k] Is. xxxix. 7. [l] Zech. xiv. 2. [m] Esther iii. 13.
[n] 2 Kings, viii. 12. Ps. cxxxvii. 9. Is. xiii. 16, 18.
[o] 2 Kings xv. 16. Hosea xiii. 16. Amos i. 13. Hanway's Revol. of Persia, vol. iv. p. 246, 286.

the weather,[a] and often reduced to hard labour, like the meanest slaves.[b] Sometimes the vengeance of the conqueror took a wider range, in measuring out certain districts for destruction,[c] and casting the utmost contempt on the buildings accounted sacred. Thus Jehu converted the house of Baal into a draught house;[d] in the same manner as Abbas, king of Persia, did afterwards to the tomb of Hanifah, one of the fathers of the Turkish church, which was used as a place of prayer when he took Bagdad.[e] Nay, they sometimes sowed the foundations of cities with salt, as a token of utter destruction.[f]

Such were the marks of their immediate vengeance; but, to prevent their enemies from rebelling in future, they burnt also their shields, bows, spears, and chariots,[g] shut up their springs, and marred their grounds with stones.[h] They also forbade them the making of warlike instruments,[i] and the use of iron; either by taking away the artificers to a distance, as Nebuchadnezzar did to Judah;[k] or by forcing the people to go to the countries of their enemies, when near at hand, as the Philistines did the Israelites, when their ploughshares required sharpening.[l] Pliny tells us, that Porsenna, the king of Etruria, when wishing to reestablish the Tarquins on the throne of Rome, acted in a similar manner to the Romans; by making it an article in the treaty, that they should use

[a] Lowth's note on Is. xiii. 7. See also Is. xx. 4; xlvii. 3. Micah i. 11. [b] Is. xlvii. 2. [c] 2 Sam. viii. 2. [d] 2 Kings x. 27.
[e] Clarke's Harmer, ch. xi. ob. 89. [f] Judg. ix. 45.
[g] Josh. xi. 6. Ps. xlvi. 9. Ezek. xxxix. 9, 10. Nahum ii. 13.
[h] 2 Kings iii. 19, 25. [i] Judg. v. 8.
[k] 2 Kings xxiv. 14, 16. Jer. xxix. 2. [l] 1 Sam. xiii. 19—21.

no iron, except for tilling the ground.[a] But if all these methods were unable to repress the spirit of liberty, these haughty conquerors would then return, like an overflowing flood, and carry them away into a foreign land; as Rabshakeh purposed in the days of Hezekiah,[b] and as Israel and Judah were afterwards carried into Assyria and Babylon. From our peculiar habits, we are apt to consider these as solitary facts, but they completely comport with the policy of the East. For it was practised by Joseph, though on a less scale, when, during the famine, "he removed the Egyptians to cities, from the one end of the borders of Egypt, even to the other end thereof,"[c] in order to make them forget their paternal possessions, and the incitements to dissatisfaction, which these might have created on the return of plenty. And it will, perhaps, be recollected, that there are instances of transplanting nations even in modern times. Thus, A. D. 796, "Charlemagne transplanted the Saxons from their own country into Flanders and the country of the Helvetians, in order to oblige them to remain faithful to him; and repeopled their own country by the Adrites, a Sclavonian nation."[d] Hanway tells us, that "it was the policy of Abbas I. who ascended the throne of Persia in 1585, to transplant the inhabitants of conquered countries, from one country to another, with a view not only of preventing any danger from their disaffection, but likewise of depopulating the countries exposed to an enemy."[e] Shah Jehan, the son of Aurengzebe,

[a] Hist, Nat. lib. xxxiv. cap. 14.

[b] 2 Kings xviii. 31, 32. [c] Gen. xlvii. 21.

[d] Hainault, Abrégé Chronol. de l'Histoire de France, tom. i. p. 65.

[e] Revolutions of Persia, vol. iii. p. 164.

having transferred the imperial residence from Agra to Jehanabad, near Delhi, transported thither half a million of the inhabitants of Agra to people it.[a] And the Hon. Mr. Elphinstone informs us, that "the Giljies moved from a great part of their lands, at the command of Nadir Shah, and made room for a portion of the Dooraunees,"—adding, that "it is frequently the policy of the Asiatic princes, to move their subjects from one place to another, sometimes with the view of obtaining an industrious colony, or an attached soldiery, in a favoured part of the country; and more frequently, to break the strength of a rebellious clan or nation."[b]

With respect to the spoils taken from the enemy, and the proportions in which these were divided among the different ranks in the army, we have no distinct regulation. But we find David enacting a very wise and equitable one, as to those who fought, and those who remained with the stuff or baggage: they were, from that time, to have an equal proportion of whatever should be taken.[c] And as for making treaties, that, in the absence of written records, was commonly done by some lasting monument, to perpetuate the transaction. Thus Laban and Jacob collected a heap of stones, to serve as a witness that they would not pass it to do each other harm.[d] Saul, after smiting the Amalekites, "set him up a place," literally "a hand," (יד *id;*) that is, as some have thought, a pillar made in the form of a hand, as the emblem of

[a] Murray's Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Asia, book ii. ch. 5.
[b] History of Cabul, book ii. ch. 7, 12.
[c] 1 Sam. xxx. 24, 25.
[d] Gen. xxxi. 44—54.

power.[a] And David smote Hadadezer, king of Zobah, "as he went to recover his border at the river Euphrates," literally "as he went to erect his hand, or trophy, by the river Euphrates.[b] Every one must have remarked, when reading Josephus, that, in the latter part of the Jewish history particularly, the offer of the right hand of a chief, was an indication of friendship; and the giving the right hand, was considered as security for the faithful performance of the conditions offered.[c] But a more remarkable manner of entering into covenant, was that mentioned in Jer. xxxiv. 18, 19, where an animal was divided in twain, and the contracting parties passed between the parts. It seems to have been of very ancient origin, for it is mentioned in Gen. xv. 17, when God made a covenant with Abraham; and it was probably copied from thence by the heathens. Thus, in Homer, ὅρκια πιστὰ ταμοντες, *dividing the faithful covenants*,[d] and ὄφρ' ὅρκια ταμνῃ, *that he may divide the covenants*,[e] are explained afterwards by saying, that the heralds brought two lambs, the faithful covenants of the gods, (θεων φερον ὅρκια πιστα, αρνε δυω,[f]) which Eustathius expressly refers to "oaths relating to important matters confirmed by dividing the victim." The same thing is mentioned by Virgil.[g] And Dictys Cretensis[h] says, that "Agamemnon, to confirm his faith to Achilles, took a victim, and having divided it in the midst with his sword, placed the pieces opposite to each other, and holding his sword, reeking with the blood of the victim, passed between the several pieces."

[a] 1 Sam. xv. 12. [b] 2 Sam. viii. 3. [c] War, iii. 7; iv. 1, 2.
[d] Il. ii. 124. [e] Il. iii. 105. [f] Il. iii. 245.
[g] Æn. viii. 640. [h] Lib. ii. v.

We read of a covenant of salt, in several places of Scripture;[a] and the usual interpretation of the phrase is, that as salt preserves animal substances from putrefaction, so a covenant of salt means a perpetual covenant. But may it not rather refer to the contracting parties partaking of an entertainment, and tasting the salt as a mark of reconciliation and friendship? I do not remember, at present, any direct evidence of treaties being so ratified: but there are many instances mentioned by travellers, of salt being a token of private friendship, in the East. Let the following suffice. "The Jesuits replied, that it was very painful for them to say any thing against their fellow Christians, but that, having served his Majesty (of Agra) eleven years, and eaten his bread and salt, they felt themselves bound not to conceal the truth."[b] And when the Jesuits were expelled from Pekin, four of them were allowed to remain, in consideration of having eaten the king's bread and salt.[c] And in the tale of the Forty Thieves, in the Arabian Nights Entertainments, which is unexceptionable evidence as to customs, the maid who slew the captain of the banditti, vindicated her conduct to her master by saying, "Remember that he would eat no salt with you. What would you have more to inform you of his wicked design?"—This eating of the salt as a test of friendship, whatever it may be as to public treaties, throws light on the apology which the enemies of the Jews made to the king of Persia, when they wrote him to hinder the building of

[a] Lev. ii. 13. Num. xviii. 19. 2 Chron. xiii. 5.

[b] Murray's Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Asia, book ii. chap. 4.

[c] Murray, book v. chap. 2.

the second temple. "Because," say they, "we have maintenance from the king's palace, (or, as it is in the margin of our English Bible, 'are salted with the salt of the palace,') and it was not meet for us to see the king's dishonour, therefore have we sent and certified the king."[a]

But let us accompany the conquerors home, and notice how their advent was hailed by their admiring countrymen.—Each male rejoiced in their success, and bands of females met them with instruments of music; who, like the minstrels of later times, celebrated their praises in extempore songs. It was thus that Jephthah, the daughter of Gideon, met her father with timbrels and dances, when he returned from subduing the Ammonites;[b] and thus that the women of Israel, in all the cities they passed, sang the praises of Saul and David, after the death of Goliath, and the defeat of the Philistines.[c] In the subsequent history of the Jews we have similar instances of rejoicing. For, when Judith slew Holofernes, she and all the people of Israel praised the Lord, for their unexpected deliverance.[d] When Phasaelus, the eldest son of Hyrcanus, the high priest, had freed his country from a nest of robbers, the Syrians celebrated his praises in their villages and cities.[e] And when Herod the Great accomplished a similar service, he had the same honours paid to him by the Jews.[f] But in recounting these public expressions of joy, it would be wrong to overlook the Song of Moses, in Exodus xv. 1—21, which is the most ancient lyric poem in the world. The Israelites had seen the over-

[a] Ezra iv. 14. [b] Judg. xi. 34. [c] 1 Sam. xviii. 6, 7.
[d] Judith xvi. 1—17. [e] Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 9. [f] Joseph. War, i. 10.

throw of the Egyptians in a miraculous manner, and felt the full impulse of gratitude to the Almighty. The males, therefore, of Israel sang the song which Moses had composed; and his sister Miriam, with all the women, joined in the chorus, with timbrels and dances. These public expressions of gratitude, for mercies received, were natural and impressive: they indicated religious feeling, were a pleasing tribute of gratitude to the deliverers of their country, and a powerful stimulus to make others excel.

After the return of the Jewish armies to their several homes, the military character was laid aside: the militia, which had been raised for the occasion, was disbanded; their warlike instruments, unless those of them that were private property, were delivered up as the property of the state, till some future war should call them forth;[a] and themselves returned, like Cincinnatus, to the plough, and the other avocations of private life. It is to this suspending of their arms in some public armory, that the prophet alludes, when he says, that they of Persia, and of Lud, and of Phut, and of Arvad, were in the Tyrian army, as men of war, and hung up their shields upon its walls round about.[b] And it is to this that the bridegroom refers,[c] when he compares the neck of the spouse, ornamented with jewels, to the tower of David for an armory, whereon were hung a thousand bucklers, all shields of mighty men. We hear nothing among the Jews of votive tablets being hung around the tabernacle, or walls of the temple, like those which the heathens suspended, as marks of gratitude for signal

[a] 2 Chron. xi. 12. [b] Ezek. xxvii. 10, 11. [c] Cant. iv. 4.

deliverances, in the temples of their gods;[a] but there is every reason to suppose, that, after a victory, pious kings would offer sacrifices, and pious individuals would express their obligations to the Divine Being, for their deliverance, by freewill offerings.

Nothing has hitherto been said of the grief which the nation felt for a fallen chief: but every one will recollect the pathetic lamentation of David for Saul and Jonathan, and also for Abner.[b] And it is probable that, in later times, the mourning which the Jews at Jerusalem made for Josephus, when they thought him dead, after the glorious defence he had made at Jotapata, against the army of Vespasian, was the ordinary way in which they lamented the persons who had distinguished themselves in the service of their country. "In every house, and among all to whom any of the slain were allied, there was a lamentation for them; but the mourning for the commander was a public one.—All mourned for Josephus: insomuch, that the lamentation did not cease in the city, before the thirtieth day; and a great many persons hired mourners, with their pipes, to begin the melancholy songs for them."[c]

There are still some observations which ought to be noticed, before we leave the military affairs of the Jews.—The first is the effect of their barbarous method of making war on the male part of the population of Judea. It destroyed the balance between the sexes, and prevented the increase of children; the desire for which was a prominent feature in the female character of that nation. Isaiah

[a] Horat. Carm. lib. i. ode 5.

[b] 2 Sam. i. 17—27; iii. 31—34. [c] Joseph. War, iii. 9.

takes notice of it, and places it in a very impressive light, in the following passage. "Thy men shall fall by the sword, and thy mighty in the war. And her gates shall lament and mourn; and she, being desolate, shall sit upon the ground. And in that day, seven women shall take hold of one man, saying, We will eat our own bread, and wear our own apparel, (dispensing thus with the ordinary provision given to wives,) only let us be called by thy name, to take away our reproach."[a] The second observation respects the frequent mention of the sword, the famine, and the pestilence, as being commonly linked together. For it should be remembered, that whilst the sword destroyed multitudes, it naturally occasioned famine, by the neglect of tillage; the destruction of provisions by the owners, to prevent them from falling into the enemy's hands; or the destruction of them by the enemy, to force the owners to surrender at discretion: whilst pestilence as naturally followed famine, as famine did the sword; for when a scarcity of food was occasioned, all the diseases attendant on the sudden change from plenty to want, were quickly experienced. The only other observation to be made is, the improvement which Christianity has introduced into the art of war, in those parts of the world where it prevails; by the restraints it hath laid on princes; the sentiments of honour it hath introduced among contending armies; and the generosity it hath inspired towards captives. Let us hope for the time when the peaceful genius of the gospel shall so far prevail, as to expel the demon of war from the earth.

[a] Is. iii. 25, 26; iv. 1.

SECT. XIII.

Diseases in Judea.

History of Jewish medicine. Leprosy; its symptoms in Leviticus, by Dr. Cullen, Wallis, and Maundrell: elephantiasis, the disease with which Job is thought to have been afflicted: consumption, and burning ague: fever; the botch of Egypt; emerods; scab; itch; madness and blindness. Bowel complaints; menorrhagia; the plague; Hezekiah's boil; stroke of the sun; lunacy; anointing with oil; James v. 14, explained. The disease of which Herod died. A catalogue of diseases given by Buxtorff. Demoniacal possession; reason of its frequency in our Saviour's days. Advantage of Christianity to surgery and physic.

THE most ancient account of medicine is that of Egypt, when the physicians embalmed the patriarch Jacob, at the request of Joseph; and of which embalming we shall give an account, when treating of the manner in which the Jews disposed of their dead. Moses styles these physicians servants to Joseph; whence we are certain that they were not priests, as the first physicians are generally supposed to have been: for in that age, the Egyptian priests were in such high favour, that they retained their liberty, when, through a public calamity, all the rest of the people became slaves to the king. It is probable, therefore, that among the Egyptians, religion and medicine were not originally conjoined. That the Jewish physicians were distinct from their priests is very certain: for, when Asa was diseased in his feet, "he sought not to the Lord, but to the physicians." Among the Jews the medicinal art was considered as a human invention; and it was thought that the Deity never cured diseases,

by making people acquainted with the virtues of any particular herb, but only by his miraculous power. That the same opinion prevailed among the heathens who resided near the Jews, is also probable, from what is recorded of Ahaziah, king of Judah; who, having sent messengers to inquire of Baal-zebub, god of Ekron, concerning his disease, did not desire any remedy from him, or from his priests, but only to know whether he should recover. It is therefore probable, that religion and medicine came to be conjoined, only in consequence of that degeneracy into ignorance and superstition, which took place among all nations.[a] We have very few intimations of the state of medicine in the Scriptures, but it may be proper to collect what we have, and to compare them with the additional light which travellers and others have thrown on the subject.

The first disease mentioned in Scripture is the *Leprosy*, (Lepra,) whose symptoms are thus described in the 13th and 14th chapters of Leviticus. 1st, It sometimes appeared on the arms, body, or feet, as a rising or pimple, a scab, or a bright spot, which in sight appeared deeper than the skin, the hair whereof turned white; and as the disease increased, quick raw flesh appeared in the rising; and when the person became completely leprous, the skin became white and dry. 2dly, A leprosy on the head or beard, was distinguished by being in sight deeper than the skin; and the hair of the place became thin and yellow. 3dly, A leprosy on the bald part of the head, indicated itself by a rising sore of a reddish white colour. When gar-

[a] Perth. Encycl. art. Medicine.

ments of linen, wool, or skin, were infected with it, the part appeared of a greenish or reddish colour; according, perhaps, to the colour or nature of the ingredients used in preparing them: for acids convert blue vegetable colours into red, and alkalies change them into green. And when the walls of a house were infected, they had hollow streaks of a greenish or reddish colour also, which in sight were lower than the wall. Such are the marks of leprosy as given by Moses, and they correspond with the observations of modern writers. Thus, Dr. Cullen[a] describes the skin as rough, with white, branny, and chopped eschars, sometimes moist beneath, with itching. And Wallis tells us, that it first begins with red pimples, or pustules, breaking out in various parts of the body, sometimes single, and sometimes a great number together, especially on the arms and legs; and as the disease increases, fresh pimples appear, which, joining the former, make a sort of clusters, all of which enlarge their borders, and spread in an orbicular form. The surface of these pustules is rough, whitish, and scaly; and when they are scratched, the scales fall off; upon which a thin ichor oozes out, which soon dries, and hardens into a scaly crust. These clusters are at first small and few; perhaps only three or four in an arm or leg; but as the disease increases, they become more numerous, and the clusters increase to a considerable breadth, but not exactly round: afterwards it increases to such a degree, that the whole body is covered with a leprous scurf. The author of this work is enabled, on the authority of a friend who

[a] Nosology, Genus 98th.

has often seen the disease, to state, that the apparent depression of the pimple, or bright spot, below the general surface of the skin, although unnoticed by Cullen or Wallis, is yet, as Moses relates, a distinguishing symptom of the disease. Thus do we see then, that it was both infectious to others, and loathsome to themselves; that it was a collection of disagreeable, itchy, hot, burning ulcers at the beginning, and terminated in an universal scurvy; when numberless thin white scales fell from the skin, like bran, and gave it the appearance of snow.[a] Maundrell's account of the lepers whom he saw in the Holy Land is as follows. "When I was in the Holy Land I saw several that laboured under Gehazi's distemper; particularly at Sichem, or Naplosa, there were no less than ten, that came a begging to us at one time. Their manner is to come with small buckets in their hands, to receive the alms of the charitable; their touch being still held infectious, or at least unclean. The distemper, as I saw it in them, was very different from what I saw of it in England; for it not only defiles the whole surface of the body with a foul scurf, but also deforms the joints of the body, particularly those of the wrists and ankles; making them swell with a gouty scrofulous substance, very loathsome to look upon. The whole distemper, as it appeared to me, was so noisome, that it might well pass for the utmost corruption of the human body, on this side the grave." In the Mosaic law, it was considered infectious only in its first stage; that is to say, while the pimples and ulcers continued to spread; for, during that time, the persons infected

[a] Exod. iv. 6. Num. xii. 10. 2 Kings v. 27.

were either shut up, till the priest saw no farther reason, or dwelt without the camp or city,[a] having their clothes rent, their heads bare, and a covering on their upper lip, like mourners:[b] whilst on the approach of any clean person, they were commanded to warn him of his danger, by crying out, "Unclean, unclean." But when the whole body became leprous, that is to say, after it became dry and scaly, it was considered to be no longer dangerous, and the persons were re-admitted into society.[c] Thus Naaman the Syrian, although a leper, was captain of the host of the king of Syria, and a great man with his master, and honourable.[d] And Jesus, when at Bethany, was entertained in the house of one Simon a leper.[e] It does not appear that the Jewish physicians attempted a cure of this disease; but it has often yielded to modern practice. And I may add, that other nations besides the Jews had distinctive habits for lepers: for Megabyzus, having escaped from Cyrta, a town near the Red Sea, where he had been banished by Artaxerxes Longimanus, travelled under the habit and disguise of one, to his own house at Susa or Shushan, where, by the interest of his wife and his mother, he was reconciled to the king.[f]

The next disease which we shall mention is that which was inflicted on Job; and of which he so feelingly complains, in several parts of his book. Commentators have differed as to its peculiar nature; but the best informed have fixed upon *Elephantiasis*, as a disease well known in eastern

[a] Num. v. 2. [b] Ezek. xxiv. 17, 22. Micah iii. 7.
[c] Levit. xiii. 13—17. [d] 2 Kings v. i. [e] Matth. xxvi. 6.
[f] Prideaux, Connex. A. A. C. 446.

countries, and corresponding with the hints which Job gives of it, in his conversations with his friends. The following is an abridgment of what is said of it by Dr. Heberden[a] and Michaelis.[b] It begins with a sudden eruption of tubercles, or tumours of different sizes, of a red colour, attended with great heat and itching on different parts of the body; and a degree of fever by which the skin acquires a remarkably shining appearance. But when the fever abates, the tubercles become either indolent knots, or in some degree scirrhous, and of a livid or copper colour; and after some months, they degenerate into fetid ulcers. As the disease advances, the features of the face swell, the hair of the eyebrows falls off, the voice becomes hoarse, the breath exceedingly offensive, the skin of the body unusually loose, wrinkled, rough, destitute of hairs, and overspread, in some places, with tumours, and in others with ulcers, or with a thick, moist, scabby crust, upon those parts which have begun to dry up. And the legs are sometimes emaciated and ulcerated, sometimes affected with tumours, without ulceration, and sometimes swelled like posts, and indurated, having very thin scales, apparently much finer than those in leprosy, only not so white; whilst the soles of the feet, being thicker than the rest of the skin, feel peculiarly pained by the tumours and ulcers. Nor have they even intermissions of ease, by refreshing rest; for as their days are rendered wretched, by the distension of the skin by tumours, and a succession of burning, ill-conditioned ulcers; so their nights are tormented by perpetual restlessness, or fright-

[a] Medical Transact. vol. i. [b] Recueil de Questions.

ful dreams. The accuser of the brethren, therefore, evidently showed his sagacity and malice, when he selected this as the most likely mean to provoke Job to impatience.

But having described the leading features of the disease, let us next attend to the hints which are given us in the Book of Job, and see whether the one corresponds with the other. In ch. ii. 7, 8, we are told, that "Satan smote Job with sore boils, from the sole of his foot even to his crown; and that he took a potsherd to scrape himself." This is evidently descriptive of elephantiasis, in its most active and rapid state, when the body is covered with tumours, which break into ulcers, and the skin becomes scaly. In ch. vi. 4, Job complains that "the arrows of the Almighty were within him, and that the poison thereof drank up his spirit;" thereby comparing the pain he felt, to that experienced from poisoned arrows; whilst the infection of the disease, like the influence of poison, spread itself over the whole frame. It was stated as an attendant on elephantiasis, that the patient could obtain no refreshing sleep, but was tormented with restlessness and frightful dreams. Accordingly, Job in ch. vii. 3, 4, 13, 14, 15, complains in the following mournful manner: "I am made to possess months of vanity, and wearisome nights are appointed to me. When I lie down, I say, When shall I arise, and the night be gone? and I am full of tossings to and fro unto the dawning of the day.—When I say, My bed shall comfort me, my couch shall ease my complaint; then thou scarest me with dreams, and terrifiest me through visions: so that my soul chooseth strangl-

ing, and death rather than my life." The itchiness of ill-conditioned ulcers has often been ascribed to animalculæ, and their stench is intolerable. Accordingly, Job says in ch. vii. 5, "My flesh is clothed with worms and clods of dust: my skin is broken, and become loathsome." It was said that the tumours and ulcers were peculiarly painful on the soles of the feet, from the thickness of the skin in those parts; and to that he refers in ch. xiii. 27, where he says, "Thou settest a print upon the heels of my feet;" literally, "Thou imprintest thyself, that is, thy wrath on the soles of my feet." It was noticed that the skin in elephantiasis, when the disease hath become general, is loose, rough, and wrinkled; and Job, in ch. xvi. 8, complains of this very thing, that "his skin was filled with wrinkles." An offensive breath was mentioned as another evil, under which the patient laboured; and this was the case with Job, for he complains in ch. xvii. 1, that "his breath was corrupt; that his days were extinct; and that the grave was ready for him," as for a putrid carcass; adding in verse 14th, "I have said to corruption; Thou art my father; and to the worm, Thou art my mother, and my sister." The only other notice we have of the disease is in ch. xxx. 17, 30; where we hear him complaining that his bones were pierced with acute pain in the night season; and that his sinews, by their starting, gave him no rest;—that his skin was black upon him; and his bones were burnt up with heat:—all which accord well with the disease in question, when it hath taken possession of the system, and hath filled the body with livid, copper-coloured, scirrhous tumours, or black

corrupted ulcers. Upon the whole, then, it appears probable, that the disease with which Job was afflicted was elephantiasis.

In Levit. xxvi. 16, we read of a third disease, with which the people of Judea were visited, namely, consumption.—"I will even appoint over you consumption and the burning ague;" which consumption and burning ague may either be taken as symptoms of the same disease, or as two different diseases. It is natural to think, that from the very great difference of temperature in Judea in the night and in the day, the inhabitants would be apt to contract colds, and that these, when neglected, would fix upon the lungs, produce consumption, and often prove fatal. The burning ague, considered as a disease, is, strictly speaking, distinct from consumption; for although it has shivering, burning, and sweating fits, like consumption, yet these are at certain stated intervals; the disease has no peculiar determination to the lungs; and it is far less hopeless.—But, although our translators have rendered the word "burning ague," it should be noticed, that Parkhurst renders it "a wasting consumption, or atrophy," and thereby unites it with consumption, as one of its severer symptoms.

Fever is another disease that is mentioned in Scripture.—Thus, Peter's wife's mother lay sick of a fever when Christ healed her:[a] and the nobleman's son at Capernaum was at the point of death by a fever, when he entreated the aid of Jesus.[b] In general, the fevers of hot climates are more violent, and come sooner to a crisis, than in tem-

[a] Matth. viii. 14. [b] John iv. 47—52.

perate ones. Accordingly, Moses threatened the Israelites with this, among other evils, if they should prove disobedient, Deut. xxviii. 22, "The Lord shall smite thee with a consumption and with a fever:" the original word signifies "a burning inflammatory fever," which does immense execution in a short time.—And it is probably to this, also, that he refers in the same 22d verse, when he adds, that they would be visited with "inflammation and extreme burning."

In Deut. xxviii. 27, 28, we have an additional catalogue of diseases: "the botch of Egypt, emerods, scab, itch which could not be cured, madness, and blindness." As for the botch of Egypt, the word signifies an inflammatory swelling, burning boil, or morbid tumour, attended with a sense of heat, which the people of Egypt have always been afflicted with. The following is Dr. Clarke's account of it: "At the period of the overflow (of the Nile), persons who drink the water become subject to the disorder called prickly heat: this often terminates in those dreadful wounds alluded to in Scripture by the words boils and blains."[a]

[a] Travels, vol. iii. p. 38. This prickly heat (Lichen tropicus) is not confined to Egypt, and the overflow of the Nile, but is common in tropical climates. The following account of it, as felt at Vellore, seventy miles from Madras, was communicated by an officer in the Hon. East India Company's service. "There is a very troublesome thing here, called the prickly heat. It makes the surface of the body appear as if one had the measles. He feels uncommonly itchy; and the more he scratches, the more he would. It is not troublesome when he is cool; but if he becomes heated by exercise, or drinks any warm liquid, it sets on him immediately. It is one of the primary effects of climate on a European constitution, and is accounted a symptom of health." In Mr. Johnston's excellent treatise on the Influence of Tropical Climates on European Constitutions, p. 25—28, we have a minute account of it.

Emerods are painful swellings, or tumours, either within or without the anus, occasioned by obstructions in the hemorrhoidal vessels. If mere swellings, they are called blind piles; and if accompanied with a discharge of blood, they are called bloody piles, or emerods. It was with this disease that God smote the inhabitants of Ashdod, in consequence of their having captured the ark:[a] and it was with this that the father of Publius is thought by some to have been afflicted when Paul cured him;[b] unless we rather prefer the putrid or contagious dysentery, which is a bloody flux, attended with fever. The scab, and incurable itch, of which Moses speaks in the above-mentioned passage, must evidently have been distressing to the persons afflicted with them, and showed a vitiated state of the humours at the surface of the body. Madness is next threatened by him, which is always a most dismal disease; and as for blindness, with which he concludes the catalogue, it is often the consequence of ophthalmia in Egypt and its neighbourhood. Josephus, in his History of Herod, tells us, that after the death of Mariamne, he had "an inflammation upon him, and a pain in the hinder part of his head, joined with madness:" but we have little that is satisfactory as to the method of cure; for all that we are told is, that "the remedies which were used did him no good, but proved contrary to his case, and brought him to despair; that they therefore allowed him to eat whatever he chose; and so left the small hopes they had of his recovery in the power of diet, and committed him

[a] 1 Sam. v. 6—9. [b] Acts xxviii. 8.

to fortune."[a] This, in general, was too often the result of the ancient practice.

Bowel complaints were another of those diseases to which the Jews were subject. The priests especially were afflicted with them, in consequence of their going bare-footed, during divine service in the temple; and they had a physician of their own for this complaint. It was a disease of this kind with which God visited Jehoram, king of Judah, in consequence of his wickedness. He had great sickness by a disease in his bowels, till, at the end of two years, they fell out.[b]

We find an instance of menorrhagia in Mark v. 25, 26, which lasted twelve years, in spite of all the skill of the physicians. Perhaps curiosity may wish to know what remedies the Jewish materia medica then furnished. The following are a few of them: Take gum of Alexandria the weight of a zuz, alum one zuz, crocus hortensis one zuz, bruise them together, put them in wine, and give. If that be unsuccessful, take of Persian onions three logs, boil them in wine, and give to drink. And if that be unsuccessful, set her in a place where two ways meet, let her hold a cup of wine in her hand, and let some person come behind her and frighten her, and say, Arise from thy flux. Should that do no good, take cummin one handful, crocus one handful, fœnum Græcum one handful, boil them in wine, and give her to drink. And should that have no effect, let them dig seven ditches, in which let them burn some cuttings of such vines as are not circumcised, (that is, as are not yet four years old,) and let her take in her

[a] Antiq. xv. 7.

[b] 2 Chron. xxi. 15—19.

hand a cup of wine, and sit over the first ditch: let them lead her away from the first, and make her sit down over the second, and from that to the next, till they have taken her to all the seven; and let them say at each removal, Arise from thy flux. Dr. Lightfoot says, that there are at least ten other receipts for the same complaint, in that part of the Talmud from which these are taken: so that it is nothing wonderful that she had suffered many things, as the evangelist says, of many physicians.[a]

The plague is spoken of in Scripture, but it is used in different senses. Thus when God punished the Israelites in the wilderness with any calamity, on account of their disobedience, it was called a plague;[b] and when Solomon dedicated the temple, he prayed that God would hear the Israelites, when labouring under whatever plague or sickness.[c] But there is a particular disease known by that name, in the neighbourhood of Judea, and of a most dangerous nature; for it is, properly speaking, owing to a specific contagion, which suddenly produces inflammation and delirium, followed by the most considerable debility in the nervous system, and a general putrescency in the solids. Now they are in health; in three hours after, they are highly delirious: the inflammatory symptoms are then succeeded by the nervous and putrid; and death, in two or three days, closes the scene. Thucydides gives a minute and affecting account of the plague at Athens, in the time of the Peloponnesian war, lib. ii. We are ignorant what methods the ancient physicians resorted to,

[a] Lightfoot's Heb. and Talm. Exer. on Mark v. 26.

[b] Num. xi. 33. [c] 1 Kings viii. 37.

but in no complaint have the moderns been more divided; the rapidity of the symptoms leaving little time for experiments, in individual cases.

The next disease we shall mention, though certainly far less terrible, is that of Hezekiah in 2 Kings xx. 7, and Is. xxxviii. 21, who was afflicted with a boil that threatened his life; and for the cure of which, the prophet Isaiah applied a lump of figs, as a poultice or plaster. Does not this seem to say, that the king's physicians had exerted all their skill in vain, and that a poultice of figs, in such a case, made no part of their medical treatment? The cure, however, was not an unnatural one, although supernaturally suggested; for modern practitioners agree, that figs are employed with success, in ripening imposthumes, healing ulcers and quinsy; and it is presumable that Hezekiah had some such disease, though Scripture makes no particular mention of it. Prideaux, however,[a] heightens the danger, by making it the pestilence; and the boil he complained of, to have been a pestilential boil; but on what authority I know not. We are ignorant how far the knowledge of this cure of so illustrious a person might extend; but the application of figs to boils and tumours was well known to the heathen physicians of later times.[b] This case, therefore, of Hezekiah, indicates three things: 1st, The very limited knowledge which the Jewish physicians had of diseases. 2d, That though God can cure by a miracle, he

[a] Connex. vol. i. p. 20.

[b] Thus Pliny, Hist. Nat. xxiii. 7, tells us, "Folia, et, quæ non maturuere, fici, strumis illinuntur, omnibusque quæ emolienda sunt discutiendave;" and Celsus, v. 11, observes, "Ad discutienda ea, quæ in corporis parte aliqua coierunt, maxime possunt ficus aridæ."

also gives sagacity, to discover and apply the most natural remedies; and 3d, That when the days of man are to be prolonged, means are used to accomplish it: for Hezekiah, who expected nothing but death, had, in consequence of this cure, and the declaration of God, fifteen years added to his life.

The Psalmist[a] mentions two diseases with which the Jews and other eastern nations were sometimes visited, viz. the stroke of the sun, and lunacy. "The sun shall not smite thee by day, nor the moon by night." When we come to treat of the Jewish atmosphere and its phenomena,[b] some remarks will be made on the first of these; I shall here, therefore, only attend to the last. Experience tells us, that the moon hath an effect on those of a nervous habit, and that persons labouring under mental derangement, are more than ordinarily affected when the moon is either new or at the full. Might not this have been the case in a greater degree in Judea, where the general habit was more relaxed? And might there not, therefore, have been historical truth, as well as poetical allusion, in the words of the Psalmist? Indeed, we find lunatics several times mentioned in the New Testament.

Anointing with oil was another custom, anciently in use in certain diseases. Thus Rabbi Simeon, the son of Eleazar, permitted Rabbi Meir to mingle wine and oil, and to anoint the sick on the sabbath; and he himself was once sick, and they sought to do so to him, but he permitted them not. In one of their traditions, anointing on the sabbath is permitted. Thus if the head ache, or if a scall come upon it, he anoints it with oil. And else-

[a] Ps. cxxi. 6. [b] Part xii. sect. 3.

where it is said, "If he be sick, or have a scall upon his head, he anoints according to the manner."[a] These traditions, then, show that anointing with oil was accounted a remedy for cutaneous diseases, or for boils which might have occasioned sickness; and that its intention was to lubricate the part; but the practice was apt to be abused, for it was very common for the Jews to use charming and anointing together. Thus, in the Jerusalem Talmud, we are told that a man who charmed, put oil upon his head and charmed—that they charmed for an evil eye, serpents, scorpions, &c.—and that they even charmed over sick persons in the name of Jesus Pandira.[b] The apostle James, therefore,[c] corrects this abuse, and turns what is profitable in it to a good purpose; for he says, "Is any sick among you? Let him call (not for the charmers, but) for the elders of the church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord; and the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up." Not that the anointing with oil was more effectual in their hands than in those of others, as to the thing itself, for it was still but a medical application; but it withdrew the patients from applying to magicians; it gave an opportunity to the elders to administer religious instruction and consolation; and, if confined to the primitive church, it might have been one of those miraculous means appointed by God, to show the divinity of the doctrines which these elders taught. Their duty was to visit the sick at all times, when in-

[a] Lightf. Harm. of New Test. A. C. 63.

[b] Lightf. ut supra. Other nations, besides the Jews, followed the same practice. See particularly Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, book i. ch. 4. Surgery of the Druids.

[c] Ch. v. 14.

vited so to do; and if, in any particular case, they felt a peculiar afflatus, which convinced them that the person with whom they were was a proper subject for a miracle, they were then to yield to the suggestion, to use the appointed means, and to anoint him with oil, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. This last sense is perfectly conformable with the words of the apostle, and derives confirmation, first, from the prayer of faith saving the sick; secondly, from the Lord recovering, perhaps immediately, the person prayed for; and, thirdly, from its being added, that if he had committed sins, these should be forgiven him.—The above observations illustrate the words of Mark vi. 13, where it is said, that the twelve apostles, when they were sent out by Jesus on a short itinerancy, to preach the gospel, "cast out many devils, and anointed with oil many that were sick, and healed them." They cured many demoniacs, and feeling a peculiar afflatus when many sick persons were brought to them, they prayed over them, anointing them with oil in the name of the Lord, and their prayer of faith was immediately answered, by the perfect cure of those for whom they prayed.[a]

We are not informed of the name of that disease, by which Herod the Great died, but the following symptoms, and method of cure, may throw some additional light on the state of medicine among the Jews: "A fire glowed within him, which did not so much appear to the touch outwardly, as it augmented his pains inwardly; for it brought upon him a violent appetite for food; his bowels were

[a] See a learned dissertation on the subject in Ikenii Dissert. Theolog. tom. ii. dissert. 15.

ulcerated; an aqueous and transparent liquor settled itself about his feet; a like matter afflicted him at the bottom of his belly; and when he sat upright he had a difficulty in breathing, which was very loathsome on account of its stench; and he had convulsions in all parts of his body, which debilitated him in an unsufferable degree." Such is the account which is given of his case by Josephus.[a] The disease seems to have been diabetes, ending in dropsy. And the method of cure prescribed was, first to drink and bathe in the hot wells at Callirrhoe, beyond Jordan; and when these had not the desired effect, the physicians bathed him in a vessel full of oil, which had nearly cost him his life.[b]

It deserves to be noticed, that Antiochus Epiphanes, and Herod Agrippa, who killed James with the sword, both died of worms;[c] but their case is accounted a judgment of God, on account of their impiety and persecuting spirit.—We may add from Buxtorff, that, notwithstanding their numerous purifications, the Jews were afflicted with various diseases, besides these already mentioned, viz. mori, vari, ecthyma, sacer ignis, comitialis morbus, pestilentia, &c.; that they had no great knowledge of physic, and that their treatment consisted either in magical charms, the most simple internal remedies, or external applications."[d] It will

[a] Antiq. xvii. 6. [b] In his Wars of the Jews, i. 33, Josephus recounts the symptoms somewhat differently, but the method of cure is the same. [c] 2 Maccab. ix. 5—10. Acts xii. 23. Galerius, who ruled over the eastern part of the Roman empire, after the abdication of Diocletian, and so cruelly persecuted the Christians, was smitten with the same disease, A. D. 310; as was also Huneric, the Vandal, the dreadful persecutor of the western Christians, A. D. 485. (Milner's Hist. of the Church of Christ, cent. iv. ch. 1; cent. v. ch. 11.)

[d] Synag. Judaic. cap. 45.

be in the recollection of the classical scholar, that the physicians of Homer were rather surgeons than physicians. And Josephus, in his account of his own life, tells us of one Joseph, the son of a female physician; which is alone sufficient to convince us that the medical art had made no great progress in Judea in his days.

There is still another circumstance connected with the present subject, which, although an anomaly, ought not to be overlooked; I mean the remarkable cases of demoniacal possession which are mentioned in Scripture. These have, indeed, been denied by some authors; and attempts have been made to account for them, either as the effects of natural disease, or the influence of imagination on persons of a nervous habit. But the following observations of Dr. Campbell, in his dissertations on the gospels, abundantly refute it: "If there had been no more to urge," says he, "from sacred writ, in favour of the common opinion, than the name δαιμονιζομενος, or even the phrases δαιμονιον εχειν, εκβαλλειν, &c., I should have thought their explanation at least not improbable; but when I find mention made of the number of demons, in particular possessions; their actions so expressly distinguished from those of the man possessed; conversations held by the former, in regard to the disposal of them, after their expulsion; and accounts given how they were actually disposed of;—when I find desires and passions peculiarly ascribed to them, and similitudes taken from the conduct which they usually observe, it is impossible for me to deny their existence, without admitting that the sacred historians were either deceived themselves,

with regard to them, or intended to deceive their readers; nay, if they were faithful historians, this reflection, I am afraid, will strike still deeper."[a] Such are the words of this excellent writer.—But another question still occurs, viz. how it happened that these possessions were so frequent in the days of our Saviour, and so little heard of afterwards? The following is offered as a solution. When the devil deceived our first parents, and thereby ruined their posterity, he was contented to rule in their minds, and by various arts, addressed to their corrupt passions and inclinations, effected their destruction; but four thousand years' experience in the arts of seduction made him more bold. Having extended his dominion over the greater part of the Jewish and Gentile world, he thought he might advance a step farther than he had hitherto done; and, accordingly, instead of contenting himself with influencing the minds, he began to take possession of the bodies of men. Such was the state of things when Christ appeared. He came to destroy the works of the devil. The strong man had long kept the house, but a stronger than he came to cast him out. He appeared, therefore, infinitely superior to the devil and his angels: they were in the utmost dread of his power; they instantly obeyed his mandate, and would have given their testimony to his exalted character, if he would have permitted them. Here, then, do we see the reason why Christ delayed so long his coming. It was to give full time for the devil to establish his power; and when that power was at its height, he destroyed it. Philosophers had in vain attempted the task; they

[a] Prelim. Dissert. vi. part i. sect. 10.

wielded the sword and the shield of philosophy against his temptations, and fondly hoped, by means of these, to rescue men from his power, but they were disappointed. Age after age they lamented their inefficacy, and longed for a person divinely commissioned, to dispel the clouds of ignorance, break the bands of sinful desire, and introduce a new era of knowledge and happiness among men.[a] Their wish has been granted; Jesus has appeared, and life and immortality are brought to light by his gospel.

We cannot close this short account of the state of medicine in Judea, without adverting to the vast advantage which that science has acquired by the introduction of Christianity. That divine religion has dispelled the ignorance and prejudice which had so long shackled the human mind; taught the value of health and life to beings who were acting for eternity; and led to operations on the living subject, and dissections of the dead. To the same benevolent source may we refer all those charitable institutions which constitute the glory of modern times; and the numerous hospitals which are every where opened for the reception of the diseased and unfortunate. They were unknown to the polished nations of antiquity, and are still strangers to those lands where the light of the gospel hath never shone. Their incalculable utility is confined to Christendom, being the fruit of that humanity which the gospel recommends.

[a] Besides the usual authorities quoted in support of this truth by Lardner and others, see a remarkable passage in the Second Alcibiades of Plato, and the observation with which he concludes the fable of the Golden Age.

SECT. XIV.

Treatment of the Dying and Dead.

The hours for visiting the sick; conduct of visitors. Dying persons addressed their children and relations; made their latter will. A strange custom of changing the name of the dying person. After death the nearest relation kissed the deceased, and closed his eyes; the other relations tore their upper garment; spectators tore theirs only a hand-breadth; women hired to cry; minstrels; Sir John Chardin's account of their lamentations. The dead body washed; wrapt in spices; bound in grave-clothes; laid in an upper chamber. The Egyptian method of embalming. The persons employed about a dead body accounted unclean. Funerals, either public or private; insignia suited to the person's character laid on the coffin; hired mourners; Dr. Shaw's account of them; minstrels at the funeral; ceremonies at the grave: the sittings and standings in their return to the house; seven of these; mourning for the dead either extraordinary by lamentations, tearing the hair, cutting their bodies, &c. or ordinary, by tears, tearing the upper garment, covering the lip. Entertainment after the funeral. The ordinary mourning before the funeral; for the first three days after; for the next four; for the remaining twenty-three. Funerals of children; cemeteries always without cities; potter's field; public burying place; regulations concerning them. Private burying places; the tomb of Nimrod; Rachel's sepulchre; Joseph's soros; Isaiah's and David's tombs; Absalom's pillar; Esther's, Ezekiel's, and Daniel's tombs; tombs of Hosea, Jonah, Zecharias, and Lazarus. Sepulchres of families commonly in caves; these described; tomb of Lazarus; tombs of the Judges; sepulchral monument over the Maccabæan family; sepulchres of the kings of Syria and Israel; money said to have been in David's sepulchre examined; all the sepulchres white-washed on the 15th of the 12th month; garnishing sepulchres accounted meritorious. The written mountains in the wilderness of Sinai. Two Hebrew epitaphs; the bodies of criminals left without burial. Testamentary deeds of the Jews. Their ideas of a future state.

1. *Treatment while dying.*—Visiting the sick was enjoined to be neither in the three morning,

nor in the three evening hours, from motives of delicacy and convenience for the distressed; and when people went, they commonly said, "God pity you, and all the sick among the Israelites." If the person in distress was dangerously ill, either the friends, or some Rabbi, discoursed with him on subjects suited to his situation; and if near death, they had a formula for the confession of sin, which is given by Buxtorff:[a] for they considered a natural death as the expiation of all his sins; a doctrine which, although it might soothe the patient, was of dangerous tendency to his eternal interests. At the approach of death, the dying person assembled his children around his bed, and blessed them; well knowing that the heart was then susceptible, and that the instructions of a dying parent might be remembered, when his body was mouldering in the grave. The patient then, also, if not formerly, made his will, bequeathing his property equitably among his children, and if he was rich, he gave legacies to the poor, for the endowment of schools, and for the erecting of synagogues. They had a strange custom, of changing the name of the person before he died, the reason of which will be seen in the following prayer: "O God, take pity on *N*, and restore him to his former health; let him be called henceforth *O;* let him be glad in his new name, and let it be confirmed to him. Be pleased, we entreat thee, O God, that this change of name may abolish all the hard and evil decrees against him, and destroy the broad sentence. If death be decreed upon *N* (his former name,) it is not decreed upon *O* (his present

[a] Synag. Jud. cap. 49.

one.) If an evil decree was made against *N*, lo, this hour he is another man, a new creature, and, like a child, born to a good life and length of days." In the prospect of death, the patient was never left alone, that he might receive advice and every attendance ;[a] and when about to expire, the nearest relation, or dearest friend, closed his eyes and kissed him. Hence Philo, when relating Jacob's complaints on the unexpected death of Joseph, makes him say, that "he will not have the comfort of closing his eyes, and giving him the last embrace;" a custom also among the heathens, as is evident from the quotations given below.[b]

2. Treatment between the death and funeral.—When the person had breathed his last, the nearest relations tore their upper garment from head to foot, but the spectators tore only about a hand-breadth in length, on the left side,[c] which was also a heathen practice.[d] Immediately upon the decease, dismal cries were raised by the people in the house, and their neighbours, who thronged in on hearing of the event.[e] And at the death of those in better condition, women were hired to howl, and

[a] Buxtorff, Synag. Jud. cap. 49.

[b] —— Extremus si quis super halitus errat,
Ore legam. Virgil. Æn, iv. 684.
Sospite te saltem moriar, Nero, tu mea conde
Lumina, et excipias hanc animam ore pio.
Livia apud Albinovanum.
Hærentemque animam non tristis in ora mariti
Transtulit. Statius.

[c] Buxtorff, Synag. Jud. cap. 49. The high priest tore his below, and a common priest above. (Mishna, Tractat. de Judicum Documentis, cap. iii. sect. 5.)

[d] ——— It scissâ veste Latinus,
Conjugis attonitus fatis. Virgil. Æn. xii. 609, 610.

[e] Mark calls it θορυβον, a tumult, ch. v. 38.

sing doleful ditties, in which honourable mention was made of the age, beauty, strength, courage, virtues, and actions of the deceased,[a] with the intention of increasing the sorrow of the afflicted relations;[b] and minstrels[c] were employed to accompany them with instruments of music.[d] But what kinds of lamentations these were, will be best understood by the following extract from Sir John Chardin's manuscript observations, as quoted by Harmer. "I was lodged, in the year 1676, at Ispahan, in Persia, near the royal square. The mistress of the house next mine died at that time in the night. The moment she expired, all the family, to the number of 25 or 30 people, set up such a furious cry, that I was quite startled. These cries continued a long time, and then ceased all at once. They began again at day-break, as suddenly, and in concert. It is this suddenness which is so terrifying, together with a greater shrillness and loudness than one can easily imagine." In Barbary they term this screaming *woulliah woo*, because it consists in the repetition of that word.

But let us attend to their care of the corpse. The first thing done was to extend the body on a cloth, on the floor or table, with the face covered, and to wash it[e] with a warm infusion of camomile flowers and dried roses.[f] That was done for two reasons; to restore life if suspended, and to make the perfumes enter the pores more easily.[g] Women

[a] Acts ix. 39. [b] Jer. ix. 17, 18.
[c] Matth. ix. 23. Joseph. Bello Jud. lib. iii.
[d] Macnight's Harm. sect. 35. [e] Acts ix. 37.
[f] Buxtorff, Synag. Jud. cap. 49.
[g] Corpusque lavant frigentis et unguunt.
Virgil. Æn. vi. 219.

were the persons formerly employed in that office; and hence the two Marys went to the sepulchre of our Lord;[a] but afterwards it was thought more decorous to employ persons of the same sex. When the washing of the corpse was completed, it was laid on a table, all the vents were shut up, and the process of embalming commenced; but the embalming was different, according to the rank or vanity of the deceased. The most common way was to anoint the body with a solution of some odoriferous drugs, and wrap it in linen; but to persons of affluence, spices in great abundance were used. Thus Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, because they were wealthy, and wished to do honour to Jesus, wrapped his body in a linen cloth, with a hundred pounds weight of myrrh and lign aloes, which was said to be the manner of the Jews to bury;[b] not that they all employed so many spices, but thereby implying that they merely wrapt the body in spices, and did not embowel it. The two Marys, not knowing what was done by these worthy men, and never suspecting a resurrection, had also prepared spices and ointments.[c] After the washing with water and embalming, the body was bound up in grave-clothes, and laid in an upper chamber.[d] The shrouds were either simple or magnificent[e] according to circumstances; and sometimes they retained their ordinary

[a] Mark xvi. 1. [b] John xix. 39, 40. It is to this that our Saviour alludes, when he says of the woman who poured the alabaster box of ointment on his head, "that she came aforehand to anoint his body with myrrh to the burying:" μυρισαι μου το σωμα εις τον ενταφιασμον. Mark xiv. 8. [c] Luke xxiii. 56. [d] Acts ix. 37.

[e] Like Penelope's web, which was intended as a shroud for Laertes, Odyss. ii. 99.

clothes; or were buried in a shroud of their own preparing.[a]

But although embalming, by being wrapt in spices, was the usual way of the Jews to bury, it was not the only one; for they also embowelled, in the manner of the Egyptians; and the common way of doing it was this: The body was given to the embalmers, who first took out the brain and entrails, and washed them in palm wine, impregnated with strong astringent drugs; after which they began to anoint the body with oil of cedar, myrrh, cinnamon, and cassia, and this lasted thirty days. They next put it into a solution of nitre for forty days longer, so that they allowed seventy days to complete the embalming; after which they wound it up in swathes of linen, besmeared with gum. Being then able to resist putrefaction, it was delivered to the relations, inclosed in a paper or wooden figure, somewhat resembling a coffin, and laid in the catacomb, or cave, belonging to the family.[b] Thevenot says, that "the mummy he examined had above a thousand ells of filleting about the body, besides what was wrapped about the head."[c] The ancient Jewish method seems to resemble the modern eastern practice, however, rather than the ancient Egyptian, which, according to Dr. Perry,[d] consists in wrapping up the body in two, three, or more different sorts of stuffs, according to the circumstances of the deceased, with spices intermixed.

The quantity Nicodemus brought for our Lord,

[a] Basnage's Hist. and Relig. of the Jews, book v. ch. 23.
[b] Herodot. lib. ii. cap. 86, 87, 88. [c] Part i. p. 137.
[d] Page 247.

was larger than needful; but the larger the quantity, the greater the honour:[a] and Asa's bed of spices was profuse for the same reason,[b] whilst burning of odours for kings is expressly mentioned by Jeremiah.[c]—Josephus informs us of the method by which they preserved bodies from putrefaction, till they could be buried in the family vaults, to which they belonged. For he tells us, that "Aristobulus was taken off by poison which had been given him by one of Pompey's party, and for a long time had not so much as a funeral vouchsafed him, in his own country; but his dead body lay above ground preserved in honey, until it was sent to the Jews by Antony, in order to be buried in the royal sepulchres."[d]

Those who were engaged in preparing the body for burial, were considered ceremonially unclean for seven days; the first three more so than the remaining four; and on the last of the first three days, they were sprinkled with water, in which were some of the ashes of the red heifer.[e] According to Sir John Chardin, however, the Persians carry matters farther after the death of their kings, for they displace (mazoul) the physicians and astrologers; the first for not having driven away death, and the second for not having pre-

[a] Joseph. Antiq. lib. xv. [b] 2 Chron. xvi. 14.
[c] Jer. xxxiv. 5. [d] War, i. 9.
[e] Num. xix. 9—13. The Romans had the same idea as to the defilement of a dead body; for after the funeral of Misenus, a person went round to purify the attendants.

Idem ter socios purâ circumtulit undâ,
Spargens rore levi et ramo felicis olivæ:
Lustravitque viros, dixitque novissima verba.
Virgil. Æn. vi. 229—231.

dicted it. And he very ingeniously conjectures, that Daniel had been displaced, or mazoulied, on the death of Nebuchadnezzar; which was the reason why he was unknown to Belshazzar the son, but well known to the queen his mother, who had seen him frequently, and knew his worth, in the days of Nebuchadnezzar, her husband.[a]—From the time that the corpse was shrouded, and taken to an upper chamber, it lay upon a bed till the time of burial, and was either in greater or less state, according to circumstances. If poor, it lay upon a plain bed, in an open coffin or bier; but if rich, in a magnificent coffin, upon a magnificent bed, open to the inspection of all who chose to visit it.

3. *Order of the funeral.*—When the time of the burial arrived, which was commonly within twenty-four hours after death, the relations and friends were the attendants; but if the person deceased had been a public or highly beloved character, the company was very numerous. The widow of Nain had much people of the city at the funeral of her son.[b] At the burial of a Rabbi, some books were commonly laid upon the coffin; and it was reckoned honourable for a warrior to be buried in armour;[c] but a person dying under the sentence of excommunication, had a stone upon the bier, or a stone thrown into the grave, to show that he was worthy of death, because he applied not to have the sentence removed.

The near relations held the pall, or kept their stations near the corpse; and, as a mark of respect, the body was sometimes carried by the company

[a] Daniel v. 10—12. [b] Luke vii. 12. [c] Ezek. xxxii. 27.

in succession.[a] As for the hired mourners, they were of two kinds; women who uttered doleful sounds, and those who played on instruments of music. The women hired to mourn had dishevelled hair, open bosoms, and a particular tone of voice remarkably suited to draw tears. We shall best understand, however, the ancient practice, by attending to the following extract from Dr. Shaw, when describing the Moorish funerals. "There are several women," says he, "hired to act on these lugubrious occasions, who, like the Præficæ, or mourning women of old, are skilful in lamentation,[b] and great mistresses of these melancholy expressions (that is, as he had before remarked, of calling out for several times together, *loo, loo, loo,* in a deep and hollow tone, with several ventriloquous sighs); and indeed, they perform their parts with such proper sounds, gestures, and commotions, that they rarely fail to work up the assembly, into some extraordinary pitch of thoughtfulness and sorrow."[c]—But besides these hired voices, they had also hired instruments. Josephus[d] tells us, that many hired pipers (αυλητας, the very word used in Matth. ix. 23, and translated minstrels,) led the way in these wailings. Even the poorest Israelite, when his wife died, had two pipers and one woman, to make lamentation. The rich had

[a] Basnage, book v. ch. 22. [b] Amos v. 16.

[c] Travels, p. 242. The word αλαλαζοντας, used by Mark, (v. 38.) when speaking of the wailing at the house of the ruler of the synagogue, on the death of his daughter, bears a strong resemblance to the *loo, loo, loo,* of the modern Moors. It originally denoted the shout of the soldiers, when rushing into, or engaged in the heat of the battle, and was afterwards transferred to the excessive wailing for the dead. [d] De Bello, lib. iii.

more, according to their dignity.[a] We have an instance both of singing men and singing women lamenting for Josiah, the king of Judah, in 2 Chron. xxxv. 25; and the following extract from Josephus's account of his own life, will show that the allusion of our Saviour, to the amusements of children, in mock funeral processions, was founded in truth. "The people of Tiberias," says he, "at the sight of me, came running out of the city perpetually, and abused me greatly; nay, their madness went to that height, that they made a bier for me, and standing around it, they mourned over me in the way of sport, and I could not but be myself in a pleasant humour at the sight of their madness."

When arrived at the sepulchre, they said, "Blessed be God, who formed thee, fed thee, preserved thee, and has taken away thy life. O dead! He knows the number of thy members, and shall one day restore thy life. Blessed be he who takes away life and restores it." They then placed the coffin on the ground, walked round it seven times, repeated a prayer, and sometimes an oration, recounting his virtues: after which, the relations threw a handful of earth upon the bier; and in places where burial was used, after the present manner of inhumation, they filled up the grave, consigning the dust of their relation to the dust of death. Coffins were not in general use in Judea; nor are they general even at present in the East. They were very ancient, indeed, in Egypt among the great, and were made of sycamore wood, or of a kind of pasteboard, formed by folding and gluing cloth together a number of times,

[a] Lightfoot's Heb. and Talm. Exer. on Matth. viii. 23.

which were curiously plastered, and then painted with hieroglyphics.[a] But in Judea they seem to have been contented with wrapping the body closely in spices, and carrying it, like the widow of Nain's son, in a σορος, bier, or coffin, to be laid in the sepulchre; or, if poor, it was tumbled into the grave, and the bier or coffin brought back for further use. Hence a coffin to Joseph was looked upon as an honour.[b]—Before leaving the churchyard, the modern Jews each pluck up three handfuls of grass, and throwing it behind them say, "They shall flourish like the grass of the earth."[c] They also, in some places, throw dust on their heads, and say, "We shall follow thee as the order of nature shall require."[d]

At a funeral, there were no salutations, and when they retired, then began the sittings and standings, as they were called, by which the company comforted the relations. The number of persons who composed the minimum in this duty was ten; but it might be as many more as pleased.[e] The common number consisted of all the company, and the custom was, at each sitting and standing, for the relations to sit, and the company to stand round them and weep aloud. Between the grave and the house were seven of these sittings and standings, and they might not be nearer each other than what could contain four cabs of seed;[f] which was fixed to be thirty-three cubits and two hand-

[a] Thevenot, part i. p. 58, 137.

[b] Gen. l. 26. We have a splendid account of Herod the Great's funeral in Josephus, Antiq. xvii. 8. War, i. 33. [c] Ps. lxxii. 16.

[d] Basnage, book v. ch. 23. Buxtorff, Synag. Jud. cap. 49.

[e] Lightfoot's Heb. and Talm. Exer. on Matth. xxv. 1.

[f] Mishna, Codex Tertius de Damnis, cap. vi. sect. 7.

breadths broad, by fifty cubits long; or, as others explain it, the distance between them was regulated by circumstances, but the space allowed them to stand in was of that extent, that they might not be interrupted by the persons who passed.[a]

The entertainment of the company invited to the funeral did not precede, but follow the solemnity. Among the heathen it was either over, or around the grave,[b] but the Jews had it at home. This entertainment was commonly liberal: they drank two cups of wine before it, five while eating, and three after; at least, they had the offer of so many.[c] But as this implied greater abundance than was in the power of many to give, the want was supplied by the liberality of their neighbours, both as a mark of sympathy, and in the expectation that they would return the compliment, when themselves should be visited with a similar affliction.[d] Josephus observes,[e] that "Archelaus, after he had lamented Herod the Great seven days, gave a magnificent entertainment to the people, (independently of that usually given after common funerals,) and that a similar custom ruined many Jews, who were not able to bear the expense of these feasts, and yet they would have been accounted atheists if they had not."

4. *Mourning for the Dead* was either extraordinary or ordinary. Extraordinary mourning was occasioned either by the extraordinary rank or virtue of the individual, or the extraordinary

[a] Lightfoot's Chorog. Decad on Mark, ch. ix. sect. 7, and Heb. and Talm. Exer. on John xi. 19, 25.

[b] Ecclus. xxx. 18. Tobit iv. 17. Jer. xvi. 7.

[c] Lightfoot's Heb. and Talm. Exer. on Matth. ix. 23.

[d] Jer. xvi. 7, 8. Ezek. xxiv. 17, 22. [e] Wars of the Jews, ii. 1.

conduct of the relations; in which last case, they expressed their grief by loud lamentations, frantic looks and gestures, beating the breast,[a] tearing their hair, or cutting themselves with instruments. The weeping of Rachel for the loss of her children was accompanied with lamentation and great mourning.[b] And Job, on hearing of the death of all his sons, shaved his head and sat on ashes.[c]—Nor was it uncommon, in such afflictive cases, for the near relations to clothe themselves in sackcloth, and put ashes on their heads:[d] whilst some of them cut off their hair,[e] in the later periods of the Jewish economy, and laid it on the dead body of their relation, or on the grave, in imitation of the heathen, by whom these were thought acceptable to the dii inferi.[f]—In ordinary cases, however, the expressions of grief were more moderate. They consisted commonly of tears and lamentations;[g] tearing a part of the upper garment; going barefooted, and without any tire on their heads; and the principal mourner having his lower lip covered with a linen cloth,[h] as they were wont to do to the dead; and as the chief mourners, among the Jews in Barbary, do at this day. The leper, it will be recollected, was enjoined this dress, as being, in some measure, a dead person.[i]

The ordinary mourning for the dead was divided into two periods: the first between the time of the death and burial, which was called אנינות,

[a] Nahum ii. 7. [b] Jer. xxx. 15. Matth. ii. 18. [c] Job i. 20; ii. 8.
[d] Is. lxi. 3. Judith x. 3. Jer. vi. 26.
[e] Is. xv. 2. Jer. xvi. 6; xlviii. 37. Ezek. vii. 18.
[f] Homer, Il. xxiii. 135. Potter's Antiq. book iv. ch. 5.
[g] Jer. xxii. 18. 1 Maccab. ix. 20, 21.
[h] Ezek. xxiv. 17. [i] Levit. xiii. 45.

aninut, or the mourning, by way of eminence; and the second for thirty days after the funeral, and called אבלות, *abelut*.[a] Moses and Aaron were mourned thirty days;[b] and this became the ordinary time. The thirty days after the funeral were divided into three portions: the first three days, the next four days, and the last twenty-three days.—The first three days were called "the days of weeping," and were marked by peculiar signs of grief. The beds of the house, where the person died, were taken down, or dismantled, as soon as the corpse was carried out of doors.[c] The relations prepared not their own food on the evening after the funeral, as if unconcerned about life:[d] and when returned to the house, none spake till the principal mourner broke silence: hence the silence of Job's friends.[e] The relations of the deceased, also, visited the grave every day, during these three days; and were more rigid, as to the things they were bound by their traditions to observe. For, on the first of them, it was not lawful to wear their phylacteries; to eat holy things, or, indeed, any thing, unless their health absolutely required it.[f] And during all the three, they might do no servile work; and if any saluted them, they might not return it.—But the height of their mourning was on the third day, when all hope of revival was lost, by the evident marks of putrefaction.—They had, indeed, the notion, like the Greeks and Egyptians, that man

[a] Lightf. Heb. and Talm. Exer. on Matth. ix. 23.
[b] Num. xx. 29. Deut. xxxiv. 8. [c] Basnage, book v. ch. 23.
[d] Buxtorff, Synag. Jud. cap. 49.
[e] Lightf. Heb. and Talm. Exer. on John xi. 19, 39.
[f] Ezek. xxiv. 17, 22.

was composed of three parts, viz. an intelligent mind, called φρην, or ψυχη; a vehicle for that mind, called ειδωλον, the image or soul; and the gross body, σωμα. Homer alludes to this distinction, when mentioning the appearance of Patroclus's shade, to Achilles in a dream;[a] and St. Paul expressly asserts it in 1 Thess. v. 23.—According to their philosophy, therefore, the soul fluttered round the body till the third day, from its great reluctance to part with its old companion, but after that it departed. The third day, therefore, deprived the relations of all hope.[b]

The next four days were called "the days of lamentation." In the case of Lazarus, the three days of weeping were ended, and the first of the four days of lamentation begun.—And it is worthy of remark, that there is a beautiful gradation in the resurrections of the dead performed by our Lord. The first person whom he raised, viz. Jairus's daughter, had been in the state of the dead only a few hours.—The second, namely, the widow of Nain's son, was raised as his friends were carrying him out to burial.—But when Jesus recalled Lazarus to life, he had been in the grave no less than four days; and, therefore, according to our way of apprehending things, his resurrection was the greatest miracle of the three. The whole power of death was accomplished in him, and the whole power of the resurrection showed forth in

[a] Il. xxiii. 66.

[b] Lightf. Heb. and Talm. Exer. on John xi. 19. 39. Harm. N. T. sect. 71. For the moderns who have treated of the three-fold distinction above mentioned, see Doddridge's Lectures, proposition iii. scholium 2.

him.[a] During the first seven days after the funeral, the beds continued dismantled, because the family sat on the ground; they neither washed nor anointed, nor walked with sandals, nor with their heads covered; nor read the law, nor Mishna, nor Talmud;[b] they ate no flesh, drank no wine, except on sabbath, and refrained from worldly business.[c] At the end of seven days they went to the synagogue, to testify their public submission to the disposals of Providence, and intreat of the Almighty to sanctify their trials. But I may observe, that this custom of lamenting the dead seven days, was not peculiar to the Jews; for Ovid, in speaking of Orpheus lamenting his wife, says,

> Septem tamen ille diebus
> Squalidus in ripa Cereris sine munere sedit.
> Cura dolorque animi, lachrymæque alimenta fuere.

So much then for their mourning during the first week.—In all the thirty days, to which their customs extended ordinary grief, they were forbidden to wash, or to wash so clean as ordinary; to shave; to indulge in the luxury of the bath; to anoint; to wear any clothing expressive of joy; or sew the rent which had been made for the dead. I ought to remark, however, that there were some persons whose death was not mourned: viz. those who died under the sentence of excommunication, those guilty of suicide, apostates, atheists, epicureans, and libertines.[d]

[a] Macknight's Harm. of the Evang. sect. 99. We have a beautiful commentary on the resurrection of Lazarus, in Principal Hill's (of St. Andrews) Lectures in Divinity, book i. ch. 5.

[b] Lightf. Heb. and Talm. Exer. on John xi. 19, 25.

[c] Basnage, book v. ch. 23. [d] Buxtorff, Synag. Jud. cap. 49.

Hitherto we have treated of the funerals of adults; let us next attend to the manner in which they buried children. A child below thirty days old, was carried to the grave, under the arm of a woman, with two men attending, either to witness or perform the last duties. A child of thirty days, and below three years, was carried in a little coffin, in men's arms. But all above three years, were carried in a bier on men's shoulders, with many people, who each, in their turn, if occasion required, supported the bier.[a]

5. *Jewish Sepulchres and Inscriptions.*—Cemeteries in Judea were always without the cities. From Levitical cities they were 2000 cubits distant, and from all others a considerable space.[b] Buxtorff says they were fifty cubits at least.[c] Jerusalem was the only city, within whose walls any individuals were ever buried; and even these were limited to the family of David, and the bodies of Jehoiada the high priest,[d] and of Huldah the prophetess.—Burying-places were either public or private. Every city had a public cemetery, for those inhabitants who had no sepulchres of their own: and we read of the Jews purchasing a field, without Jerusalem, for the burial of strangers;[e] meaning, perhaps, the bodies of the proselytes of the gate, and of the Roman soldiers who happened to die there. But the common public burying-places, very probably, resembled that which is given by Dr. Shaw.[f] "Burying-grounds," says he, "occupy a large space, a great extent of ground being

[a] Lightf. Heb. and Talm. Exer. on Luke vii. 12.
[b] Lightf. Chorograph. Dec. on Mark, ch. ix. sect. 7.
[c] Synag. Jud. cap. 49.
[d] 2 Chron. xxiv. 16.
[e] Matth. xxvii. 6—8.
[f] Travels, p. 219.

allotted without their cities, for the burial of their dead. Each family has a proper portion of it, walled in like a garden; where the bones of their ancestors have remained undisturbed for many generations. In these inclosures, the graves are all distinct and separate; whilst the intermediate space is either planted with flowers, bordered round with stone, or paved with tiles." And Mr. Blount tells us,[a] that "those who bestow a marble stone over any, have a hole, a yard long and a foot broad, in which they plant an evergreen, which seems to grow from the body, and is carefully watered."[b] The burying-grounds at Constantinople are thus described by Lady Mary W. Montagu. "They are certainly much larger than the whole city. 'Tis surprising what a vast deal of land is lost this way in Turkey. Sometimes I have seen burying-places of several miles, belonging to very inconsiderable villages, which were formerly great towns, and retain no other mark of their ancient grandeur, than this dismal one. On no occasion do they ever remove a stone that serves for a monument. Some of them are costly enough, being of very fine marble. They set up a pillar, with a carved turban on the top of it, to the memory of a man; and as the turbans, by their different shapes, show the quality or profession, 'tis in a manner putting up the arms of the deceased. Besides, the pillar commonly bears an inscription in gold letters. The ladies have a simple pillar, without other ornament, except those that die unmarried, who have a rose on the top of their monument. The sepulchres of particular families are

[a] Page 197. [b] See also Hasselquist's Travels, p. 28.

railed in, and planted round with trees. Those of the sultans, and some great men, have lamps constantly burning in them."[a]—There were certain regulations concerning these public burial-grounds which were very proper. Thus, they were without cities, to prevent infection; no stream of water was allowed to pass through them, lest it might injure the graves; no public road was permitted, in order to increase their veneration for the dead; no cattle were allowed to graze in them; and every person, on entering them, laid aside his phylacteries. As for the regulation about not entering them, with the law hanging on the arm, that perhaps was meant to preserve that holy book from the danger of pollution.[b]

We have already seen, that even in the public burying-grounds, the private property of individuals was ascertained, and beautified according to the fancy of the relations; but we ought next to attend to those separate and solitary sepulchres, which were built either for individuals, or for families.—Those for individuals were either erected by themselves, or built for them by others: they were of different forms and of different materials, according to circumstances. The most ancient were rude stones or pillars, as memorials of the places where the dead were deposited. We read of Jacob setting up a מַצֵּבָה *metsebè* or pillar, upon or near the grave of Rachel.[c] And the sepulchral monument which Absalom got erected for himself was a מַצֵּבֶת *metsebet* or pillar, only of a more elegant description.[d] Such pillars, among the Greeks,

[a] Letter 35. [b] Lightf. Chorograph. Cent. of Israel, ch. 100.
[c] Gen. xxxv. 20. [d] 2 Sam. xviii. 18.

were very common. When Paris went to shoot at Diomed, he couched behind the pillar, which had been erected upon or near the tumulus of Ilus.[a] At the funeral of Elpenor, Ulysses and his companions formed a tumulus, and erected a pillar over his body.[b] A heap of earth and a pillar are mentioned by Homer, as the usual tokens of respect for the dead;[c] and women, as well as men, were honoured with them.[d] Many of these pillars are still visible in Greece, and mentioned by travellers. Dr. Chandler, among others, when describing Athens, says, that "in the courts of the houses, lie many round stelæ, or pillars, once placed on the graves of the Athenians; and a great number are still to be seen, applied to the same use, in the Turkish burying-grounds, before the Acropolis." —But although these mounds and pillars were the most ancient species of sepulchres, more costly buildings were afterwards erected; especially over those whose names make a figure in the Scripture history. It will be proper therefore to mention such of them as have occurred in the course of our reading.

The following is Burckhardt's account of the tomb of Nimrod. "At three hours and a half," says he, "from the point where the Wady Beit-el-Djanne terminates in the plain, is the village of Kferhauar, (about twelve miles to the west-south-west of Damascus.) Before we entered it, I saw to the left of the road, a tomb which attracted my attention by its size. I was told that it was Kaber Nimroud, (the tomb of Nimrod.) It consists of a

[a] Homer, Il. xi. 371.
[b] Homer, Odyss. xii. 14.
[c] Il. xvi. 457, 675.
[d] Il. xvii. 434, 435.

heap of stones, about twenty feet in length, two feet high, and three feet broad, with a large stone at both extremities, similar to the tombs in Turkish cemeteries. This," he adds, " is probably the Kalaat Nimroud, laid down in maps, to the south of Damascus."[a] Rachel's sepulchre[b] is described by Sandys,[c] as being on the road between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, but near to Bethlehem. " It resembles a great trunk or chest, covered with a cupola, mounted on a square, which hath, on each side, an ample arch, supported only by the corners: the whole is environed by a square wall." This is evidently a structure comparatively modern, but indicative of the place where they believe the remains of Rachel to have been deposited. Chateaubriand[d] gives a similar account of Rachel's grave; and in Luigi Mayer's Views in Palestine, we have a beautiful plate of the sepulchre of Rachel. Dr. Clarke[e] gives strong reasons for believing, that the soros in the open pyramid at Gizeh, which has so often been described as the sepulchre of Cheops, one of the kings of Egypt, is none other than the coffin into which Joseph was put, while the Israelites were in that country,[f] and which they opened at their departure, to take from thence his bones, that he had made them swear to carry with them to the land of Canaan. On measuring the soros, the Doctor found its length, on the outside, to be seven feet three and a half inches; its depth three feet three and three-fourth

[a] Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, p. 46.
[b] Gen. xxxv. 20. 1 Sam. x. 2. [c] Travels, p. 137.
[d] Travels, vol. i. p. 376. [e] Travels, vol. iii. p. 182—197.
[f] Gen. l. 26.

inches; and its breadth the same. Its position in the chamber was north and south: and its materials granite finely polished, without sculpture or engraving of any kind.[a] It is some confirmation of the Doctor's opinion, that the Septuagint speaks of Joseph's coffin as being a soros.—The above pyramid was the only open one, till March 1818, when Mr. Belzoni, an Italian architect, effected that which many celebrated travellers had attempted in vain, for centuries past; and, as the discovery is an important one, since many have supposed that these enormous masses were built by the Israelites while in Egypt, it may not be ungratifying to insert an account of it. "On the 18th Feb. last, Mr. Belzoni, at his own expense, began his project, of opening a way into the second pyramid of Gizeh, called that of Chefrem. In the first place, he caused an excavation to be made towards the northern front, by following a perpendicular line from its centre. Having discovered that there was no opening in this place, he commenced farther researches, about thirty feet east of the middle; and, on the 2d March, he found the real entrance, which is a gallery of granite, that led to a hanging door, also of granite. Having caused it to be raised, he found himself in a horizontal gallery, from whence he descended perpendicularly into a second, and thence by a staircase into a third, which conducted him into an apartment, where he found a sarcophagus containing human bones embalmed. The sarcophagus was of large red-grained granite, eight feet seven inches long,

[a] Luigi Mayer, in his Views in Egypt, has given us a beautiful plate of it, and of the chamber where it stands.

two feet six inches wide, and two feet five inches deep, beautifully polished, without any hieroglyphics, or ornaments of any kind, either on it, or on the chamber. Proceeding by a shelving gallery, he arrived in another horizontal one, passing along which, he perceived, when about half way, a passage that led towards the south, into a second apartment. At the extremity of this horizontal plane, Mr. Belzoni saw a niche, cut for the purpose of fixing a granite door, that lay near. From this place he ascended by a short passage, about the height of forty-seven feet, to a stone wall by which it was closed. At this spot, he perceived stones cut and laid in such a manner, as to close the entrance of this passage, near the base of the pyramid."[a] From this account it seems proved, that those pyramids were really the sepulchres of some of the early Egyptian kings; and the presumption of Dr. Clarke is not thereby lessened, that the other open one was the sepulchre of Joseph; for, from his high office and distinguished services, he might have been buried with all the honours of royalty. But let us proceed to some of the other sepulchres of illustrious individuals.

The following is Captain Light's account of that which is pointed out, as belonging to David the king of Israel.[b] "I went," says he, "to the castle built on Mount Sion, near which is the mosque of David, whose tomb is supposed to be there, the veneration for which is equal to that for the mosque

[a] Dumfries and Galloway Courier, for 1st Sept. 1818. Since which time, M. Belzoni has published his Narrative of the Operations and Recent Discoveries within the Pyramids, with Plates.

[b] 1 Kings ii. 10.

of Solomon (on the ancient site of the Holy of Holies); and no Christian is allowed to visit either."[a] Chateaubriand is more particular; for he says, "it is a small vaulted room, containing three sepulchres of dark coloured stone.[b]

Absalom's pillar[c] is thus described by Chateaubriand. "Having passed the bridge over the brook Cedron, you come to the sepulchre of Absalom, at the foot of the Mount of Offence. It is a square mass, measuring eight feet each way, composed of a single rock, hewn from the neighbouring hill, from which it stands only fifteen feet detached. The ornaments of this sepulchre consist of twenty-four semi-columns of the Doric order, not fluted, six on each front of the monument. These columns form an integral part of the block, having been cut out of the same mass with it. On the capital is the frieze, with the triglyph, and above the frieze rises a socle, which supports a triangular pyramid, too lofty for the total height of the tomb.—The pyramid is not of the same piece as the rest of the monument."[d] It deserves to be added, that the heap of stones which surround its base, although unnoticed by Chateaubriand, is mentioned by other writers as continually increasing; from the Jews and Turks always throwing some as they pass, in token of their abhorrence of the unnatural rebellion of Absalom.[e]

The following is Mr. Bell of Antermony's account of the tomb of Esther. "I was told," says

[a] Travels, p. 157. [b] Travels, vol. ii. p. 31.
[c] 2 Sam. xviii. 18. [d] Travels, vol. ii. p. 100.
[e] Encycl. Perth. art. Jerusalem. See a beautiful print of the sepulchre of Absalom in Views of Palestine, from the original drawings of Luigi Mayer.

he, "at Ispahan, that about two days journey from Ispahan, are distinguishable the remains of the tomb of Queen Esther, a lady celebrated in holy writ for many virtues. This, and many other places, I intended to have examined on the spot, but was unluckily prevented for want of time."[a] What he could not accomplish has, however, been performed by others. For Sir John Malcolm[b] tells us, that the sepulchre of Esther and Mordecai stands near the centre of the city of Hamadan; and in vol. ii. p. 524, he gives us a drawing of it. It is a square building, terminated by a dome, with an inscription in Hebrew upon it, translated and sent to him by Sir Gore Ouseley, late ambassador to the court of Persia. It is as follows: "Thursday, fifteenth of the month Adar, in the year 4474, from the creation of the world, was finished the building of this temple, over the graves of Mordecai and Esther, by the hands of the good-hearted brothers, Elias and Samuel, the sons of the deceased Ishmael of Kashan." From this date, which is in numerical letters, and accords with the Jewish chronology, this dome must have been built eleven hundred years ago. Sir John adds, that "the tombs, which are of a black coloured wood, are evidently of very great antiquity, but the wood has not perished. The other Hebrew inscriptions with which it is covered are still very legible. Two of them are taken from Esther ii. 5, x. 3. The Jews of Hamadan have no tradition of the causes of Esther and her uncle being interred at that place. They probably were removed from Susa (or Shushan), after the death of Artaxerxes (Aha-

[a] Travels, Aug. 26, 1717. [b] History of Persia, vol. i. ch. 7.

suerus). The Jewish festival of Purim is still kept up; and at this festival, Jewish pilgrims resort to the tombs of Mordecai and Esther, from every quarter, and have done so for centuries."

"The name of Isaiah," says Captain Light, in his Travels in the Holy Land, 1814, "is attached to a monument (near the head of the valley of Siloe, at Jerusalem), of nearly the same dimensions and architecture (as will be afterwards given of the tomb of Zechariah), except that the roof is a cupola, surmounted by a cube."[a]

Where Ezekiel was buried, seems involved in obscurity. For St. Jerome, in his Life of that prophet, tells us he was put to death by a prince of the children of Israel, whom he reproved for his idolatry, at the river Chebar. And others say, that he was buried on the banks of the Euphrates, in the same cave with Shem and Arphaxad; which carries fable in the face of it. While Benjamin of Tudela, in his Travels, tells us, that at some leagues from Bagdad, he saw a magnificent mausoleum, which was said to be that prophet's tomb: upon the top of which was a famous library, wherein, as they told him, was the original copy of the prophet's predictions, written with his own hand. The same traveller also adds, that in the prophet's tomb, there was a lamp constantly burning, which was maintained at the expense of the Head of the Captivity at Bagdad: that every year, that tomb was frequented by the several Heads of the Captivity, who resorted thither with a numerous retinue; and that not only the Jews, but the Persians, Medes, and many other Musselmen, made it a place of de-

[a] Page 172.

votion, and went thither to make their presents, and perform their vows.

Daniel's tomb is thus described by Sir John Malcolm:[a] "At the foot of one of these mounds stands the tomb of the prophet Daniel. It is a small building, but sufficient to shelter some derveishes, who watch the remains of the prophet, and are supported by the alms of pious pilgrims, who visit the holy sepulchre. These derveishes are the only inhabitants of Susa: and every species of wild beasts roams at large over that spot, on which some of the proudest palaces ever raised by human art once stood.—Though the building," he adds, "at the tomb of Daniel be comparatively modern, nothing could have led to its being built where it is, but a belief that that was the real site of the prophet's sepulchre." We have the same tomb thus described by Mr. Macdonald Kinneir[b] when he accompanied General Sir John Malcolm to Persia, in 1810: "At the present Shus, in Kuzistan, anciently Shushan, and at the foot of the most elevated of the pyramids, stands the tomb of Daniel, a small and apparently modern building, erected on the spot where the relics of that prophet are believed to rest."

Burckhardt gives us the following account of the tomb of Hosea, as seen by him in 1812. "A narrow valley leads up from Szalt (on the east of the Dead Sea) towards the the Mezar Osha, which is supposed to contain the tomb of Neby Osha, or the prophet Hosea, equally revered by Turks and Christians, and to whom, the followers of both religions are in the habit of offering prayers. The

[a] Hist. of Persia, ch. 7. [b] Geographical Memoir of Persia, p. 100.

tomb is covered by a vaulted building, one end of which serves as a mosque. The tomb itself, in the form of a coffin, is thirty-six feet long, three feet broad, and three feet and a half in height; being thus constructed in conformity with the notion of the Turks, who suppose that all our forefathers were giants, and especially the prophets before Mohammed. The coffin of Osha is covered with silk stuffs of different colours, which have been presented to him as votive offerings. Visitors generally throw a couple of paras upon the tomb. These are collected by the guardian, and pay the expenses of illuminating the apartment, during the summer months: for in the winter season, hardly any body seeks favours at the shrine of the saint. In one corner stands a small plate, upon which some of the devout visitors place a piece of incense." [a]

Mr. Kinneir[b] gives us a short notice of the tomb of Jonah, as seen by him in 1810, in the following words: "On the opposite bank of the Tigris from Mosul, and about three quarters of a mile from that stream, the village of Nunia, and sepulchre of the prophet Jonas, seem to point at the position of Nineveh, the largest city perhaps that ever existed in the world." But when visiting the same place, four years after, he gives a fuller account of it. "We reached Mosul," says he, "and about a mile before we entered the city, passed two artificial tumuli, and extensive ramparts, supposed to be the ruins of the ancient Nineveh. The first tumulus is about three quarters of a mile in circumference. It is about the same height, and has the same ap-

[a] Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, p. 353, 354. [b] Page 258.

pearance as those at Susa (Shushan). The circumference of the other is not so considerable, but its elevation is greater; and on the top, stands the tomb of Jonas the prophet, round which a village called Nunia has been erected. The Jews go in pilgrimage to this tomb, which is a small insignificant building, crowned with a cupola."[a]

The sepulchre of the prophet Zechariah is thus described by Captain Light: "At the head of the valley of Siloe (at Jerusalem), is said to be the tomb of Zechariah. This is a square building cut out of the rock, by which it is surrounded on three of its sides: they are about ten feet each: the height of the monument is about fourteen feet, surrounded by an entablature and cornice, included in the height above-named, and on which is a pyramidal roof, terminated by a cylindrical top: at each angle of the sides of the tomb are two Ionic pilasters, and in the centre of the walls, two columns of the same order; it is without any entrance."[b] Captain Light next mentions the sepulchre of Lazarus[c] in the following manner: "At the south end (of the mount of Olives), near its summit, stands the village of Bethany, now called Aizarree: of course this could not be without a tomb of Lazarus. We were conducted to a subterraneous grotto, containing an altar, where mass is sometimes celebrated, said to be the place where our Saviour performed the miracle of raising him from the dead."[d] So much then for the sepulchres of individuals.

[a] Journey through Asia Minor, Armenia, and Koordistan, in 1813, 1814, p. 461. [b] Travels, p. 171, 172. This is more minute than the account given in Part II. sect. 6th; and by a later traveller.
[c] John xi. 31. [d] Travels, p. 173. We gave Maundrell's account of it in Part II. sect. 1.

Sepulchres for families were commonly caves, either in gardens, like Macpelah, and that belonging to Joseph of Arimathea, of which Luigi Mayer has given us a beautiful plate, in his Views in Palestine; or in some dry and elevated situation.[a]—They were often cut out of the solid rock, with a huge stone for a door. When a person sold a burying-place to any one, or retained the possession of a burying-place for himself, on the sale of his estate, if there were no particulars specified, the common dimensions were understood to be four cubits long within, six cubits broad, and seven cubits high, so as to allow of three stone tables or beds (מטה *methè*) on each side, and two at the end, with a passage in the middle; but they were often larger than these. Thus, mention is made of six cubits long within, and eight cubits broad, so as to contain thirteen tables.[b] Nay, they had sometimes niches in the wall, beyond the tables, to push the corpses into: so that, when a large family sepulchre was full, you saw the bodies in the niches all around, with their heads outward; the stone tables covered with the dead, and those who had been servants placed on the floor. Dr. Shaw's account of the cryptæ at Latikea, or Laodicea, gives us a distinct account of these sepulchres. "The rocky ground," says he, "where we found the sarcophagi, is hollowed out into a number of cryptæ, or sepulchral chambers, some ten, others twenty or thirty feet square; but the height is low, and never proportionable. A range of narrow cells, wide enough to receive one coffin, sarcophagus, or κλινη,

[a] Is. xxii. 15—17. [b] Mishna, Codex Tertius de Damnis, cap. vi. sect. 8. Lightfoot's Chorograph. Cent. of Israel, ch. 100.

and long enough sometimes for two or three, runs along the sides of these sepulchral chambers, and appears to be the only provision that was made for the reception of the dead."[a] This account of their sepulchres easily explains how the demoniac lived among the tombs;[b] and also an apparent difficulty in the Gospel history, viz. how Lazarus could come forth from his grave when he was bound?[c] He lay extended on one of the stone tables in the family vault; at the command of Jesus he sat up, moved himself to the end of the table, slipped from it, and stood upright on the floor; when Jesus said to the astonished spectators, "Loose him and let him go." Thus the apparent difficulty is only the effect of ignorance as to eastern customs.[d]

In so early a period as that of the Judges, it is not to be expected, that their tombs can be pointed out with great precision; but it may be gratifying to hear the state of them, as given by Captain Light, when he visited the Holy Land, 1814. "We ascended through a plantation of olives," says he, "north of Jerusalem, to the tombs of the Judges, within a walled inclosure, whose only entrance was by a hole, through which I scrambled, and found myself in an open space resembling a quarry. On the west side, the rock is hewn smooth into the form of a portico, of about thirty feet long and ten

[a] Vol. i. ch. 1. [b] Mark v. 3. [c] John xi. 44.

[d] In Luigi Mayer's Views in Palestine, we have a tomb in the valley of Jehoshaphat: and in a splendid work entitled Views of the Ottoman Empire, chiefly in Caramania in Asia Minor, we have the Necropolis or cemetery of Cacamo, sarcophagi and sepulchres at the head of the harbour at Cacamo, sepulchral grots there, a colossal sarcophagus near Castle Rosso, and an ancient sepulchre near Macri, which give a distinct view of the nature of these buildings.

high, without support, from columns, but with an entablature and cornice: these are ornamented by wreaths of flowers, fruits, vine-leaves, grapes, and corn, in relief, of exquisite workmanship. On the south side of this portico, is a small opening, into which I crept with difficulty, and entered a chamber of ten or twelve feet square, whence was a suite of similar chambers; some of them were finished with care, others roughly hewn; parts of doors, and cornices of coarse marble, lay scattered about."[a] In Views in Palestine, from the original drawings of Luigi Mayer, there is a beautiful print of the sepulchre of the Judges of Israel.

The following is the description of the sepulchral monument that Simon Maccabæus raised over his parents and brethren.[b] "Simon also built a monument upon the sepulchre of his father and his brethren, and raised it aloft to the sight, with hewn stone behind and before. Moreover, he set up seven pyramids, one against another, for his father, and his mother, and his four brethren; and in these he made cunning devices, about the which he set great pillars, and upon the pillars he made all their armour, for a perpetual memory; and by the armour ships carved, that they might be seen of all that sail on the sea. This is the sepulchre which he made at Modin (in the tribe of Dan, fifteen miles from Jerusalem) the city of his fathers, and it standeth yet unto this day," or at the time when the writer of the 1st Book of Maccabees lived. In the time of Eusebius, and even in that of St. Jerome, the monument of the Maccabees was still in existence.

[a] Travels, p. 174.

[b] 1 Maccab. xiii. 27—30.

Hasselquist[a] gives us the following account of the sepulchres of the ancient kings of Syria, in the neighbourhood of Sidon: "They are cut out of a limestone mountain, and have their apertures level with the earth, which in most is so large, that one may enter them with ease. They consist of vaults some fathoms square, worked in the mountain, with oblong niches in the walls. In several places may be seen obscure remains of carved rock in basso relievo, over the niches; and of red painting, such as is seen in the sepulchres at Alexandria. These walls are of a workmanship much inferior to those of the Israelites at Jerusalem; and in nothing resemble those of Alexandria, though they seem made after their model. A great part of them are now open, and serve as huts for shepherds, or dens for wild beasts; but it would certainly be worth while for an antiquarian to search along this hill, to discover some not yet opened, of which there is, beyond doubt, a great number."

But of all the family sepulchres of which we have any account, that of the family of David and kings of Judah,[b] hinted at in the above extract, is the most remarkable. It lies, at present, without the walls of Jerusalem, but is supposed to have been within them, before that city was destroyed by the Romans: for it is generally asserted by the Jewish writers, that no sepulchres were allowed there, but those of the house of David, Huldah the prophetess, and Jehoiada the high priest. This sepulchral vault is minutely described by Theven-

[a] Travels, p. 164, 165.

[b] 2 Chron. xxi. 20; xxiv. 25; xxviii. 27.

ot,[a] Sandy's,[b] and Maundrell;[c] an abridgment of which is given by Prideaux[d] in the following words. "The burial-place, called the sepulchres of the kings of the house of David, was a very sumptuous and stately thing. It consists of a large court of about 120 feet square, with a gallery or cloister on the left hand; which court and gallery, with the pillars that supported it, were cut out of the solid marble rock. At the end of the gallery, there is a narrow passage or hole, through which there is an entrance into a large room or hall, of about twenty-four feet square, within which are several lesser rooms, one within another, with stone doors opening into them: all which rooms, with the great room, were all likewise cut out of the solid marble rock. In the sides of those lesser rooms are several niches, in which the corpses of the deceased kings were deposited in stone coffins. In the innermost or chief of these rooms was the body of Hezekiah, laid in a niche, perchance, cut on purpose at that time for it, in the upper end of that room, to do him the greater honour: and all this remains entire even to this day. It seems to have been the work of king Solomon, for it could not have been made without vast expense; and it is the only true remainder of Old Jerusalem which is now to be seen in that place."—Thus far Prideaux: but I should add, that although these were the sepulchres of the kings of Judah, they were not all buried there: for Manasseh and Amon his son were buried in a sepulchre in the garden of Uzza,[e] and Josiah in his own sepulchre.[f] Cha-

[a] Part ii. book ii. ch. 40. [b] Page 175. [c] Page 76. [d] Connexion, A. A. C. 699. [e] 2 Kings xxi. 18, 26. [f] 2 Kings xxiii. 30.

teaubriand gives a minute account of these sepulchres—doubts if they be so ancient as the kings before the captivity; and is inclined to think that they were intended by Herod the tetrarch, as the family burying-place of the Herodian family.[a] We have two beautiful plates, the one representing the entrance, and the other the interior of these sepulchres, in Luigi Mayer's Views in Palestine.

With respect to the money that is said to have been buried with persons of rank, and particularly with David, the opinions of the moderns are various. But I shall first quote the words of Josephus, as to the sepulchre of David. "He was buried by his son Solomon, in Jerusalem, with great magnificence, and with all the other funeral pomp which kings used to be buried with. Moreover, he had immense wealth buried with him, the vastness of which may be easily conjectured from what I shall now say. For, one thousand and three years afterwards, Hyrcanus the high priest, when he was besieged by Antiochus, who was called the Pious, the son of Demetrius, and was desirous of giving him money, to get him to raise the siege, and draw off his army, and having no other method of raising the money, opened one room of David's sepulchre, and took out three thousand talents, and gave part of that sum to Antiochus, and by this means caused the siege to be raised. Nay, many years afterwards, Herod the king opened another room, and took away a great deal of money."[b] Such, then, is the account that Josephus gives; and that a considerable sum of money might have been deposited with David's corpse is not to be doubted:

[a] See his Travels, vol. ii. p. 102—110. [b] Antiq. vii. 15.

but may it not be conjectured, that the large sums which were found in his sepulchre afterwards by Hyrcanus, might have been occasioned by the general insecurity of property in those troublous times, when the persons who were possessed of wealth, deposited it there, as in a place of sanctity and supposed security;—and where, having gradually accumulated, through the death or departure of the owners, it thereby became, in a certain sense, like the treasures of the temple, the property of the state? It is probable that the unclaimed property was taken by Hyrcanus, and that the property belonging to known individuals was allowed to remain.

Should it be said, that when once encroached upon by Hyrcanus, few would intrust their money to it afterwards, lest some other person more rapacious than he,[a] might seize the whole—or, like Herod, might convert a part to the supply of some urgent necessity—I answer, even from Josephus himself, that the confidence of the public, as to the security of David's sepulchre, was really destroyed;—for, forgetting what he had said in the above extract, he tells us, when treating of the life of Herod,[b] that "as he (viz. Herod,) had before heard that Hyrcanus, who had been king before him, had opened David's sepulchre, and taken out of it three thousand talents of silver, and that there was still a great number left behind; he opened that sepulchre by night, and went into it secretly with a few friends; but as for money, he found none; only some furniture of gold and precious goods which were laid up there, all these he

[a] Like Cleopatra, Antiq. xv. 4. [b] Antiq. xvi. 7.

took away." Thus all he got, for his rapacity, was some furniture of gold, and some precious goods, similar, perhaps, to those deposited in the sepulchre of Aristobulus by himself;[a] but of money he found none. I need scarcely add, that the above conjecture, as to making David's sepulchre a place of security, is corroborated, first, by the conduct of those Gauls, serving under Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, after he had made himself master of Ædæ, or Edessa, the residence of the Macedonian kings, till Philip removed the court to Pilla; "they broke open," says Plutarch, "the tombs of the kings that were buried there, plundered the treasures, and insolently scattered their dead bodies."[b] And secondly, by the present application of sepulchres in the East, which are frequently places of deposit for money and other valuables, so sacred, that it is accounted sacrilege, even by the most despotic princes, to violate them.

Besides the burying-grounds attached to cities, and the more noted sepulchres of families and individuals, there were solitary tombs in various places, where individuals had been buried; some of which were visible to the eye, on the slightest inspection; but others so deep, or so neglected, as to become invisible; and hence the phrase μνημειον ἀδηλον in Luke xi. 44. It was not unfrequent, therefore, for persons to stumble upon them before they were aware, and thereby contract ceremonial pollution. But as that would have been especially inconvenient for strangers who came to the feasts, and who could not be supposed acquainted with every place, where a solitary sepulchre might

[a] Antiq. xv. 3. [b] Vita Pyrrhi.

chance to be, there was a general law, that on the 15th day of the 12th month, which was the month Adar, they should all be painted white, with chalk and water;[a] and as the rains were then past, and the dry season of six months had then commenced, that white-washing made them perfectly visible, till the three great festivals were over. Every one, therefore, upon reflecting on this, must see the pointed nature of our Saviour's words, when he compares the Scribes and Pharisees to whited sepulchres, attractive without, but full of rottenness within.[b]—The Jews never considered their sepulchres as mansions of the dead; at least, their words did not convey that meaning, for they called them "the house of the living," בית החיים *bit eiim*, thereby intimating their abhorrence of the doctrine of the Sadducees, and their belief in the resurrection of the body; and it was that, perhaps, which made them take pleasure in strewing the graves of departed relatives with green leaves, flowers, branches of palm and myrtle, and surrounding them with shrubs and flowers. It was emblematical of that eternity after which they aspired.

Building, repairing, and garnishing the tombs of the prophets were accounted meritorious among the Jews;[c] and that garnishing may, perhaps, have meant, not only white-washing and decking them with flowers, but doing as they do at present in the East, maintaining a lamp or lamps in them, covering the tomb with a carpet more or less valuable, furnishing incense to give an agreeable smell,

[a] Lightfoot's Heb. and Talm. Exer. on Matth. xxiii. 28.
[b] Matth. xxiii. 27. [c] Matth. xxiii. 29, 30.

and surrounding them with a garden elegantly designed and neatly kept.

The monumental inscriptions among the Jews were very various. Sometimes a rude stone was all that informed the traveller, of the presence of a dead body. But commonly, if the sepulchre were in a rock, or the grave had a stone placed over it, a portion was smoothed, and the letters were either engraven upon it with a chisel; or painted, stained, or encrusted on hard plaster with which the rock was covered; or they were engraven on tablets of lead. The written mountains in the wilderness of Sinai, mentioned by the prefetto of Egypt, the burying-place also of the Egyptians in the plain of mummies, mentioned by Maillet, and the engraven tables on the natural rock near the river Lycus, mentioned by Maundrell, are examples of these.[a]—It is not to be expected that we can be favoured with any epitaphs, so early as the time of the Jewish economy; but when a cemetery of the Jews was opened in one of the suburbs of Basle, the persons employed discovered a number of Hebrew epitaphs, two of which are given us by Basnage,[b] from Buxtorff, and are as follow. "I have set this stone over the head of the venerable Rabbi Eliakim, deceased. God grant he may repose in the garden of Eden, with the rest of the saints of the earth. Amen. Amen. Selah." The other is, "I have erected this monument at the head of the most holy, most chaste, and most excellent Rebecca, daughter of the holy Rabbi Samuel, the Levite, who lived in good reputation, and died the 8th of December,

[a] Clarke's Harmer, ch. vii. ob. 18. [b] Book v. ch. 23.

135, (that is, as Buxtorff thinks, in the year 1375.) Let her soul be bound in the garden of Eden."[a]— But the oldest, is one mentioned by Buxtorff,[b] which is thought to have been inscribed about the year of Christ 300, and consisted of the words שפחה חרופה, *shephehè heruphè*. "The maid servant stripped, or in reproach."

6. To persons residing in Christian countries, where the tone of manners and of morals is raised by means of the gospel, it appears shocking to read of the cruelty committed on criminals, and the indifference with which their bodies were left after death, often without burial, to become the prey of dogs,[c] foxes,[d] vultures, and other ravenous animals. One who reflects on this, will not be surprised, that the common place of execution at Jerusalem was called Golgotha, or the place of skulls. In the kingdom of Dahomy, in Africa, heaps of skulls are piled up in the court of the palace: and at the temple of Juggernaut, in India, the dogs are often seen tearing the bodies of the dead pilgrims.

I have said nothing hitherto, of the testamentary deeds of the Jews: we have, indeed, little on the subject. The only notice in Scripture of the transmission of property, by written evidence, is in Jer. xxxii. 8—15, 44, where it appears that besides the money given in purchase, two deeds were extend-

[a] Buxtorff makes no mention of the grounds of his opinion: but the subject is treated at considerable length, in Leusden's Philologus Hebræo-mixtus, dissert. 34: and the result is, that when we wish to know the particular year of the Christian era to which the Hebrew dates refer, we must always add the number 1240 to the year mentioned, and that will make it correspond with the Christian. Thus, in the present case, add 1240 to 135, and you have 1375 as Buxtorff says.

[b] Synag. Jud. cap. 49. [c] Ps. lix. 6, 14. [d] Ps. lxiii. 10.

ed by the public scribe or notary, one of which was sealed and the other open. And as that was the case in common purchases, so am I led to conjecture that it was the case in testamentary bequests; for Lucian, in his Dialogues of the Dead, makes Cnemon say, that "he had shown the testaments publicly— δεσθαι διαθηκας εις το φανερον," which he had made in favour of Hermolaus; and to express his ignorance "whether Hermolaus, in return, had written his testaments in his favour— τας ἑαυτου διαθηκας." There is at least a considerable similarity, between the expressions of Jeremiah, and those of Cnemon.

7. The Jewish idea of a future state seems to have been as follows. 1st, They believed in the existence of heaven (שמים *Shemim*, ουρανος), or the heaven of heavens (שמי שמים *Shemi shemim*), the place of God's peculiar residence, the dwelling of good angels, and the everlasting abode of the blessed, after the resurrection. 2d, They believed in the existence of hell, which they metaphorically styled "gehenna" (γεεννα), from the fires which were kept constantly burning in גיא חנם *Gia-henem, the valley of Hinnom*;[a] and Tophet, (תפת *Tephet*) from the tephs or drums, which were there employed, to drown the cries of the children who were sacrificed to Moloch.[b] This they considered the residence of the devil and his angels, and the destined abode of the wicked, after the general

[a] It is first mentioned in Josh. xv. 8; and in ch. xviii. 16, it is rendered Του Ενομ by the LXX; and in some editions Γαιεννα; from whence the word γεεννα, which is used twelve times in the New Testament, seems to have come.

[b] Tophet is mentioned several times in the Old Testament, viz. 2 Kings xxiii. 10; Is. xxx. 33; Jer. vii. 31, 32; xix. 6, 11, 12, 13, 14.

judgment. 3d, They believed in an intermediate state, where the souls of all who died, had their residence till the resurrection, in a state of comparative happiness, or misery, according to their previous characters.[a] This was named שאול *Shaul* in the Old Testament, and ἀδης Hades in the New Testament, in the Septuagint, and in Josephus.[b] Accordingly, whilst the body was committed to the grave, (קבר *Keber*, ταφος, μνημα,) the soul went to שאול *Shaul*, to be rewarded or punished, in an inferior degree, between death and the resurrection. But in what particular place that state was, has been differently explained: some making it an immense cavern in the centre of the earth; some the state of the dead in general; and some an intermediate state, rather than an intermediate place, where the saints, although in heaven, are less happy; and the wicked, although in hell, are less wretched than they will be after the resurrection. This last seems to have been the belief of the best informed among the Jews. Accordingly, it was a saying of theirs, that "Abraham and Moses, and all the righteous, when they die, are laid up under the very throne of God;"[c] implying, that those who are lying under the throne, between death and the resurrection, will, after that, stand before the throne, more exalted and more happy.

Towards the end of the Mosaic economy, when

[a] Is. xiv. 8—20. Ezek. xxxii. 23—30. Bishop Lowth's Notes on Is. xiii, xiv. His Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews, Sect. 7. Dr. Campbell on the Gospels, Dissert. vi. part 2.

[b] In the common English version of the Scriptures, the words are translated *hell, the pit,* and *the grave,* but the Jews, and many of the Christian commentators, explain them uniformly of the intermediate state.

[c] Lightfoot, vol. ii. Sermon on Luke xxiii. 42, 43.

the Jews became acquainted with the philosophical opinions of the Greeks and Romans, they began to describe the intermediate state, by expressions somewhat corresponding to the *infernus* of their heathen neighbours, with its *elysium*, *tartarus*, and intersecting rivers.[a] For they supposed it to have had a place which contained the good, called paradise and Abraham's bosom;[b] a place which contained the wicked called tartarus;[c] and a great gulf which divided between them.[d]

From the representation of Josephus,[e] Dr. Campbell, in his New Translation of the Gospels, is inclined to conclude, that in the time of that writer, a resurrection and future judgment (in the sense in which they were understood by the primitive Christians) were not, universally, the doctrine even of the pharisees: but that the prevalent and distinguishing opinion was, that the soul survived the body; that vicious souls would suffer an everlasting imprisonment in hades, and that the souls of the virtuous would not only be happy there, but in process of time, would obtain the privilege of transmigrating into other bodies. In other words, that the immortality of human souls, and the transmigration of the good, were all that they comprehended in the resurrection of the dead (*αναστασις των νεκρων*).—Several allusions to this doctrine of transmigration, however ridiculous it may appear to us, seem to be made in the New Testament: for

[a] See particularly an extract from Josephus's Discourse to the Greeks concerning Hades, in Whiston's translation of that author: Glasgow edition, 1820, vol. iv.

[b] Luke xxiii. 43. Rev. ii. 7. Luke xvi. 23. [c] 2 Peter ii. 4. *σειραις ζοφου ταρταρωσας.* [d] Luke xvi. 26, *χασμα μεγα.*

[e] War, ii. 12.

the question which was put by the disciples to our Lord, "who sinned, this man or his parents, that he was born blind?" and some popular notions concerning Jesus, whom they knew to have been born and brought up among themselves, that he was Elijah, Jeremiah, or one of the prophets, evidently presuppose it.[a] There is reason to believe, however, that this strange tenet was not universal; and that afterwards, when the doctrines of the gospel concerning a future state became better known, the opinions of the Talmudists had a much greater conformity to them, than the opinions of some of their predecessors in, and before the days of our Saviour. Thus were life and immortality more clearly, and more generally brought to light by the gospel.[b]

[a] John ix. 2. Matth. xxvi. 14.

[b] On the much agitated controversy of the intermediate state by Christian writers, see among others Dr. Campbell on the Gospels, Dissert. vi. part 2: Magee on the Atonement, vol. i. illust. 41: the authors quoted in Dr. Kippis's edition of Doddridge's Lectures, prop. clxii. schol. 9: and Sermons by the Rev. Sir H. Moncreiff Wellwood, vol. ii. serm. 16, 17. The following is the opinion of this last mentioned writer. "The spirits of just men made perfect are clearly the spirits who have escaped from the body by death; and who are now existing in a separate state of intelligence and activity; conscious of their relation to those who are in the body still, and who are joint partakers with them of the glory hereafter to be revealed. They are spirits who were once united to organized bodies, as our spirits are at present, which they have left to rest in their graves till the resurrection;—spirits who are now with Christ in heaven, associated in his presence with the blessed angels who have kept their first estate; and looking forward to the resurrection of the dead, as to the glorious manifestation of the sons of God." (Sermon 16.)

PART XII.

JUDEA, ITS LIMITS, CAPITAL, CLIMATE, AND AGRICULTURE.

SECT. I.

Limits of Judea,

As mentioned in Gen. x. 19; as promised to Abraham in Gen. xv. 18—21; as described to Moses in Deut. xxxiv. 1—3; as existing in the days of our Saviour. Josephus's description of Judea; Samaria; Galilee; wherein the speech of the Galileans differed from that of the other Jews: the country beyond Jordan; the present state of the country, by Dr. Clarke—and a particular account of the river Jordan.

THE first notice which we have of the land of Canaan, afterwards known by the general name of Judea, is in Gen. x. 19, where the borders of Canaan are said to have been "from Sidon as thou goest to Gerar unto Gaza; as thou goest unto Sodom and Gomorrah, and Admah and Zeboim, even unto Lasha." Here the western extremity extended along the shore of the Mediterranean, from Sidon to Gaza, or about 140 miles. Its southern boundary was from Gaza to the Dead Sea, where Sodom and Gomorrah, Admah and Zeboim, once stood, a space of about 80 miles. Its eastern boundary was from the foot of the Dead Sea to Lasha or Dan, at the head of the river Jordan, about 200 miles;[a] and its northern boun-

[a] This is more than is usually marked in the maps, but we shall see it to be the case when we describe the length of Jordan and the Dead Sea.

dary from Lasha to Sidon again, a space of about 50 miles. The people who then lived in it, according to Moses,[a] were the Sidonians on the north-west, afterwards famous for commerce; the Hittites on the south-west, near Hebron; the Jebusites at Jebus, afterwards Jerusalem; the Amorites, between the Hittites and the Dead Sea; the Gergashites, near the sea of Tiberias; the Hivites at Hermon; the Arkites at Arka, opposite the northern extremity of Lebanon; the Sinites south of the Arkites; the Arvadites at Arvad, in the island Aradus and its neighbourhood, now Rouwadde; the Zemarites south of the Arvadites; and the Hamathites at Hamath, in the northern extremity of the land.

The second notice which we have of the promised land, is in Gen. xv. 18—21, where God, after having foretold the oppression of the Israelites in Egypt, promised them Canaan as an inheritance. The words are, "In that day the Lord made a covenant with Abram, saying, Unto thy seed will I give this land, from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates; the Kenites and the Kenizzites, and the Kadmonites, and the Hittites, and the Perizzites, and the Rephaims, and the Amorites, and the Canaanites, and the Girgashites, and the Jebusites." But let us attend to the limits which are here pointed out. There is much difference of opinion between commentators concerning the "river of Egypt," which is here mentioned as the southern boundary of the promised land; many making it a small river between Egypt and Canaan, not far from Gaza,

[a] Gen. x. 15—18.

named Renocorura, or Rénocolura; others a branch of the Nile, which ran past Larissa or El-arisch, during the inundation, but was dried up at other times; hence called the stream or torrent of Egypt;[a] and others the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, which emptied itself into the Mediterranean, near the ancient city Pelusium, and the nearest of the seven to the land of Canaan. Dr. Shaw is among the espousers of the last opinion, and, in a distinct dissertation,[b] has endeavoured to show, that the largest bounds ever promised of the land of Canaan, were from Euphrates and Hamath, to the Mediterranean on the north; along the Mediterranean to the mouth of the Pelusiac branch of the Nile on the west; up that branch to Memphis and Cairo, and across the foot of the Red Sea to Eloth, on the south; and from Eloth along the eastern side of the Dead Sea and the heights of Gilead to the river Euphrates, on the east. But it must be obvious to every one, that this is extending the boundaries of the promised land a great way too far; since, in that case, the land of Goshen, which was given them by Pharaoh to dwell in, would have been within its limits. Indeed the whole of his error seems to have arisen from his mistaking a district called Goshen, near Gibeon,[c] for the Goshen in Egypt.—As this promise to Abram was given many years after the first intimation in Gen. x. 19, it is natural to expect that some change would have happened in the nations who inhabited it: accordingly, of all the eleven sons of Canaan who then divided Canaan among them, we read

[a] Is. xxvii. 12. Ikenii Dissert. Theolog. tom. ii. dissert. 3.
[b] Travels, vol. ii. ch. 2. [c] Josh. x. 4; xi. 16, 17.

only of four; viz. the Hittites, Amorites, Gergashites, and Jebusites; the rest of the names being evidently different, viz. the Kenites, Kenizzites, Kadmonites, Perizzites, Rephaims, and Canaanites. Let us see, then, what part of the promised land these last inhabited. The Kenites are understood to have been the ancestors of Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, and to have dwelt on the north-west part of Arabia Petræa. The Kenizzites are thought to have been the offspring of Kenaz, a duke of Esau's race, afterwards better known by Idumeans or Edomites; which became tributaries to the Israelites in the days of David.[a] The Kadmonites, as their name imports, probably signified the inhabitants to the east of Judea beyond Jordan, which were subdued by the Israelites, and their lands given to the two tribes and a half. The Perizzites are only another name for those of the sons of Canaan in ch. x. 15—18, who inhabited the mountainous part of Judea, and dwelt in villages, as the word Peruz signifies. The Rephaims dwelt in Bashan, on the east side of Jordan, and their principal city was Ashteroth Carnaim:[b] and as for the Canaanites, they were probably the descendants of those other sons of Canaan, which were mentioned in ch. x. 15—18; but which, having lost their former consequence, were better known by that general name.

The third intimation, and that which was descriptive of its limits during the greater part of the Jewish economy, was given by Jehovah to Moses before his death, and is recorded in Deut. xxxiv. 1—3; where we are told, that "Moses went up

[a] 2 Sam. viii. 14. [b] Gen. xiv. 5.

from the plains of Moab unto the mountain of Nebo, to the top of Pisgah, that is over against Jericho, and the Lord showed him all the land of Gilead unto Dan, and all Naphtali and the land of Ephraim, and Manasseh, and all the land of Judah unto the utmost sea; and the south, and the plain of the valley of Jericho, the city of palm trees, unto Zoar." Any one, by casting his eye over the map of the Holy Land, will see how descriptive this is of the length and breadth of that country, which was inhabited by the Israelites; for it takes in all the space between the Mediterranean and the heights of Gilead, on the west and east; and from the source of Jordan to the foot of the Dead Sea, on the north and south. This space was divided by lot among the twelve tribes; Judah, Simeon, Dan, Benjamin, Ephraim, the one half of the tribe of Manasseh, Issachar, Zebulun, Asher, and Naphtali occupying the space between the Mediterranean and the river Jordan; and Reuben, Gad, and the other half tribe of Manasseh occupying the country between Jordan and the heights of Gilead.[a]

If we except, therefore, the conquests in the neighbouring countries, which were more or less extensive according to the military character of the times, this space of about 200 miles in length, by about 100 in breadth, was, properly speaking, the land of Israel. Nor did the revolt of the tribes, in the days of Rehoboam, alter its geographical limits, for it still retained the divisions given to the tribes till the times of the captivity. But after

[a] Num. ch. xxxii. Josh. ch. xiv.—xxii. on which we have Josephus's commentary in his Antiq. v. 1.

that period their former name, and the name of their country, were changed; since they were no longer called Israelites, and their land the land of Israel, but themselves Jews, and their country Judea; from the name of that tribe which came back to Jerusalem; while the boundaries of the tribes, as boundaries of property, were in a great measure laid aside.[a] Accordingly, in the days of our Saviour we no longer hear of the ancient divisions, but of new ones introduced or established by the Roman power. It will be proper, therefore, to attend to these.

In a map of the Holy Land, formed to suit the times of the New Testament, we see several great divisions. Thus the whole space between the Mediterranean and the river Jordan had three, viz. Judea on the south, Samaria in the middle, and Galilee on the north; and the space between Jordan and the heights of Gilead had seven, viz. Peræa on the south, Batanea, Gaulonitis, and Galaditis in the middle, and Iturea, Trachonitis, and Auranitis on the north. Yet each of these had their subdivisions, the two principal of which were the land of the Philistines, on the south-west corner of Judea; and the land of the Phœnicians on the north-west corner of Galilee. The whole west coast of the Holy Land in those days was bounded as at present by the Mediterranean, and the following was their account of its extent: from Sirbon, on the south of Philistia, to the southern border of Phœnicia, 189 miles;[b] from the south border of Phœnicia to Tyre, 5 miles;[c] and from Tyre to

[a] Joseph. Antiq. xi. 5. [b] Pliny, v. 13.
[c] Guliel. Tyrius de Bell. Sacr. lib. iii.

Sidon 25 miles,[a] in all 219 miles. Antoninus's Itinerary, however, makes it 232.

But let us attend to the great divisions of the Holy Land, beginning with those which formed the portions of the nine tribes and a half, that dwelt between Jordan and the Mediterranean.

As for *Judea*, which was the southmost division, the following is Josephus's account of it. "The southern parts, if they be measured lengthwise, are bounded by a village adjoining the confines of Arabia, called by the Jews who dwell there Jordan; and its northern limit, where it joins Samaria, is the village Anuath, also called Borceos: its breadth, however, is extended from the river Jordan to Joppa, on the shore of the Mediterranean. The city of Jerusalem is situated in the very middle, on which account some have, with sagacity enough, called that city the navel of the country. Nor is Judea destitute of such delicacies as come from the sea, since its maritime places extend as far as Ptolomais. (Here Josephus speaks either of another Ptolomais than that at Acre, which was on the south-west of Galilee; or takes Judea in a more extended sense, than the division of which he is speaking.) It was divided into eleven portions, of which the royal city of Jerusalem was the chief; and presided over the neighbouring country, as the head over the body. As for the other cities that were inferior to it, they presided over their several toparchies. Gophna was the second of them, Acrabatta the next; after them Thamna, Lydda, Emmaus, Pella, Idumea, Engaddi, Herodium, and Jericho; and after these came

[a] Strabo, lib. xvi.

Jamnia and Joppa, as presiding over the neighbouring people."[a] According to the Mishna, the division called Judea was considered under four aspects, viz. the western, which lay along the Mediterranean, and in which was the land of the Philistines; the mountainous or pastoral district; the plain which lay farther east, and inclined towards Jordan; and the vale or flat which bordered on the banks of that river.[b] The whole of this division called Judea, was often denominated by the Jews the south, and the south country; because it lay to the south of Samaria, and was the most southern division of the Holy Land.

The following was the appearance of this part of the Holy Land, when Hasselquist visited it April 11, 1751: "Judea," says he, "is a country full of hills and vales, and as such it has been described both in the Old and New Testament, where it is always called a hilly land, and is every where famous for its mountains. The hills are all of a moderate height, uneven, and are not of any mathematical figure, like many others, which are either of a conic, hemispheric, or some other such form. At first, and nearest to Jerusalem, they consist of a very hard limestone, which approaches to the nature of flint, of a whitish colour, or pretty near a pale yellow. They afterwards, and nearer the Dead Sea, consist of a more loose limestone, sometimes white and sometimes greyish, between which are layers of a reddish micaceous stone (saxum purum micaceum). Near Jerusalem grow different sorts of plants on these hills, especially ceratonia or carob-tree, myrtus or myr-

[a] War, iii. 3. [b] Tractat. de Anno Septimo, cap. ix. sect. 2.

tle, and terebinthus or the turpentine tree; but farther towards Jericho, they are bare and barren. The vales, like the hills, are not fruitful, but deserted and uncultivated, being full of pebbles, and without vegetables; nevertheless, the earth consists of a good rich mould, and would amply reward the husbandman's toil. In the beginning they are somewhat narrow, but become wider nearer Jordan. The great plain of Jericho extends two leagues in length along the Dead Sea, the soil of which is a greyish sandy clay, so loose that the horses feet often sunk up to the knees in it. The whole surface of the earth was covered with salt, in the same manner as in Egypt."[a]

In advancing northwards, on leaving Judea, we enter *Samaria*, or the middle division of the country on this side Jordan. It began at Anuath and Acrabatta, (a day's journey north of Jerusalem,) and extended to Ginea, in the Great Plain. The following is Josephus's account of it. "It is entirely of the same nature with Judea, for both countries are made up of hills and vallies, are moist enough for agriculture, and are very fertile. They have abundance of trees, and are full of autumnal fruit, both that which grows wild, and that which is the effect of cultivation. They are naturally watered by many streams, but derive their chief moisture from rain water, (preserved, as I understand him, in reservoirs during the dry season,) of which they have no want; and as for those streams which they have, their waters are exceeding sweet. By reason also of the excellent grass which they have, their cattle yield more milk

[a] Travels, p. 126, 127.

than those in other places; and what is the greatest sign of excellency and abundance, they each of them are very full of people."[a]

In the Life of Josephus, by himself, we learn that the length of Samaria, from north to south, was three days' journey, for we are told that "it is absolutely necessary for those who would go quickly to Jerusalem (from Galilee), to pass through that country; for, in that road, they might in three days' time go from Galilee to Jerusalem." We see also from this, that there was a natural as well as moral reason, for the Evangelist saying of Christ in John iv. 4, that "he must needs go through Samaria" to Jerusalem.

Galilee was the most northerly division of Palestine, on this side Jordan. The following is Josephus's account of it. "Galilee is encompassed (on three sides) by Phœnicia and Syria. On the west it is bounded by the territory of Ptolomais and Carmel; on the north by Tyre and the country of the Tyrians; on the east by Hippenè and Gadaris, Gaulanitis, and the kingdom of Agrippa; and on the south by Samaria and Scythopolis as far as Jordan. It is divided into upper and lower. Lower Galilee extends in length from Tiberias to Zabulon, and of the maritime places, Ptolomais is in its vicinity. Its breadth is from the village called Xaloth, which lies in the Great Plain, as far as Bersabè.—Upper Galilee begins, as to its breadth, from Bersabè, and extends to the village of Baca, which divides the lands of the Tyrians from it, and its length is from Meroth to Thella, a village near Jordan. These two Galilees have

[a] War, iii. 3.

always been able to make a strong resistance in time of war; for the Galileans are inured to war from their youth, and have been always very numerous; nor has the country been ever destitute of men of courage, or wanted a numerous band of them, for their soil is universally rich and fruitful, and full of plantations of trees of all sorts; insomuch, that it invites the most slothful to take pains of its cultivation by its fruitfulness, and no part of it lies waste. The cities also lie very thick, and the many villages that are there, are everywhere so full of people, by the richness of the soil, that the very least of them contained (before the war) above 15,000 inhabitants. (Josephus surely means cities, and not villages.) In short, if any one will suppose that Galilee is inferior to Peræa in magnitude, he will be obliged to prefer it in point of strength; for it is all capable of cultivation, and is everywhere fruitful."[a] The Mishna furnishes us with some additional particulars concerning this portion of Palestine. It began, we are told, at Ginea and Bethshan, or Scythopolis, and extended to Sidon and Antilibanus, forming three subdivisions, viz. Upper Galilee, from Caphar-hananiah upwards, which could not produce sycamores, these trees requiring a deep soil and low situation; Lower Galilee, from Caphar-hananiah downwards, which could produce sycamores; and the valley of Galilee, which extended along the sea or lake of Tiberias.[b] The Galileans are mentioned in Scripture, as differing from the rest of the Jews in their mode of pronunciation, and the following are stated to have been the differences: they used

[a] War, iii. 3. [b] Tractat. de Anno Septimo, cap. ix. sect. 2.

Ain ע for Aleph א; Caph כ for Beth ב; Thau ת for Daleth ד; and frequently changed the gutturals.[a]

Such were the principal divisions to the west of Jordan; and if we cross that river, and examine the eastern districts, which were inhabited by the two tribes and a half, before the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, we shall find them the following, viz. Auranitis, Trachonitis, and Ituræa on the north;[b] Batanea, Gaulonitis, and Galaditis in the middle; and Peræa on the south.—The northern and middle divisions "were parts," as Josephus informs us, "of the kingdom of Agrippa. They began at Mount Libanus and the fountains of Jordan, reaching (downwards) in breadth to the Lake of Tiberias, and extending in length (between Jordan and Arabia) from a village called Arpha as far as Julias: its inhabitants were a mixture of Jews and Syrians."[c] As for the remaining division of *Peræa*, which lay along the lower part of Jordan, between the brook Jabbok and the head of the Dead Sea, the following is Josephus's account of it. "As for Peræa, which is indeed much larger (than the two Galilees) in extent, the greater part of it is desert, rough, and less disposed for the production of the milder kinds of fruits; yet it has a moist soil in other parts, (a matter of the utmost consequence in the East,) and produces all kinds of fruits; and its plains are planted with trees of various sorts, but the olive, the vine, and the palm-tree, are chiefly cultivated there. It is

[a] Lightfoot's Chorog. Cent. of Israel, ch. 59, 87.

[b] We have a minute and accurate account of Auranitis, or Hauran as it is named in Ezek. xlvii. 16, in Burckhardt's Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, A. D. 1810. [c] War, iii. 3.

also sufficiently watered with torrents which issue from the mountains, and with springs that never fail to run when the torrents fail, as they do in the dog days. Now the length of Peræa is from Machærus (at the head of the Dead Sea) to Pella, (at the brook Jabbok,) and its breadth from Philadelphia (in the heights of Gilead) to Jordan. Its northern parts are bounded by Pella; its western by Jordan; the land of Moab is its southern border, and its eastern limits reach to Arabia and Silbonitis, Philadelphine and Gerasa."[a] The Talmud tells us that its exposure was all westerly, and that its descent was divided by three imaginary lines, the highest of which was styled mountainous, in which was Mount Macvar, Gedor, &c.; the second was styled the Plain, in which was Heshbon with all its cities, viz. Dibon, Bamoth-baal, Bethbaalmeon, &c.; and the third was denominated the Valley, in which were Bethharan, Bethnimrah, Succoth, &c. This was the way in which they divided Peræa.[b]

With respect to the relative situation of Judea as to other countries, I cannot do better than give the account of Tacitus, who says, that "it was bounded by Arabia on the east, by Egypt on the south, by Phœnicia and the Mediterranean sea on the west, and Syria on the north."[c]

The above sketch of the Holy Land may be appropriately concluded with the following extract from Dr. Clarke's Travels.[d] "Under a wise and

[a] War, iii. 3. [b] Lightf. Chorog. Cent. of Land of Israel, ch. 91.

[c] "Terra finesque, qua ad orientem vergunt, Arabia terminantur; a meridie, Egyptus objacet; ab occasu, Phœnices et mare; septentrionem a latere Syriæ longè prospectant." Historiar. lib. v. 6.

[d] Vol. iii. part ii. ch. 16.

beneficent government, the produce of the Holy Land would exceed all calculation: its perennial harvest, the salubrity of its air, its limpid springs, its rivers, lakes, and matchless plains, its hills and vales; all these, added to the serenity of its climate, prove this land to be, indeed, a field which the Lord hath blessed. God hath given it of the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine."

But in the above short description of the Holy Land, we ought not to overlook the river Jordan, that runs through its whole extent from north to south. This far-famed stream has its source at Phiala, 120 furlongs (15 miles) from Cæsarea, and on the right hand of the road to Trachonitis. It had the name of Phiala given to it, because of its resemblance to a bowl, and its waters were brimful at all seasons. When Burckhardt visited it in 1812, it was about 200 paces in circumference.[a] Before the days of Philip the tetrarch, Panium, and not Phiala, was reckoned the source of Jordan; but he having thrown chaff into the spring of Phiala, and that having come out at Panium, a subterraneous passage between the two springs was thereby discovered. Phiala, then, is the real, and Panium the visible source of the river Jordan.[b] The following is Burckhardt's account of it in 1810. "The source of the Jordan, or, as it is here called, Dhan, is at an hour and a quarter north-east from Banias (equal to about four miles.) It is in the plain, near a hill called Tel-el-Kadi. There are two springs near each other, one smaller than the

[a] Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, p. 315.
[b] Joseph. War, iii. 10.

other, whose waters unite immediately below. Both sources are on level ground, among rocks of tufwacke, immediately forming a river twelve or fifteen yards across, which rushes rapidly over a stony bed, in the lower plain.[a] Between Phiala and the lake Semechonitis, or, as it is called in Joshua x. 5, "the waters of Merom," according to Burckhardt, are 29 miles.[b] The lake itself is 60 furlongs (7½ miles) long, and 30 furlongs (3¾ miles) broad; but it is rather a marsh than a lake, being dry almost in summer, and overgrown with shrubs and reeds, and only overflowed by the Jordan in winter.[c] Its present name is El Houle. Having left the lake Semechonitis, the Jordan proceeds 120 furlongs (15 miles) before it reaches the lake of Gennezareth, sea of Tiberias, or of Galilee,[d] through a country where it is almost hid with shady trees, chiefly of the platanus kind, poplars, alders, tamarisks, and reeds.[e] The following is Josephus's account of the lake of Gennezareth: "Its breadth is 40 furlongs, (5 miles,) and its length 140 furlongs, (17½ miles.)

[a] Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, p. 42.

[b] His words are, "Thirteen hours from Phiala is the bridge over the Jordan called Djissr Beni Yakoub. The road continues in an easy slope, till a quarter of an hour above the bridge, when it becomes a steep ascent. The river flows in a narrow bed, and with a rapid stream: for the lake Houle, whose southern extremity is about three quarters of a mile north of the bridge, is upon a level considerably higher than that of the lake of Tiberias." From which passage we collect, that the thirteen hours between Phiala and the bridge are equal to thirty-nine miles, allowing three miles to the hour. Deduct three quarters of an hour, as the distance from the bridge to the south end of the lake, equal to 2¼ miles, and 7½ miles as the length of the lake, and there remain 29 miles, between the north end of the lake and Phiala, as mentioned in the text. In the ordinary maps it is only about ten miles.

[c] Joseph. War, iv. 1. Pococke, vol. ii. p. 72. Sandys, p. 110.

[d] War, iii. 10. [e] Pococke, vol. ii. p. 72, 73. Sandys, p. 110.

The waters are sweet and agreeable to the taste, finer than the thick waters of other lakes, and cooler than one would expect in so inland a place; (probably from the depth of the lake, and the springs which rise in it;) for when this water is kept in the open air, it is as cold as that which is cooled with snow, which the country people are accustomed to make by night in summer. There are several kinds of fish in it, different both in taste and appearance from those elsewhere:" but Josephus does not enter into particulars.[a] Burckhardt, who visited it in 1812, says that "the northern part is full of fish; but he did not see a single one at the southern extremity. The most common species are the Binni or carp, and the Mesht, which is about a foot long and five inches broad, with a flat body like the sole."[b]

When Captain Light visited this beautiful sheet of water in 1814, the situation of the town of Tiberias struck him as exceedingly picturesque. It contained two thousand inhabitants, stood on the west side of the lake, close by the water's edge, and nearer the north than the south end. Its houses were scattered irregularly within its walls, and the minarets of two or three mosques, intermixed with cypress, grouped well with the neighbouring cupolas. The opposite or eastern shore was confined by bold, barren, precipitous rocks, and hills of sandstone; and as he was walking along the shore, he trod the ground celebrated for the miracle of the unclean spirits, driven by our Saviour into the herd of swine. The tombs where the possessed lodged still exist in the form of ca-

[a] War, iii. 10. [b] Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, p. 332.

verns, on the sides of the hills that rise from the shore of the lake; and, from their wild appearance, may well be considered the habitations of men exceeding fierce, and possessed with devils. They extend to the distance of more than a mile from the present town. Of the other towns, celebrated in the New Testament as once bordering on the lake, there are no traces left.[a]

In the days of Josephus, the adjoining country, for several miles on the same side of the lake on which Tiberias stood, must have been exceedingly rich; for in War iii. 10, he thus describes it: "The country that lies over against this lake hath the name also of Gennezareth. Its nature is wonderful, as well as its beauty, for the soil is so fruitful, and the temperature of the air so admirably mixed, that it agrees well with trees of very different kinds: walnuts, which require a cold atmosphere; palm-trees, which grow best in hot exposures; and fig-trees and olives, which require an air that is temperate, all flourishing in the greatest plenty in this favourite district. One may call it the ambition of nature, for it forces those plants that are naturally enemies to one another to grow together. It is a happy contention of the seasons, as if every one of them laid claim to this country; for it not only nourishes different sorts of autumnal fruit beyond men's expectations, but preserves them also a great while. It supplies men with grapes and figs during ten months in the year, and the rest of the fruits as they become ripe through the whole year: for, besides the good temperature of

[a] Travels, p. 203—206. For a more minute account of Tiberias, see Burckhardt's Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, p. 320—330.

the air, it is also watered from a most fertile fountain, which the people of the country call Capharnaum, and which some of them have (ignorantly) thought to be a vein of the Nile, because it produces the Coracin fish, as well as that lake in the neighbourhood of Alexandria. The whole length of this district of Gennezareth," adds Josephus, "extends 30 furlongs, ($3\frac{3}{4}$ miles,) and its breadth 20 furlongs, ($2\frac{1}{2}$ miles.)"

We have now descended the Jordan about 69 miles, namely, to the foot of the lake of Gennezareth; but after that, we are not particularly informed by Josephus of the length of its course, in its way to the lake Asphaltites. He only says, in general, after the above extract, that "it ran between the one lake and the other a long way over a desert;" which, considering the general amelioration of soil and scenery, as rivers approach their termination, would have been to us inexplicable, if, in describing what was generally known by the Great Plain, he had not accidentally given us a key to it. For then[a] he says, that "the Great Plain reaches from the village Gennabris, as far as the lake Asphaltites, being in length 230 furlongs, and in breadth 120, divided in the midst by the river Jordan, and having within it two lakes, that of Asphaltites and Tiberias. It is much burnt up," he adds, "in summer, and infected, in consequence of its drought, with unwholesome air, for it is all destitute of water except the river Jordan, which makes the palm-trees on its banks appear flourishing and fruitful, whilst those that are farther removed are stunted in their growth." Now from this extract we may

[a] War, iv. 8.

infer two things; 1st, What he meant in War, iii. 10, by the desert country through which the Jordan ran, from the time of its leaving the lake of Gennezareth till it reached the Dead Sea; and, 2dly, The distance between these two lakes: for as they were both within the limits of the Great Plain, and probably lay at the northern and southern extremities of it, the course of the Jordan, from the place it left the one lake till it emptied itself into the other, must have been 230 furlongs, or 28¾ miles. It seems, however, that there is some inaccuracy in the above account, for modern travellers make the distance between the two lakes to be much greater.—Thus Captain Light makes it about sixty miles; and when describing the Jordan in that space, says, that when it left the lake of Tiberias, it seemed almost stagnant, as far as his eye could reach, from its numerous windings; was muddy; flowed in a breadth of about thirty feet, on the 11th September, which was the end of the dry season, amidst reeds and rushes; but became much more rapid, when it drew near the lake Asphaltites.[a] Here then, we have two accounts of the length of Jordan; for, adding Josephus's 28¾ miles below the foot of the lake of Tiberias to the 69 above it, we have 97¾ miles, whilst by adding Captain Light's account, we have no less than 129¾; which seems to be the true one. But after having run so long a course, and received the tributary streams on either side, it may well be supposed to have acquired a very considerable magnitude. The reader, therefore, will be gratified with the following extract from Dr. Shaw's

[a] Travels, p. 206, 207.

Travels,[a] where we are told, that "with respect to the rivers, the Jordan was not only the most considerable in the Holy Land, but, next to the Nile, was by far the largest he had seen, either in the Levant or Barbary: he could not compute it, however, to be more than thirty yards broad; but that was made up by its depth; which, even at the brink, he found to be nine feet. If then," says he, "we take this during the whole year for the mean depth of the stream, which runs about two miles an hour, the Jordan will daily discharge into the Dead Sea about 6,090,000 tuns of water." Chateaubriand found it in October 1806, to be "six or seven feet deep close to the shore, and about fifty paces in breadth," and of a yellow colour, probably from the autumnal rains.[b]

In a river of such extent, it is natural to think that there would be some bridges or fords, to enable travellers to cross it. Of the first we have no mention in Scripture: other writers, however, inform us of two; one, two and a half miles below the lake Semechonitis, called Jacob's bridge, (Djissr Beni Yakoub,) which, in 1812, when visited by Burckhardt, "was of solid construction, with four arches;"[c] the other, immediately below the sea of Tiberias, between Tiberias and Chammath, of which Lightfoot informs us, out of the Talmud.[d] —As for the fords, they are several times mentioned in Scripture;[e] and Burckhardt crossed the Jordan at Bethshan, half way between the lake of

[a] Chap. 2. [b] Travels, vol. i. p. 406, 409.

[c] Travels in Syria and the Holy Land.

[d] Chorograph. Cent. of the Land of Israel, prefixed to Matthew, ch. 74: and Chorograph. Enquiry prefixed to John, ch. i. sect. 2.

[e] Josh. ii. 7. Judg. iii. 28; vii. 24; xii. 5.

Tiberias and the Dead Sea, where the stream was eighty paces broad, and about three feet deep, in the middle of summer, (2d July,) adding, that "it is fordable in many places during summer; but the few spots where it may be crossed in the rainy season, are known only to the Arabs."[a] The present name for the whole extent of the valley of Jordan is El Ghor. "It is hotter," says Burckhardt, "than any other part of Syria, the rocky mountains concentrating the heat, and preventing the air from being cooled by the westerly winds in summer. The barley harvest, which does not begin in the upper plain, till fifteen days later, was here found (5th May 1812) nearly finished. Every plant in the Ghor was already dried up, and the whole country appeared as if in the midst of summer. Volney," continues he, "has justly remarked, that there are few countries, where the changes from one climate to another are so sudden as in Syria; and I was never more convinced of it, than in this valley. To the north was the Djebel el Sheikh, covered with snow; to the east the fertile plains of Djolan, clothed in the blossoms of spring; while to the south, the withered vegetation of the Ghor seemed the effect of a tropical sun. The breadth of the valley is about an hour and a half or two hours, (equal to 4½ or 6 miles.)"[b]

As for the scenery near the foot of the Jordan, the following was the aspect it presented to Maundrell (1697): "Somewhat less than a furlong from the river, there runs along a small descent, which may be fitly called the first and outermost bank,

[a] Travels in the Holy Land, p. 345.

[b] Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, p. 275.

as far as which it may be supposed the river does, or at least did, anciently overflow at some seasons: viz. at the time of harvest,[a] or as it is expressed in 1 Chron. xii. 15, 'in the first month.' But at present, whether it be because the river has, by its rapidity of current, worn its channel deeper than it was formerly, or whether because its waters are diverted some other way, it seems to have forgot its ancient greatness: for we could discern no sign nor probability of such overflowings when we were there, being the proper time for these inundations. Nay, so far was the river from overflowing, that it ran at least two yards below the brink of its channel." Between the outer and real bank of Jordan, Maundrell tells us, that the ground was covered with trees and bushes, particularly willows, tamarisks, and oleanders; so that he could see no water till he made his way through them. And it was in this thicket that several kinds of wild beasts were wont to conceal themselves; which, being washed out of their covert, by the overflowings of the river, gave occasion for the prophet to compare the impatience of Edom and Babylon, under God's judgments, to "the coming up of a lion from the swellings of Jordan."[b]

Thus have we followed this noble river from its source, till it empties itself in the Dead Sea. A few notices of that remarkable lake shall finish the present general description. The Dead Sea is stated by Josephus[c] to be 580 furlongs (72¾ miles) in length, and 150 furlongs (18¾ miles) in breadth.[d] Maundrell found its waters to be very limpid; not

[a] Josh. iii. 15. [b] Jer. xlix. 19; l. 44. [c] War, iv. 8.
[d] The modern maps make it only about fifty miles long.

only salt, but bitter and nauseous, and uncommonly buoyant: which last circumstance is owing to the immense quantity of salts of various kinds it is known to contain, being nearly 25 parts in 100, while common sea water is only 1 in 32.[a] The quantity of bitumen which is found either floating on its waters, or lying on the shore, hath been often noticed; and the death-like appearance which it everywhere presents, by the baneful influence of saline effluvia on vegetation, naturally reminds the traveller of those awful judgments which were the cause of its formation: while the constant influx of the waters of Jordan and other streams into that extensive lake, without increasing its geographical limits, is an additional example of the law of evaporation, which restores to the clouds what had descended from them in dews and rains. Dr. Shaw notices this difficulty, and satisfactorily removes it. "Such a quantity (of

[a] The following is the result of the experiments made by Dr. Marcet, of Guy's Hospital, London, on a bottle of Dead Sea water, which had been brought by Mr. Gordon of Cluny, and given by him to Sir Joseph Banks.

It is perfectly transparent. Re-agents demonstrate the presence of marine and sulphuric acid. There is no alumine. It is not saturated with marine salt. It does not change turnsol and violet. It holds in solution the following substances, and in the under-mentioned proportions:

In 100 parts of water were

Muriate of Lime	3·920
Muriate of Magnesia	10·246
Muriate of Soda	10·360
Sulphate of Lime	·054
	24·580

A bottle of the water of Jordan, analysed at the same time, contained no salt. (London Philosoph. Transact. for 1807, part ii. art. 16.)

water," says he, "as the 6,090,000 tuns formerly mentioned) daily received from Jordan without increasing the limits of that sea, has made some conjecture, that it is absorbed by the burning sands; and others, that it is carried off through subterraneous cavities, or that it has a communication with the Serbonic Lake. But if the Dead Sea is, according to the general computation, 72 miles long and 18 broad, by allowing, according to Dr. Halley's observation, 6914 tuns of vapour for every square mile, there will be daily drawn up in clouds, to refresh the earth with rain or dew, 8,960,000 tuns, which is near one-third more than is brought into it by this river:"—and which of course may be applied to the quantity discharged by the other streams of less note which surround the lake.[a]

We shall conclude the section with some information concerning the Ghor, or valley of Jordan, on either side of the Dead Sea; and its original extension beyond that lake. "The mountains," says Burckhardt, "which enclose the Ghor, or valley of Jordan, open considerably at the northern extremity of the Dead Sea; and encompassing it on the west and east sides, approach again at its south extremity, leaving only a narrow plain between them; which, on the west side, between the sea and the mountains, is covered with sand, and is unfit for cultivation; but on the east side, and es-

[a] Tacitus gives us an interesting account of the Dead Sea, in his Historiar. v. 6. But those who wish to understand the geography of Judea more perfectly, ought to consult Bochart's Phaleg and Canaan; Reland's Palestina; De Lisle's Terræ Sanctæ Tabula; Wells's Sacred Geography; Paxton's Illustrations of the Geography of Judea; and Heming's Complete Survey of Scripture Geography, with a superb and accurate Atlas by Asseton, printed 1818.

pecially towards the south extremity, where it continues to bear the appellation of El Ghor, it is in many places very fertile. Its breadth varies from one to four or five miles; and the heat of the climate of this low valley, during the summer, renders it almost uninhabitable."[a]—But if there be a northern Ghor, or valley, extending from the sources of Jordan to the Dead Sea, as when examining the course of the Jordan we saw there was; and a middle Ghor, which contains the Dead Sea, and the plains on either side of it, as Burckhardt has told us there is; there is also a southern Ghor, which reaches from the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, to the Elanitic gulf of the Red Sea. This is clearly laid down in the map which accompanies Burckhardt's Travels, and is said by him to be "similar to the northern Ghor in shape, but which the want of water makes a desert, while the Jordan and its numerous tributary streams render the other a fertile plain."[b] This southern Ghor, Mr. Leake, in his preface to Burckhardt's Travels, very naturally supposes to have been the ancient course of the Jordan, before the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, when the basin containing the Dead Sea was probably formed; and consequently, that, instead of being evaporated, as it is now from the Dead Sea, it emptied itself, before that awful event, into the Elanitic gulf of the Red Sea. The direction of the valley, and the immense volume of water contained in the Jordan, which would not probably be dried up in so short a course, render the conjecture of Mr. Leake extremely probable.

[a] Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, p. 391. [b] Ibid. p. 442.

SECT. II.

The Jewish Capital.

Jerusalem, when founded; in what tribes situated; the different gates in the city wall, viz. the sheep-gate, fish-gate, old gate, gates of Benjamin and Ephraim, the corner-gate, valley-gate, dung-gate, gate of the fountain, prison-gate, water-gate, horse-gate, gate Miphkad, golden gate, St. Stephen's gate. Mountains within the city wall: Mount Zion, Moriah, Acra, Bezetha. Some of the public buildings and streets. Present state of Jerusalem.

JERUSALEM is thought to have been founded by Melchizedec about the year of the world 2023, and called Salem, which signifies peace. After his death it was possessed by the Jebusites 847 years, and called from them Jebus;[a] when it was taken by David, and made the capital of his kingdom, under the name of Jebus-salem, or (euphoniæ gratiâ) Jerusalem. In that state of eminence it continued 477 years, and then was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar. During the seventy years' captivity it lay waste: after which it arose from its ashes, and continued 562 years, till it was destroyed by Titus.

It did not belong to any one tribe, but was partly in the tribe of Judah, and partly in the tribe of Benjamin; and the distinguishing line went through the very court of the temple. For the whole of the court of the Gentiles on the east, the whole of the court of the women, the east end of the court of Israel, and of the priests, and the south-east corner of the altar, were in the tribe of Judah; and the

[a] 1 Chron. xi. 4.

rest of the altar, and all the rest of the 500 cubits space that lay to the west, belonged to Benjamin.[a] When it became the capital of the kingdom, and the place where the temple was built, every mean was used to render it impregnable, by high walls, massy gates, and towers of observation and annoyance. But we do not hear distinctly of these till after the return of the Jews from the captivity, when Nehemiah recorded the portions which each of them repaired. That document is therefore deserving of our attention, both as an account of the then circuit of the city, and as settling the situation of many of the gates and streets, which are mentioned in Scripture.

Let us accompany, therefore, Nehemiah in his description, and notice the various objects which present themselves. He begins[b] with the *sheep-gate*, which was on the east side of the city, in the neighbourhood of Bethesda,[c] and through which the flocks of sheep, destined for sacrifice, were driven to the temple. Travelling from the sheep-gate, along the side of the east wall, with our faces to the north, we come to the tower of Meah;[d] and after turning the north-east corner, we reach the tower of Hananeel;[e] beyond which, and farther towards the west, was the *fish-gate*.[f] The *old gate*[g] was also on the north side of the city, but farther to the west than the fish-gate: and "the broad wall" mentioned by Nehemiah,[h] appears to have been near the north-west corner, and so named from the lowness of the ground in that place, which

[a] Lightf. Chorog. Cent. of the Land of Israel, ch. 21.
[b] Neh. iii. 1. [c] John v. 2. [d] Neh. iii. 1.
[e] Neh. iii. 1. [f] Neh. iii. 3. [g] Neh. iii. 6. [h] Ch. iii 8.

required the wall to have a wide foundation, in order to raise it to an equal height with the rest. These, then, were the gates which were rebuilt by Nehemiah and others on the north side of the city; but they did not constitute the whole number, for there are three others mentioned elsewhere, viz. the *gate of Benjamin*,[a] which geographers place near the north-east corner, between the sheep-gate and the fish-gate; the *gate of Ephraim*,[b] which they place between the fish-gate and the north-west corner; and the *corner-gate*,[c] which they place at the north-west corner.

On turning round the north-west corner, and walking along the west side of the city wall, with our faces to the south, we come to "the tower of the furnaces,"[d] probably because furnaces for burning brick, or fusing metals, were in its neighbourhood; then we reach the *valley-gate*,[e] which was farther to the southward; a thousand cubits beyond the valley-gate we come to the *dung-gate*;[f] and proceeding farther south still, we come to the *gate of the fountain*,[g] which was probably so named from its proximity to the lower fountain of Gihon. These were the gates in the west wall.—Nehemiah mentions no gate in the south outer wall, probably because being the steepest part of Mount Zion, no public road could be conveniently made from it. But modern geographers mention three, as being within the city, in the wall which separates the city from Mount Zion, viz. one without any distinctive name on the east; the middle gate in the middle; and Zion gate on the west.

[a] Jer. xxxvii. 13; xxxviii. 7. [b] 2 Kings xiv. 13. Neh. xii. 39.
[c] 2 Kings xiv. 13. Jer. xxxi. 38. [d] Neh. iii. 11.
[e] Neh. iii. 13. [f] Neh. iii. 13. [g] Neh. iii. 15.

On turning the south-east corner, to travel along the east side of the city, we pass "the pool of Siloah, by the king's gardens, and the king's pool," which lay at some distance from the city, on the right hand; and "the wall opposite the stairs that led to the city of David, or Zion, the wall opposite the sepulchres of David, and the house of the mighty," within the city on the left.[a] Accordingly these are said to have been "at the turning of the wall,"[b] or near the south-east corner. —A little farther on, and at the place where the inner wall, which divides between the city and Zion, touches this outer wall, geographers place the dung-gate; but although this be its present position, it is evident from Nehemiah, that it lay anciently on the other side, where we have placed it. Farther to the north was another "turning," or corner, where was "the tower which lay out from the king's high house, and near the court of the prison."[c] There probably the *prison-gate*, mentioned afterwards by Nehemiah,[d] was situated. And beyond that were the *water-gate*,[e] near which the waters of Etam, that were employed in the temple service, escaped to the brook Kidron; the *horse-gate*,[f] where Athaliah the queen was slain,[g] on this side the water-gate, and joined to it by the wall that enclosed Ophel;[h] and the *gate Miphkad*,[i] on the other side of the water-gate, not far from the sheep-gate, from which we set out. Geographers place other two gates between Miphkad and the sheep-gate, viz. the *golden gate*, immediately opposite the east gate of the temple, and *St. Ste-*

[a] Neh. iii. 15, 16. [b] Neh. iii. 19. [c] Neh. iii. 24, 25.
[d] Neh. xii. 39. [e] Neh. iii. 26. [f] Neh. iii. 26.
[g] 2 Chron. xxiii. 15. [h] Neh. iii. 27, 28. [i] Neh. iii. 31.

phen's gate, half way between the golden gate and the sheep-gate; but they are of later date than the days of Nehemiah.[a]

Hitherto we have attended to the wall of Jerusalem as repaired under the inspection of Nehemiah, and the gates in that wall; but it is natural to suppose, that very important changes would happen between that time and the destruction of the city by Titus. Let us then examine the account of Josephus, as we find it in his Wars of the Jews, v. 4. —The city, according to him, was built upon two hills, viz. Zion and Acra, which are opposite to each other, and have a valley between them; at which valley, the corresponding rows of houses, on both hills, terminated. Of these hills, that which contained the Upper City, or Mount Zion, was much the higher. It was called the Citadel by king David: but, in Josephus's time, it was called the Upper Market-place. The other hill, viz. Acra, was the site of the Lower City, and in form resembled the moon when she is horned. Over against Acra, there was a third hill, considerably lower, and parted from it by a broad valley, called

[a] In the first edition of this work, when perambulating the city as we have now done, the route of Lightfoot, as given in his Chorographical Century of the Land of Israel, chap. xxvi. was followed, which places the sheep-gate near the south-east corner of the wall, and proceeds by the south, west, north, and east walls, to the south-east corner again. The author is now convinced that the sheep-gate lay not near the south-east, but near the north-east corner of the wall, and that the true route of Nehemiah is the reverse of that fixed upon by Lightfoot, namely, to start from the sheep-gate near the north-east corner, and to travel along the north, west, south, and east sides, till we come to the sheep-gate near the north-east corner again. But for understanding the grounds of this opinion, the reader is referred to the Plan of Jerusalem in Asseton's Atlas, at the end of Heming's Complete Survey of Scripture Geography.

the Valley of the Cheesemongers; but, when the Asmonæans reigned, they filled it up, by lowering Mount Acra, with the intention of joining the city to the temple.—These hills, then, formed the situation of what was called the Old City, and were surrounded by the wall mentioned in Nehemiah, which we have already considered; but as Josephus describes its distances by the objects which existed in his days, we shall perambulate it also with him.—It began, on the north, at the tower called Hippicus, extended to the Xistus, then to the Council-house, and from that to the west cloister of the temple.—It started again from the east cloister, reached to a certain place called Ophlas, then to Solomon's pool, then towards the fountain Siloam, then to the gate of the Essenes, till, through a place called Bethso, it reached the tower of Hippicus again. On the outside of this wall, were steep precipices and deep valleys, especially towards the north and east; so that by reason of these, and of the height of the wall, the city was considered impregnable. In the course of time, however, the city became extended beyond its ancient limits northward, and made a second wall necessary; which took its rise from that gate in the old wall, called Gennath, somewhere, probably, about Mount Zion, and encompassed the northern quarter of the city, extending from Gennath to the tower Antonia. The third wall was but a recent erection, being planned and begun by Agrippa; but prevented from being finished by him through the jealousy of the Romans. It was far longer than either the first or the second wall; for it formed a circuit considerably without them.

It began at the tower Hippicus, encompassed Bezetha, or the New City, which lay north of the temple, took a wider range than the second wall, round the north side of the city, came by the tower Psephinus, in the north-west corner, went along the west side by the monument of Helena, Queen of Adiabene, and the sepulchres of the kings, made a wide circuit round the south-west corner, passed the Fuller's field, and joined the old wall at the valley of Cedron. Had Agrippa not been prevented, he intended it to have been built of stones 20 cubits long and 10 cubits broad; which would scarcely have been undermined by iron tools, or shaken by engines. But the Jews afterwards did what they could to complete it. Accordingly, when besieged by the Romans, it was 10 cubits wide and 20 cubits high, besides battlements of 2 cubits, and turrets of 3 cubits; so that the entire height was 25 cubits. Along each of the walls was a chain of towers, having a foundation of solid work 20 cubits square, and 20 cubits high; and above that, an additional height for rooms, and cisterns to receive rain-water. The old wall had 60 of these towers; the second wall 40; and the third wall 90; whilst the compass of the city was 33 furlongs. Such is the substance of Josephus's account of Jerusalem, when besieged by Titus. He says nothing, indeed, in the place whence the above account was taken, of the ditch that surrounded the city on the outside of the wall; but in other places he supplies the defect. For he tells us[a] that "there was a broad and deep ditch that encompassed the city, and included within it the

[a] Antiq. xiv. 4.

temple:" and again,[a] that "Pompey himself filled up the ditch that was on the north side of the temple, and the entire valley also: adding, that it was indeed a hard thing to fill up that valley, by reason of its immense depth." But Strabo is more particular, for he says that it was 60 feet deep, and 250 broad."[b]

The above is all that appears necessary of the general history of Jerusalem, and if we enter the gates, and endeavour to describe the city from Scripture, we shall have much fewer intimations of its streets and buildings than we would imagine. We know, indeed, that there were four different eminences on which the city stood, but we read of few public buildings except Millo,[c] the armoury,[d] the court of the prison,[e] and the governor's house;[f] and a few only of the names of the streets have survived the lapse of time. Thus we have the east street mentioned in 2 Chron. xxix. 4, xxxii. 6; the street of the house of God in Ezra x. 9; the street of the water-gate, and the street of the gate of Ephraim in Neh. viii. 16; and the baker's street in Jer. xxxvii. 21. Josephus gives us some additional notices, which have been arranged by Lamy and D'Anville, but I shall content myself with referring to their works.[g]

[a] War, i. 7.

[b] Lib. xxi. p. 763. See Tacitus's Account of Jerusalem in his Historiar. lib. v. 11, 12.

[c] 1 Kings ix. 24.

[d] Cant. iv. 4. [e] Jer. xxxii. 2. [f] Matth. xxvii. 2.

[g] Barnardus Lamy, Lib. iv. cap. 1—7, treats largely of the city of Jerusalem, its gates, towers, circuit, public and private buildings; and D'Anville, in his Dissertation on the extent of ancient Jerusalem, its temple, and the Hebrew measures of length, detects a number of Lamy's errors. See also Stackhouse's Hist. of the Bible, book v. ch. 5. dissert. 5.

The destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, on the 10th day of the month Abib, A. D. 70, hath become proverbial. I shall, therefore, only remark concerning the numbers which were then sold or destroyed; that those who were carried away captive, during the whole war, were computed at 97,000; and those who perished during the siege at 1,100,000.[a] And Archbishop Usher, from Lipsius, out of Josephus, states, that the whole multitude of Jews who were destroyed during the whole war, in all the countries of, and bordering on Judea, was no fewer than 1,337,490.

There are now few remains of the city, either as it was in the days of our Saviour, or as it was afterwards rebuilt by Adrian; scarcely one stone being left upon another that hath not been thrown down. Dr. Shaw tells us, that "its very situation is greatly altered, for mount Zion, the highest part of the old Jerusalem, is now excluded, while the places adjoining to mount Calvary, where Christ suffered without the gate, are now almost in its centre." This new Jerusalem, then, as it may be called, when compared with the old, is a modern city; and when Maundrell measured it, he found it to be two English miles and a half in circumference. Dr. Clarke visited it in July 1801, and gave the following description: "We had not been prepared," says he, "for the grandeur of the spectacle which the city alone exhibited. Instead of a wretched and ruined town, by some described as the desolated remnant of Jerusalem, we beheld, as it were, a flourishing and lately metropolis, presenting a magnificent as-

[a] Joseph. War, vi. 9.

semblage of domes, towers, palaces, churches, and monasteries, all of which, glittering in the sun's rays, shone with inconceivable splendour. As we drew nearer, our whole attention was engrossed by its noble and interesting appearance. The lofty hills, whereby it is surrounded, give to the city itself an appearance of elevation inferior to that which it really possesses."—Chateaubriand visited it five years after in A. D. 1806, and his account, though equally true, is less enthusiastic. "On foot," says he, "if you keep close to the walls, it takes scarcely an hour to make the circuit of Jerusalem. The walls form an oblong square, the four sides facing the four winds, and the longest running from west to east, two points of the compass to the south. They are flanked with square towers, and may be, on the platform of the bastions, about 30 feet thick, and 120 feet high, having no other ditches than the valleys surrounding the city. When seen from the mount of Olives, on the other side of the valley of Jehoshaphat, Jerusalem presents an inclined plane, descending from west to east. An embattled wall, fortified with towers and a Gothic castle, encompasses the city all around, excluding, however, part of mount Zion, which it formerly enclosed. In the western quarter, and in the centre of the city towards Calvary, the houses stand very close; but in the eastern part, along the brook Cedron, you perceive vacant spaces; among the rest, that which surrounds the mosque erected on the ruins of the temple, and the nearly deserted spot, where once stood the castle of Antonia, and the second palace of Herod. The houses of Je-

rusalem," he adds, "are heavy square masses, very low, without chimnies or windows: they have flat terraces, or domes on the top, and look like prisons or sepulchres. The whole would appear to the eye one uninterrupted level, did not the steeples of the churches, the minarets of the mosques, the summits of a few cypresses, and the clumps of nopals, break the uniformity of the plan. Enter the city," continues this interesting writer, "but nothing will you there find to make amends for the dullness of its exterior. You loose yourself among narrow, unpaved streets, here going uphill, there down, from the inequality of the ground, and you walk among clouds of dust, and loose stones. Canvass stretched from house to house, increases the gloom of this labyrinth; bazars roofed over, and pregnant with infection, completely exclude the light from the desolate city. A few paltry shops expose nothing but wretchedness to view, and even these are frequently shut, from apprehension of the passage of a Cadi. Not a creature is to be seen in the streets, not a creature at the gates, except now and then a peasant gliding through the gloom, concealing under his garments the fruits of his labour, lest he should be robbed of his hard earnings by the rapacious soldier. Aside, in a corner, the Arab butcher is slaughtering some animal, suspended by the legs from a wall in ruins; from his haggard and ferocious look, and his bloody hands, you would rather suppose that he had been cutting the throat of a fellow creature, than killing a lamb. The only noise heard from time to time in this guilty city, is the galloping of the steed of the desert: it is the janis-

sary who brings the head of the Bedowin, or returns from plundering the unhappy Fellah (cultivator.)"[a]

I shall next add, what Captain Light says of this celebrated city when he visited it A. D. 1814. "Jerusalem," says he, "known to the natives of Syria only by the name of El Kodts, a contraction for Medinat-el-Kadess, that is, the sacred city, stands on the west side of a valley, of which the east is the mount of Olives. It contains within its walls several of the hills on which the ancient city was supposed to have stood; but these are only perceptible by the ascent and descent of the streets. The town, viewed from the Mount of Olives, appears lying on the inclined plane of the side of the valley, on which it stands, having all its principal buildings exposed to sight, in an oblong inclosure by walls. The streets are narrow, and without pavement: the houses are seen to more advantage from the hills about the town; whence the cupolas give even an air of grandeur to them. The population is said to be twelve thousand, of which the largest proportion is Mussulmen; but of the sects, the greatest is that of the Jews, and the rest are composed of Christians of the east, belonging either to the Armenian, Greek, Latin, or Coptish sects."[b] We shall close our notices of the present state of Jerusalem with an extract from the Travels of Dr. Richardson, who, when speaking of Mount Zion, the once splendid residence of the kings, says, "At the time when I visited this sacred

[a] Travels, vol. ii. p. 53, 84, 85, 179, 180.

[b] Travels, part ii. ch. iv. He gives us a view of Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives, as a frontispiece to his book: and in Luigi Mayer's Views in Palestine, we have one still more elegant.

ground, one part of it supported a crop of barley, another was undergoing the labour of the plough, and the soil turned up, consisted of stone and lime mixed with earth, such as is usually met with in the foundation of ruined cities. It is nearly a mile in circumference, is highest on the west side, and towards the east, falls down in broad terraces, on the upper part of the mountain; and narrow ones on the side of it as it slopes down towards the brook Kedron. We have here," says the traveller, "another remarkable instance of the fulfilment of prophecy,[a] 'Therefore shall Zion for your sakes be ploughed as a field; and Jerusalem shall become heaps.'"[b]

SECT. III.

Jewish Atmosphere, and its Phenomena.

Day and night antipodes; dews abundant; rain; snow; frost; hail; land and sea breezes; tornadoes; water-spouts; hurricanes; sand wind; hot wind of the desert; Simoom or Samiel; coup de soleil; the Serab, or visionary lake of the desert; ignis fatuus; thunder; lightning; aurora borealis, the reason why never mentioned by the ancients. The winds in Judea; east wind; the Euroclydon; the west wind; the north and south winds.

THE atmosphere of every country is composed of nearly the same materials, being all those parts of the original chaotic mass, which were rendered volatile and permanently elastic by means of heat; and which are mixed with all those exhalations,

[a] Micah iii. 12.

[b] Travels in the Mediterranean and places adjacent, during the years 1816-17-18, vol. ii. p. 318.

that are constantly arising from animals and vegetables. In a chemical point of view, it is composed of twenty-one parts bulk of oxygen, or the basis of pure air, and seventy-nine of azote or foul air; but it is very different in weight at different elevations, and even at the same elevation at different times, from the addition or loss of those vapours, which are constantly ascending from, or returning to, the earth's surface. Hence the variations which are visible every day in the barometer. But besides the general laws which regulate all climates, every individual country has its atmosphere affected by local circumstances. Thus, the geographical situation of Judea has a peculiar effect on the column of air which is suspended over it. Casting a bird's-eye glance over that district from west to east, we have three leading varieties: first, a gradual rise from the Mediterranean to the top of the mountains; secondly, a gradual descent from the top of the mountains to the river Jordan; and thirdly, another ascent from the river Jordan to the top of the mountains of Gilead. It is easy to see that, from the situation and degree of latitude, the district nearest the sea will have its otherwise natural temperature cooled, by its vicinity to that element, which is nearly the same summer and winter, or 48° of Fahrenheit; and that the deep vale of Jordan will be warm like an oven; while the ridges of mountains on either side will often feel exceedingly cold. For cold is both relative and real: relative, when a person with open pores ascends from a warm to a cold elevation; and real, because the air is there chill from its increasing rarity, and the want of reflection of the

sun's rays from an extended, solid, and heated surface. Hence we are told, that the cold is great on Mount Sinai, Lebanon, Antilibanus, and the other high mountains, while the valleys below have excessive heat; and that the persons visiting, or residing on them, often use furs in the night, from the intensity of the cold.[a]

The phenomena of the atmosphere depend much on its difference of temperature, and the presence or absence of electricity. The day and night, in these climates, are antipodes to each other; for the nights are very cold, even when the mornings are warm, and the days excessively hot.[b] Nor is this to be wondered at, if we consider the force of a vertical sun for many hours together, and the copious precipitation of vapour which follows his setting. Indeed, the dews in the Holy Land are abundant; for, from the excessive heat of the sun, a vast quantity of vapour is raised during the day, which is suspended in the air, and chemically united with it; but, as the colds of night are very piercing, no sooner has the sun left the horizon, than the dews begin to fall, from the want of capacity in the air to keep them suspended, in its cooled state; just as a quantity of salts is complete-

[a] Sir John Malcolm, in his *Persia*, a poem, informs us, that "when the camp of the British mission, which visited Persia in 1810, was pitched on the plain of Hubatoo, which lies about 37° of north latitude, (nearly parallel with the north of Judea,) and is situated near the centre of Kurdistan, the water kept in the tents froze during the night of the 17th of August." Note z. And the Rev. Henry Martyn, when travelling from Bushire to Shiraz, on the 31st May 1811, had the thermometer at 110° of Fahrenheit, while the night following was so piercing, that with all the clothes he and his company could muster, they were shivering. (Memoirs, p. 361.)

[b] Harmer's Ob. vol. i. p. 73, &c.

ly dissolved in boiling water, but, as the water cools, they are precipitated, and formed again into crystals at the bottom. Travellers have felt the truth of these observations, while visiting that country. Thus Maundrell tells us, that "he was sufficiently instructed by experience, what the holy psalmist meant by the dews of Hermon, his tents being as wet with it as if it had rained all night," (March 22.) And Dr. Shaw,[a] when speaking of the mists and dews of Arabia Petrea, remarks, that "the dews particularly (as they had the heavens only for their covering) would, in the night, frequently wet them to the skin; but no sooner was the sun risen, and the atmosphere a little heated, than the mists were quickly dispersed, and the copious moisture, which the dews had communicated to the sands, would be entirely evaporated." How descriptive is this of those temporary impressions of goodness which too many feel! And how forcibly does Jehovah represent by it the conduct of Israel in Hosea vi. 4: "O Ephraim, what shall I do unto thee? O Judah, what shall I do unto thee? for your goodness is as a morning cloud; and as the early dew it goeth away." In Hosea xiii. 3, the effects of the divine wrath in consuming the wicked, are expressed by the same similitude. Such dews as these, however, are needful. They cool the heated surface of the earth, and supply that nourishment to the vegetable creation, of which it was deprived by the sun's heat. Accordingly, it is a law of nature, that the one is always made to counterbalance the other: that, when

[a] Page 440.

the heat is moderate, the dews are trifling; but, when the heat is great, the dews are abundant.

Rain differs from dew, by being formed in the superior regions of the atmosphere, and descending in greater quantity. When large portions of the atmosphere, of different temperatures, and saturated, or nearly saturated with humidity, are driven by contrary winds against each other, there is a precipitation of humidity which becomes visible to the eye, by the formation of clouds. And these clouds thus formed, having their particles united into larger masses or drops, by different causes, such as the mutual attraction of aqueous particles, the force of the wind, or the operation of electricity, fall down in rain on the surface of the earth.[a] The rains in Judea, however, are very different from what they are with us. For months together they are never seen; but, when they do come, it is in torrents, rushing down the steep hills, destroying grain, soil, houses, flocks, and herds. When Youssef Pasha, besieged Tripoli, "it had unfortunately rained in the mountains above, and during the night the torrent suddenly swelled, and carried away eight or ten families, who had encamped in its bed. About fifteen persons perished."[b] Hence the beauty of the still waters mentioned by the Psalmist in Psalm xxiii. 2. A person who had been long acquainted with the rains in the East, described them to the author of this work, as descending not in drops, but in pipes like fingers.

[a] Dr. Hutton's theory of the formation of clouds and rain, in the Transactions of the Edinburgh Royal Society, vol. i. p. 41, &c.

[b] Burckhardt's Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, p. 175.

Snow is vapour frozen before it had time to form into drops, by falling through the atmosphere; and *hail* is rain congealed. Both of them are met with in Judea. In winter the dew often assumes the appearance of hoar frost. On high situations, the snow is sometimes seen to lie for a considerable time. And both on mountains, and in the valleys, they experience hail.[a] But it is sometimes of a dreadful size, falling in large rugged masses, destroying the fields of corn and trees, and endangering the lives of animals. This is occasioned by the highly electrified state of the atmosphere. For when clouds negatively and positively electrified happen to meet, they rush together to produce an equilibrium, part with the vapour which each of them contained, and occasion intense cold: this freezes the disengaged vapour in a moment, and the masses descend by their own weight. Bruce saw them in Abyssinia as large as a nutmeg.[b] We meet with something like this in miniature in our own climate during a thunder-storm: and see its dreadful effects in Judea, when in one of Joshua's battles with the Amorites, we are told that "the Lord cast down great stones from heaven upon them, from Beth-horon unto Azekah, and that more died by the hail than by the sword."[c]

Winds are occasioned by the air losing its equilibrium, either by a temporary or continued application of cold or heat. When cold is applied to air, it instantly contracts it, making it occupy less space than it did, and thereby forming a kind of vacuum, which the neighbouring air on all sides rushes in to supply, and this motion continues till

[a] Isaiah xxviii. 2, 117. [b] Shaw's Abridg. p. 176. [c] Josh. x. 10.

the equilibrium is restored. But when wind is occasioned by the application of heat, the very reverse of this is experienced. For the heat rarefies the air, makes it ascend like smoke from a chimney, and the surrounding air rushes in, to supply the deficiency. On these principles do we explain those sudden gusts, which are experienced in every country; and we have only to suppose their continued action, to account for winds of greater extent and endurance. It is obvious to common observation, in almost every country, that, in settled weather, there is generally at the time of the sun's approach to the horizon, and a little after he is risen, a pretty brisk easterly gale. This seems to be "the breathing of the day," שיפוח, *shiphuh*, mentioned in Cant. iv. 6; although our translators, rather improperly, have rendered it "day-break," which conveys a different idea. We have a striking instance of the regular application of heat and cold, in the land and sea breezes within the tropics, and even in that part of the Mediterranean which washes the coast of Judea, where they are regular as the succession of day and night; those from the land to the sea prevailing in the night, and those from the sea to the land prevailing in the day.[a] Nor are the causes of this

[a] See Dr. Clarke's Travels, part ii. ch. xviii. p. 645, 647, 4to edit. 1812. At Tereboli, seventy-two miles from Trebisond on the Euxine Sea, Mr. Macdonald Kinneir was detained by the wind from the north-east, which, like a regular sea-breeze, commenced at ten in the morning, and continued to blow fresh until six in the evening; when ceasing, it was succeeded by light airs from the land. (Journey through Asia Minor, 1813, 1814, p. 331.) Here we see them in a higher latitude even, than the Mediterranean. The following extract from Dampier will give a distinct idea of them. "Sea-breezes commonly rise in the morning about nine o'clock. They first ap-

benevolent appointment of Providence difficult to explain. For the sea has always, throughout the year, the temperature of springs, which never varies, and is nearly 48° of Fahrenheit. And that part of the land of Judea lying along the shore of the Mediterranean, is commonly, in the summer months, cooled by dews and hoar frosts during the night, much below that temperature. As wind, therefore, is nothing but air in motion by the application of heat, so, during the night, the breeze blows regularly from the land to the sea, because the sea is warmest; and, during the day, from the sea to the land, because the land is warmest; while, in the intermediate hours of morning and evening, the air is stationary, because the heat from the sea, and the heat from the land, are passing and repassing the point of equilibrium.

But while the inhabitants on the coast experience, in a greater or less degree, the pleasure of the land and sea breezes, those in the interior of the Holy Land are differently situated. The air is there sometimes calm, and hot as an oven. Sometimes sudden gusts are felt either by the par-

proach the shore so gently, as if they were afraid to come near it. They come in a fine small black curl upon the water, whereas all the sea between them and the shore (not yet reached by them) is as smooth and even as glass in comparison. In half an hour's time after they have reached the shore, they fan pretty briskly, and increase gradually till twelve o'clock. Then they are commonly strongest; and last so till two or three, a very brisk gale. After three, they begin to die away again; and about five o'clock they are lulled asleep, and come no more till next morning.—As the sea-breezes blow in the day, and rest in the night, so, on the contrary, the land-breezes blow in the night, and rest in the day; alternately succeeding each other. They spring up between six and twelve at night, and last till six, eight, or ten in the morning." (Discourse of Winds, ch. 4.)

tial application of heat, or by a cooling blast from Mount Libanus. And sometimes, after a strong application of heat to a particular place, the air ascends as from a chimney, with a whirling motion, along the surface of the earth, forming a vacuum in its centre, which sucks up every thing over which it passes, and carries it to an immense height, exhibiting all the appearances of a *tornado*. Accordingly, tornadoes or whirlwinds are sometimes referred to in Scripture, and have been often dangerous to travellers. They have been met with in the deserts which border on the south of Judea,[a] as well as in the interior. And Mr. Bruce tells us, that, when returning from Abyssinia to Egypt, through the desert of Nubia, he saw a number of columns of moving sand, on either side of the tract through which he passed, which, he was informed, sometimes overwhelmed whole companies of travellers.

What tornadoes are on land, *water-spouts* are at sea. In the one case, they carry up wood, earth, stones, sand, &c.; and in the other, the vacuum is filled with a column of water. They are referred to by the Psalmist in Psalm xlii. 7, and are often mentioned by travellers. Thus Sandys, when describing a storm which he met with on the coast of the Holy Land, near Acre, says that "spouts of water were seen to fall against the promontory of Carmel."[b] And Dr. Shaw informs us, that "water-spouts are more frequent near the capes of Latikea, Greego, and Carmel, (which last every one knows to be in Judea,) than in any other part of the Mediterranean. Those that he had the op-

[a] Is. xxi. i. [b] Travels, p. 161.

portunity of seeing, seemed to be so many cylinders of water falling down from the clouds; though by the reflection," says the Doctor, "of these descending columns, or from the actual dropping of the water contained in them, they would sometimes appear, especially at a distance, to be sucked up from the sea."[a] Since his time, they have been more accurately examined, and found to be really what he suspected, sucked up from the sea.[b]

Hurricanes, or violent storms of wind and rain, are not unknown in the Holy Land; and, from the heated state of the atmosphere, are peculiarly rapid. No attempts have been made to ascertain their velocity in that country; but in Jamaica they have been computed to be about 100 miles an hour.[c] The following account of a hurricane by Dr. Mosely, in his treatise on tropical diseases, will give us some idea of it in Judea: "It is generally preceded," he says, "by an awful stillness of the elements, and a closeness and mistiness in the atmosphere, which makes the sun appear red, and the stars larger. But a dreadful reverse succeeding; the sky is suddenly overcast and wild; the sea rises at once from a profound calm

[a] Travels, p. 333. [b] Franklin's Phys. and Meteorol. Observ.

[c] London Philosoph. Transact. vol. li. p. 165, &c. where Smeaton's table of the force of winds is recorded. A gentle breeze is there estimated as moving at the rate of four or five miles an hour, and pressing with a force of about two ounces avoirdupois against a plane of a foot square. A brisk but pleasant gale, from ten to fifteen miles, with a force of from half a pound to a pound. A high wind goes at the rate of thirty or thirty-five miles, and presses with a force of five or six pounds. And a hurricane which tears up trees, and blows down houses, has a velocity of one hundred miles an hour, and a force of forty-nine pounds on a square foot. The force of all winds is as the density of the air multiplied into the square of their velocity.

into mountains; the wind rages and roars like the noise of cannon; the rain descends in deluges; a dismal obscurity envelopes the earth with darkness; the superior regions appear rent with lightning and thunder; the earth often does, and always seems to tremble; and terror and consternation distract all nature. Birds and animals are terrified: they are almost suffocated by the impetuosity of the wind, in seeking for shelter; which, when found, serves only for destruction. The roofs of houses are carried to vast distances from their walls, which are beat to the ground, burying their inhabitants under them. Large trees are torn up by the roots, and huge branches shivered off, and driven through the air in every direction, with immense velocity. Every tree and shrub that withstands the shock is stripped of its boughs and foliage. Plants and grass are laid flat on the earth; and luxuriant spring is changed, in a moment, to dreary winter." We are not to suppose, that the above is realised in every respect in Judea; but a medium between it, and what happens sometimes in Britain, may perhaps be not far from the truth. In 1 Kings xviii. 44, a small cloud rising out of the sea like a man's hand is mentioned as the signal of a hurricane of wind and rain; and the 29th Psalm gives us a striking description of it.

Sand winds, although little known among us, are yet exceedingly troublesome to persons in the East. The sand is so fine and dry, that it is moved with a moderate wind like drifted snow; spoils the articles of the traveller, unless inclosed in leathern bags; and affects the eyes with itchiness, inflam-

mation, and blindness. The following is Mr. Macdonald Kinneir's account of it as seen in Mekran in Persia. "The sand of the desert," says he, "is so light in Mekran, that, when taken in the hand, the particles are scarcely palpable. It is raised by the wind into longitudinal waves, which present, on the side next the wind, a gradual slope from the base; but on the other rise perpendicularly to the height of ten feet, and at a distance, have the appearance of a new brick wall. The floating sand is exceedingly disagreeable to travellers. The desert seemed, at the distance of half a mile, to be a flat surface, about eight or ten inches above the level of the waves. This cloud, or vapour, appeared constantly to recede, as they advanced, and at times completely enveloped them, filling their eyes, ears, and mouths, and causing a most disagreeable sensation. It was productive of great irritation and severe thirst, which was not a little increased by the scorching rays of the sun. The ground was so hot as to blister the feet, even through the shoes; and the natives affirmed, that it was the violent heat which occasioned the sand to move through the atmosphere."[a] Lieutenant Porringer, in his Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde, 1810, gives us some additional information concerning these singular winds. For, after having mentioned the red sandy desert, 300 miles long and 200 broad, where the particles were scarcely palpable, and the waves principally ran east and west, varying in height from ten to twenty feet, the side next the prevailing wind, which was north-west, being sloping, and the other

[a] Geog. Memoir of the Persian Empire, p. 222, 223.

almost perpendicular; he says, that he was much incommoded by floating particles of sand. "When I first observed it," says he, "the desert seemed, at the distance of half a mile or less, to have an elevated and flat surface, from six to twelve inches higher than the summits of the waves. This vapour appeared to recede as we advanced, and once or twice completely encircled us, leaving the horizon to a very confined space, and conveying a most gloomy and unnatural sensation in the beholder. At the same moment, we were imperceptibly covered with innumerable atoms of small sand; which, getting into our eyes, mouths, and nostrils, caused excessive irritation, attended with extreme thirst, that was increased in no small degree by the intense heat of the sun."[a] Mr. Park, in his Travels in Africa,[b] gives us an account nearly similar, telling us, that "in the afternoon, the horizon to the eastward was thick and hazy, and the Moors prognosticated a sand wind; which accordingly commenced on the morning following, and lasted, with slight intermissions, for two days. The force of the wind was not in itself very great; it was what seamen would have denominated a stiff breeze; but the quantity of sand and dust carried before it, was such as to darken the whole atmosphere. It swept along from east to west, in a thick and constant stream, and the air was at times so dark and full of sand, that it was difficult to discern the neighbouring tents. As the Moors," continues he, "always dress their victuals in the open air, this sand fell in great plenty among the Kouskous; it readily adhered to the skin, when

[a] Page 132. [b] Chap. 10.

moistened by perspiration, and formed a cheap and universal hair-powder. The Moors wrap a cloth round their faces, to prevent them from inhaling the wind; and always turn their backs to the wind, when they look up, to prevent the sand falling into their eyes." This excessive lightness of the sand, as occasioned by heat, may be easily comprehended by an attention to the common process of preparing alabaster. For, after being finely pounded, it is put into a pot in a dry state, to be more completely desiccated, and literally boils like water, as the air in escaping ascends through the heated mass.

The monsoons, which blow for one half of the year in one direction, and the other half of the year in an opposite one, and the trade-winds, which blow all the year round in a direction from east to west, being known only within thirty degrees on either side of the equator, are never experienced in Judea.[a] But they have *the hot wind*, which, when it continues for any length of time, is destructive of life, from the quantity of azote it is said to contain. Maillet, in speaking of the caravan between Egypt and Mecca, says that they become sickly and exhausted: and it has sometimes been known that, in a caravan of forty or fifty thousand, fifteen hundred have died daily; the greatest part of them stifled at once, by the burning air and the dust which this dreadful wind brings along with it, in great quantities. So late as A. D. 1813, we have a dreadful account of this hot wind in a letter from Smyrna. "The caravan from Mecca to

[a] See a good account of them in Playfair's Outlines of Nat. Phil. No. 416.

Aleppo consisted of two thousand souls, merchants and travellers from the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, pilgrims returning from performing their devotions at Mecca, and a numerous train of attendants, the whole escorted by four hundred military. The march was in three columns. On the 15th of August they entered the great Arabian desert, in which they journeyed seven days, and were nearly approaching its edge. A few hours more would have placed them beyond danger; when, on the morning of the 23d, just as they had struck their tents, and commenced their march, a wind rose from the north-east, and blew with tremendous violence. They increased the rapidity of their march, to escape the threatening danger, when the fatal camseen set in. On a sudden, dense clouds were observed, whose extremity obscured the horizon, and swept the face of the desert. They approached the columns of the caravan, and obscured the line of march. Both men and beasts, struck by a sense of common danger, uttered loud cries. The next moment they fell beneath its pestilential influence. Of two thousand souls composing the caravan, not more than twenty escaped the calamity; and these owed their safety to the swiftness of their dromedaries."[a] Such is the dreadful hot wind of the desert; and it was probably by it that so many of Sennacherib's army were destroyed in one night;[b] for it is called a blast in 2 Kings xix. 7,

[a] Edinb. Weekly Journal for December 22, 1813. In the summer months, the inhabitants of Ormus, at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, are exceedingly distressed by the hot wind, but they immerse themselves to the neck in water, and thereby escape its pernicious effects. (Murray's Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Asia, vol. i. p. 165.)

[b] 2 Kings xix. 35.

and in Isaiah xxxvii. 7; and Jeremiah li. 1, calls it a destroying wind, which the Arabic version renders a hot pestilential wind. It is to this destructive agent that Isaiah refers, when, in commendation of the Saviour, he says, that he shall be "as a hiding-place from the wind."[a]

There is a more dreadful kind of wind, however, still, than this, and which is known in the East by the name of *Simoom* or *Samiel.* It is thus described by travellers. After the air has been unusually heated for several days, by passing over the large tracts of burning sand on the south or east of Judea, (viz. the great desert of Arabia, Syria, Diarbekr, and Irak, according to Niebuhr, p. 7,) the sky suddenly loses its usual serenity, and becomes dark, gloomy, and alarming; while the sun assumes a violet colour. When this destructive wind approaches, which it does rapidly, its approach is indicated by a redness in the air, from the nitrous gas it is said to contain; and when so near as to become visible, it resembles a sheet of purple-coloured smoke, about 60 feet in breadth, and 12 feet from the ground: immediately on seeing which, the people prostrate themselves, wrap their faces in their robes, lest they should inhale any portion of it, and remain in that state till it be past, which is commonly after a few minutes. As the principal stream of this heated and highly electrified air always moves in a line, a few feet distant from the surface of the earth, this precaution is generally successful; but it also happens that many are destroyed, before they have had time to make use of it: and when this is the case, it is truly astonish-

[a] Chap. xxxii. 2.

ing to see the change it produces.—If the person be dead, an arm or leg, when smartly shaken, will separate from the body; so rapid is the course of the putrefactive process; but, if life remains, it is commonly restored to its former state by warm covering, and diluting liquors, in order to produce a copious perspiration. Mr. Bruce, in returning from Abyssinia to Egypt, inhaled some of this pestilential air in the desert of Nubia, through his great desire to see it, which made him almost lose his voice, and gave him an asthmatic complaint, of which he did not get quit for two years. Should the camseen, or hot wind of the desert, as stated in the preceding paragraph, be thought inadequate to the destruction of 185,000 of Sennacherib's army in one night, here is a more powerful instrument; for the Samiel, like a destroying angel, could easily fill the camp before the following morning, with that number of dead corpses.

In our mild climate we may complain of heat, but never feel any fatal effect from the sun's rays. It is different, however, in the East, where the *coup de soleil*, or stroke of the sun, is often the cause of sudden death. The person exposed feels pained, complains of his head, as the Shunamite's son did,[a] becomes giddy—delirious—and dies in a short time, unless he be removed to the shade, and proper remedies be applied. In Judith viii. 2, 3, we find Manasses, her husband, dying of the same complaint, and at the same season of the year, as the Shunamite's son, viz. in the time of barley harvest. The Psalmist adverts to the *coup de soleil*, when he says in Ps. cxxi. 6, "The sun shall not

[a] 2 Kings iv. 19.

smite thee by day."—And to it, the camseen, and the Samiel do Isaiah[a] and John[b] allude, when, in describing the happiness of the saints, they say, "The sun shall not light on them, nor any heat;" thereby intimating, that they shall never be exposed any more to the dreadful effects of these destructive agents, nor to the punishments of which they were metaphorical. While Malachi foretells the happy consequences of the coming of Christ by the same similitude: "Unto you that fear my name shall the Sun of righteousness arise with healing in his wings."[c] The rays of the natural sun have often proved hurtful to those who were exposed to them: but the rays of the Sun of righteousness shall be highly beneficial. Instead of disease, they shall occasion health. The moral darkness shall be dispelled; the moral atmosphere purified; and the hearts of all who fear him completely cured of their spiritual maladies. This spiritual sun shall combine the warmth of rays with the protection of wings; the glory of the shechinah, with the covering of the cherub.

There is still another singular appearance in the atmosphere of Judea, and other eastern countries, called by the Arabians *the serab*, and by the French *le mirage*. It consists in the hot sandy plain assuming, to the eye of the traveller, the appearance of water, and reflecting, as from the surface of a smooth lake, the appearance of the objects which are situated beyond it. Dr. Lowth, in his note on Isaiah xxxv. 7, tells us that it occurs in the Koran, ch. xxiv. in the following words: "But as to the unbelievers, their works are like a vapour in a plain,

[a] Is. xlix. 10. [b] Rev. vii. 16. [c] Ch. iv. 2.

which the thirsty traveller thinketh to be water, until, when he cometh thereto, he findeth it to be nothing." Mr. Sale's note on the quotation is, that "the Arabic word *serab* signifies that false appearance which, in the eastern countries, is often seen in sandy plains about noon, resembling a large lake of water in motion, and is occasioned by the reverberation of the sun-beams; it sometimes tempts," continues he, "the thirsty travellers out of their way, but deceives them when they come near, either going forward, (for it always appears at the same distance,) or quite vanishes." This appearance was familiar to the ancients: for Quintus Curtius mentions it in his Life of Alexander the Great, thus—"The vapour of the summer sun heats the sand so, that the appearance of the plains is no otherwise than that of a great and deep sea."[a] Dr. Clarke, in his Journey to Rosetta, 1801, gives the following account of it: "The sands assumed the appearance of water, and the domes, and turrets, and groves of Rosetta, were seen reflected on the glowing surface of the plain, which appeared like a vast lake, extending itself between the travellers and the city."

When the Hon. Mr. Elphinstone went on a mission from the East India Company to Cabul, in 1808, he tells us, in his introduction,[b] that "towards the evening of the 22d Nov. many persons were astonished with the appearance of a long lake, enclosing several little islands, and that, notwithstanding the well-known nature of the country, many were positive that it was a lake: and one of

[a] Arenas vapor æstivi solis accendit:—camporum non alia quam vasti et profundi æquoris species est.—Lib. vii. cap. 5. [b] Page 16.

the surveyors took the bearings of it. It was, however, only one of those illusions which the French call *mirage*, and the Persians *sirraub*. I had imagined," continues he, "this phenomenon to be occasioned by a thin vapour, (or something resembling a vapour,) which is seen over the ground, in the hot weather, in India; but this appearance was entirely different, and, on looking along the ground, no vapour whatever could be perceived. The ground was quite level and smooth, composed of dry mud or clay, mixed with particles of shining sand; there were some tufts of grass, and some little bushes of rue, &c. at this spot, which were reflected as in water: and this appearance continued at the ends, when viewed from the middle. I shall not attempt," says he, "to account for this appearance, but shall merely remark, that it seems only to be found in level, smooth, and dry places. The position of the sun, with reference to the spectator, appears to be immaterial. I thought at first, that great heat always accompanied its appearance: but it was afterwards seen in Demaun, when the weather was not hotter than is experienced in England."—Three days after, he adds, that they "saw a most magnificent *mirage*, which looked like an extensive lake, or a very wide river: the water seemed clear and beautiful, and the figures of two gentlemen who rode along it, were reflected as distinctly as in real water." Mr. Macdonald Kinneir, in his Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire,[a] after speaking of the sand-wind of the desert, adds, that "the sahrab, (literally, the water of the desert,) or watery appearance so com-

[a] Page 223.

mon in all deserts, and the moving sands, were seen at the same time, and appeared to be perfectly distinct; the one having a luminous, and the other a cloudy appearance."—This happened in 1810.—To which Lieut. Porringer, in his Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde, in the same year, adds some singular particulars: "I have seen bushes and trees," says he, "reflected in it with as much accuracy as though it had been the face of a clear and still lake; and once in the province of Kerman, in Persia, it seemed to rest like a sheet of water on the face of a hill, at the foot of which my road lay, exhibiting the summit, which did not overhang it in the least degree, by a kind of unaccountable refraction."[a]

A philosophical explanation of this phenomenon has been given by several writers, and especially by Monge.[b] It is several times alluded to in the Old Testament. Thus it is to this, rather than to brooks

[a] Page 185.

[b] Mémoires sur l'Egypte; and in the Annal. de Chimie, tom. xxix. p. 207. In the Edinburgh Encyclopædia, art. Optics, part ii. ch. 4, the theories of Huddart, Vince, Woolaston, and Brewster, are distinctly stated. It is on the same principles as those which account for the serab, that the *fata morgana* is explained; that curious phenomenon which is sometimes observed from the harbour of Messina, in Sicily, by which every object existing or moving at Reggio on the opposite shore, is repeated a thousand fold in the air, over the sea, as in a mirror. (Encycl. Perth. art. Fata Morgana.) A similar phenomenon was, on the 16th July, 1821, seen in Huntingdonshire. "About half past four in the morning, the sun was shining in a cloudless sky, and the light vapours arising from the river Ouse were hovering over a little hill near St. Neot's, when suddenly the village of Great Paxton, its farm houses, barns, dispersed cottages, trees, and different grass fields, were clearly and distinctly visible, in a beautiful aerial picture, which extended from east to west about four hundred and thirty yards. Nothing could exceed the astonishment and admiration of the spectator, as he looked at this phenomenon from a gentle decli-

which become dry in summer, that the prophet Jeremiah[a] seems to refer, when, in pouring out his plaint to God for mercies deferred, he says, "Wilt thou be altogether unto me as waters that fail?" And the very word is to be found in Isaiah xxxv. 7, where the passage which is translated "the parched land shall become a pool," literally signifies "the sereb שרב, or illusory lake of the desert, shall become a pool."

A remarkable instance of *ignis fatuus* is given by Dr. Shaw, in his Travels to the Holy Land. It appeared in the valleys of Mount Ephraim, and attended him and his company for above an hour. Sometimes it appeared globular, or like the flame of a candle; at others, it spread to such a degree, as to involve the whole company in a pale inoffensive light; then contracted itself, and suddenly disappeared; but in less than a minute it would appear again. And sometimes running swiftly along, it would expand itself at certain intervals,

vity, in an opposite direction, at the distance of half a mile; or his regret at its disappearance in about ten minutes." (Dumfries and Galloway Courier for 31st July, 1821.) As for the *spectre* which is sometimes seen on the Broken, one of the Hartz mountains in Hanover, it is nothing else than the figure of the observer, greatly enlarged, and imitating him in all his motions; and is explained on the principles of catoptrics; the state of the atmosphere, at the time, resembling the case of a person standing in the focus of a concave mirror, which receives his image, and throws it out to a great distance by diverging rays, so as to magnify his figure exceedingly. (Edin. Encycl. Optics, part i. ch. 2, prop. 10, case 2.) To Mr. Haue, who was the first who explained the phenomenon, the spectre was seen as if at the distance of about two miles, and extended to the length of five or six hundred feet. (Encycl. Perth. Spectre, sect. 2.) It appears large and distinct, according to the distance of the observer, and the state of the atmosphere.

[a] Ch. xv. 18.

over more than two or three acres of the adjoining mountains. In order to account for this phenomenon, the Doctor remarks, that the atmosphere, from the beginning of the evening, had been remarkably thick and hazy; and the dew, as they felt it on the bridles of their horses, was very clammy and unctuous—subjoining that when at sea, he had seen the ignis fatuus skipping along the masts and rigging, in such weather as that in which he had seen it in Palestine.

After what has been said of hurricanes, it is needless to observe that *thunder* and *lightning* are experienced in Judea, especially in their winter: but it may be worth while to inquire, whether they ever observed that beautiful phenomenon, *the aurora borealis*.—It was not spoken of in Europe till the year 1394, and never observed accurately by philosophers, till Kepler did it in 1607, and still more so above a hundred years after, by Dr. Halley, in 1716. The most common opinion concerning it is, that it is an electric meteor, proceeding from an accumulation of that fluid in the superior and vastly rarefied region of the atmosphere: which accumulation is occasioned by the intervention of a non-conducting substance, between it and the earth.—Thus, the dry land prevents its accumulation, by being a conductor; and the sea causes its accumulation, by being a non-conductor. As the globe of the earth, therefore, is the grand recipient of the electric fluid, it is prevented from discharging itself when it is over the sea, or facilitated in doing so, by being over the land. It seems also to have a considerable effect on the compass, and affords an additional analogy between electricity

and magnetism. The question, however, still recurs, whether this phenomenon is mentioned in Scripture, or was known to the ancient Greeks and Romans? I am ready to own, that no distinct mention is made of it in any of these sources; and that, had it existed, the Jewish prophets, or the heathen poets, would have seized with avidity such an animated subject of description. The only passages which I have met with that bear any resemblance to it, are the three following: In 2 Maccabees v. 1—3, we are told, that "about the same time that Antiochus prepared his second voyage into Egypt, it happened, that, through all the city, (of Jerusalem,) for the space almost of forty days, there were seen horsemen running in the air, in cloth of gold, and armed with lances, like a band of soldiers; and troops of horsemen in array, encountering and running one against another, with shaking of shields, and multitude of pikes, and drawing of swords, and casting of darts, and glittering of golden ornaments, and harness of all sorts." The second passage is in Josephus's History of the War, vi. 5, where, when mentioning the prodigies which preceded the destruction of Jerusalem, he tells us, that, "on the 21st day of Ijar, before sunsetting, chariots and troops of soldiers in their armour, were seen running about among the clouds, and surrounding of cities." The third is in Plutarch's Life of Caius Marius, where he says, that "intelligence was brought from Ameria and Tudertum, cities in Italy, that one night there were seen in the sky spears and shields of fire, now waving about, and then clashing against each other, in imitation of the postures and motions of men fighting; and

that, one party giving way, and the other advancing, at last they all disappeared in the west." [a] Excepting these three passages, which, perhaps, may be explained on principles different from those of the aurora borealis, I do not recollect any other which seem to bear on the subject.

What then, I repeat it, was the cause of the silence of the ancients; for we cannot suppose them defective in observation, or that a new creation had taken place, and a new law was added to the code of nature? I answer, it may have been owing to two causes. In the first place, the aurora borealis and australis are only seen in those latitudes which are above 40°, either on the north or the south side of the equator; and they are always brighter in proportion as we approach the poles, in order to lessen the darkness of the long nights. But Jerusalem is in latitude 31° 45′ north, Athens in 37° 58′, and Rome in 41° 45′: it is not to be expected then, that it could be seen at either of the two former places, and but faintly at the latter. —But there is a second reason which shows, that the aurora borealis could not be seen in the enlighten-

[a] The prodigy here mentioned by Plutarch is said to have happened in the fourth consulate of Marius, or in the year of Rome 650, (Lempriere's Classical Dict. *Consul,*) and before Christ 103. Plutarch died A. D. 140. (Lempriere, *Plutarch.*) If he wrote, therefore, his Lives ten years before his death, there would be 233 years between the appearance of the prodigy and the time of his writing; which, unless he copied from written evidence, might alter tradition very materially. The prodigy, too, was only seen once, and remarked for its singularity; whereas, had it been a regular aurora, it would have been seen oftener, and accounted no prodigy. It is not unlikely, then, that its appearance might be magnified by ignorance and superstition, and a colour given to it, to suit the end for which it and some other prodigies are mentioned, namely, to encourage the army of Marius to conquer the Teutones.

ed ages of Judea, Greece, and Rome, and, consequently, could not be noticed in their several writings. It is understood to be connected with the line of no-variation of the needle, which is an irregular circle round the earth, and cutting the poles, in which the needle always points directly north. This line, however, is not stationary: for, from observations made at London, and recorded in Euler's Letters to a German princess,[a] it appears that, in the year 1580, the variation of the needle was 11° 15′ east; in 1622, 6° east; in 1634, 4° 5′ east; in 1657, it was 0°; in 1672, it was 2° 30′ west; in 1692, 6° west; and in 1761, 18° west. Thus, between the years 1580 and 1761, comprehending a period of 181 years, this line had advanced to the westward 29° 15′; so that, were it to proceed at the same rate constantly, it would perambulate the globe in $2222\frac{1}{6}$ years.—But it does not perambulate the globe, for it vibrates like a pendulum; and having got the length of 80° west, attained its western maximum in 1816, and is now returning in an easterly direction, towards the continent of Europe. It was formerly said, that, in our northern hemisphere, the aurora borealis is never seen beyond the 40° of north latitude: I may now observe that it never occupies the whole of that space at the same time; but being understood to be connected with the line of no-variation, is only visible to about 30° on each side of it. Whilst, therefore, that space of 30° on each side of the line of no-variation passes over the land, the aurora borealis cannot appear, because the land is a conductor; and while it is passing

[a] Vol. ii. lett. 57.

over the sea, it becomes visible, because the sea is a non-conductor, and enables the electric fluid to accumulate. But, in the enlightened ages of Judea, Greece, and Rome, the line of no-variation, with its 30° on either side, was travelling over the continents of Europe and Africa, which were conductors, and therefore prevented the electric fluid from increasing, so as to become visible. It had just approached so near the Atlantic, when the aurora borealis became visible in Britain, as to make the 30° on the west side of it appear above that ocean. It has, since that time, been crossing the Atlantic, at the rate of about 9′ 41″ 47‴ yearly, and is now returning at the same rate.—When it shall, therefore, have regained the land, and begun to perambulate Europe and Africa, as before, the aurora borealis will cease to appear in Britain. So much concerning the phenomena of the Jewish atmosphere in general: let us now attend to the winds in particular.

The winds in Judea were classed, as in other countries, by the four quarters from whence they came; viz. the east, west, north, and south. Hence the general name for them in Scripture is, "the four winds;"[a] and, when they are named individually, they are evidently distinguished by their peculiar qualities. Thus the *east wind* is particularly tempestuous and dangerous in the Mediterranean; and to this the Psalmist seems to allude in Ps. xlviii. 7, when he says, "Thou breakest the ships of Tarshish with an east wind." The prophet Isaiah also, in ch. xxvii. 8, says, when alluding to this wind, "he stayeth his rough wind in the day of

[a] Ezek. xxxvii. 9. Dan. vii. 2; xi. 4. Matth. xxiv. 31.

the east wind." Such a storm is well known to modern mariners by the name of a Levanter; the Levant meaning that country which lies at the east end of the Mediterranean; and what makes it interesting to the Christian scholar is, that this very wind is the Euroclydon (ευρακλυδων, Euro-aquilo) or stormy north-east wind, which was so fatal to the ship in which Paul and his companions were, when sailing to Rome.[a] The east wind is also accounted, both in Judea and Egypt, very hurtful to vegetation, as being the cause of blight:[b] because of its cold and drying quality; carrying off the insensible perspiration from the extremities of plants, more rapidly than it could be supplied by the general ascent of the sap; and thereby withering them in a short time. The reason of the east wind's being so cold and withering, between their seed-time and harvest (corresponding with our winter and spring) was that, both in Judea and Egypt, it came over the mountainous tract, of the whole continent of Judea and Persia, and the great desert of Diarbekr, Irak, and Arabia, before it reached the Holy Land, by which its heat and moisture were both extracted; and therefore it fixed with avidity on every plant it passed, to supply its deficiency in both of these articles.—But in the summer its leading feature was very different; for it was then sometimes very dry and hot; and it was from that quarter, as well as from the south, that they had the suffocating hot wind and the Samiel. Hence Jonah was exceedingly oppressed by it.[c]

[a] Acts xxvii. 14. [b] Gen. xli. 6. Ezek. xvii. 10; xix. 12. Hosea xiii. 15. [c] Ch. iv. 8.

The *west wind* of Judea naturally came from the Mediterranean, and hence its name in Exod. x. 19, is רוּחַ־יָם *ruh-im*, a wind from the sea. It was for this reason, that a cloud from the west betokened a shower;[a] and after a drought, in the days of Elijah, a cloud like a man's hand, rising from the sea, was the sign of a hurricane of wind and rain.[b] It would appear that thunder and lightning came also in the direction of east and west; for our Saviour alludes to it in Matth. xxiv. 27, when he says, "As the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west, so shall also the coming of the Son of man be."

As for the *north wind*, by blowing from Lebanon and Antilibanus, it was a cold, drying wind. Hence Solomon says of it, that it "driveth away rain."[c] And Job tells us that "cold and fair weather are from the north."[d] In Ecclus. xliii. 17, 20, the northern storm and the whirlwind are described as terrible; and even without the whirlwind, we are told, that "when the cold north wind bloweth, and the water is congealed into ice, it abideth upon every gathering together of water, and clotheth the water as with a breastplate."

With respect to the *south wind* of Judea, it came from Arabia, and commonly brought heat:[e] but it also brought whirlwinds.[f] And from that quarter, as well as from the east, came the hot winds, and the samiel. It would appear, from our translation, that the spouse thought the north and south winds of advantage to her garden; for she says in Cant.

[a] Luke xii. 54. [b] 1 Kings xviii. 44, 45. [c] Prov. xxv. 23.
[d] Ch. xxxvii. 9, 22. [e] Job xxxvii. 17. Luke xii. 55.
[f] Job i. 19; xxxvii. 9. Is. xxi. 1. Zech. ix. 14.

iv. 16, "Awake, O north wind, and come, thou south; blow upon my garden, that the spices thereof may flow out:" but some render it, "Awake, O north wind, (to fan the air,) and retire thou (destructive) south wind:" for if the south wind blew, the excessive heat would have prevented her beloved from visiting his garden, as she wished him to do, in the end of the verse, and would have shut him up in his apartment.[a] I may remark, however, in general, that the south winds in Judea are moderate or destructive, according to the season. Dr. Russell's account of the winds at Aleppo may either be seen in his Travels, or in Harm. Observ. vol. i. p. 99; and we shall have occasion to notice their prevalence in the different seasons of the year in Judea, when we examine the state of the seasons in that country.

SECT. IV.

The Seasons in Judea.

Jewish divisions of the year; the same as mentioned in Gen. viii. 22. —1st, Seed-time; former rains described; activity of the farmer in sowing after them.—2d, The winter; its duration; the season for thunder and lightning; an eastern winter mild.—3d, The cold. —4th, The harvest; the latter rains described.—5th, The summer; its duration, and effects on vegetation.—6th, The heat; its duration. Jews seldom went abroad at this season between eleven o'clock and three; retired to rest. Some general signs as to the weather in Judea.

In describing the weather of Judea, it is most natural to begin at the autumnal equinox, which was

[a] Harm. Ob. vol. i. p. 65.

the beginning of their civil year, and the time when the operations of the seasons commenced. Accordingly their year is thus described by one of their own writers. "Half Tizri, all Marchesvan, and half Chisleu, is זרע *zero*, or seed-time. Half Chisleu, all Thebeth, and half Shebat, is חרף *hereph*, or winter. Half Shebat, all Adar, and half Nisan, is קור *kur*, the cold. Half Nizan, all Ijar, and half Sivan, is קצור *ketsur*, or harvest. Half Sivan, all Thamuz, and half Ab, is קויץ *kiits*, or summer. And half Ab, all Elul, and half Tizri, is חום *hum*, or the great heat."[a] It is somewhat remarkable, that the promise of God to Noah after the flood, is expressed in the very words in the original, and in our translation, which are here used by the Jewish writer.[b] "While the earth remaineth, seed-time and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease." But let us attend to each of these divisions in their order.

In the *first* division, which was that of זרע *zero*, or *seed-time*, and which comprehended half Tizri, all Marchesvan, and half Chisleu, or from the beginning of October till the end of November, the first thing concerning the weather is what is usually known by *the former rains*. The rabbis deliver, that the former rains fell in the month Marchesvan, which corresponds with the last fortnight of October, and the first fortnight of November.[c] The Babylonish Talmud, as quoted by Lightfoot, says that "the first rain was on the seventeenth day of Marchesvan (or first of November, supposing their ec-

[a] Lightf. Heb. and Talm. Exer. John iv. 35.
[b] Gen. viii. 22. [c] Lightf. Heb. and Talm. Exer. Luke iv. 25.

clesiastical year to have begun on the 21st March); the second rain (or second remarkable descent of rain, for it was some time before the equilibrium of the atmosphere was destroyed) was on the twenty-third day of the same month (7th November); and their third was in the beginning of Chisleu (15th November).[a] And with them the Mishna, which is their principal authority, agrees; for it tells us that "they (viz. the former rains) never come sooner than fifteen days after the feast of tabernacles (13th Oct.); so that the Israelites, who dwelt even at the Euphrates, could reach home before they began to fall. On the third of Marchesvan (18th October) the Jews began the public prayers for rain. Rabban Gamaliel fixed upon the seventh day of that month (22d October) for the (probable) beginning of the rains. If they appeared not on the seventeenth of Marchesvan (1st November) the wise men enjoined a public fast for three days; and if they were delayed till the beginning of Chisleu (15th November) that fast was repeated with much greater strictness."[b] Such are the Jewish accounts of the commencement of the former rains, and the accounts of modern travellers correspond with them. Burckhardt, after mentioning the remarkable dryness of the weather on the 1st and 5th October 1810, in the country between Damascus and the Jordan, says that he set out on the 13th of that month from Rasheyat-el-Fukhar, twelve miles north from the source of the Jordan, "in a rainy morning." On the same day, when travelling from that place to Banias, near the source of the Jordan, he was thoroughly drenched

[a] Heb. and Talm. Exer. on Matth. xii. 1.

[b] Tractact. de Jejuniis, cap. i. sect. 3—7.

with a heavy shower of rain." And on the 16th October, when he was returning from Banias to Damascus, "he passed an uncomfortable rainy night at Beitima, in the court yard of a Fellah's (or farmer's) house." On the 13th November, when travelling from Mezra to Medjel, about fifty miles to the east of the lake of Tiberias, "it rained the whole day." And on leaving Medjel, "he rode off in a torrent of rain." At Ezzehhoue, a little to the east of Medjel, his companion, on the 18th November, "insisted upon taking shelter from the rain." And on November 22, "the abundant rains had already covered the plain of Ard Adzaf (east from Ezzehhoue) with rich verdure." On which day, "he left Szalkhat towards sunset, on a rainy evening, in order to reach Kereye, a village three good hours (9 miles) distant; but the night becoming very dark with incessant rain, his guides lost their way."[a] These are evidently the former rains so often spoken of in Scripture.

An eye-witness, mentioned by Harmer,[b] says, that on the 2d of November, N. S., he found some rain between Joppa and Rama; and that, on the 4th of that month, he was nine hours and a half in the rain, which fell, not constantly, but in heavy showers. The same eye-witness adds, that the day after his arrival at Jerusalem, (Nov. 5,) he was prevented from going out by the rain; and that it continued unsettled weather until the 19th of November, when he left that city: but that it would have been deemed very good weather in Britain, as

[a] Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, p. 36, 46, 65, 66, 87, 96, 103.
[b] Ch. i. ob. 2. Clarke's edit.

the rain did not fall in large quantities, or without interruption, through the day. Dr. Shaw is, therefore, not correct in saying,[a] that the first rains in Judea usually fall about the beginning of November, O. S. meaning the 12th of November, N. S.; but he was no eye-witness, as he himself acknowledges, and must, therefore, yield to the evidence which Burckhardt and Harmer produce. But although the former rains begin in the last fortnight of October, some showers fall earlier. Thus Rauwolff[b] says, that on the 13th September, O. S., in the year 1575, equal to the 25th September, N. S.; he found the hemerocallis near Joppa, which Dr. Russell describes as a plant that never appears till after the first fall of the autumnal rains. The author of the History of the Revolt of Ali Bey, told Mr. Harmer, that when he was at Joppa, they began to fall about the 7th of September, O. S., equal to the 19th, N. S., or about the equinox. And on consulting Dr. Russell's Aleppo, p. 14, 66, 155, it appears that the first rains usually began at Aleppo between the 15th and 25th September, O. S. or the 27th September and 7th October, N. S. But these are rather very heavy showers than continued rains, which cool and freshen the air; and about twenty or thirty days after, or the 17th and 27th of October, are the second rains; between which the weather is temperate, serene, and extremely delightful; but after that it becomes variable. We are not to confound these second rains, however, with the latter rains of Scripture, which do not fall till some months after, and will be noticed by and by. Dr. Shaw confirms Dr. Russell's account of the former

[a] Page 335. [b] Ray's Coll. of Trav. p. 228.

rains; for he says, that after the two or three first days of rain, which is commonly very heavy, there is usually a week, a fortnight, or more, of good weather, in which interval they begin to plough and sow. From the above accounts, then, of the former rains, it appears, that at the autumnal equinox, sometimes a few days sooner or later, according to circumstances, the first-fruits of these rains descend in heavy showers for two or three days; that the weather then clears up for twenty or thirty days; after which the real former rains begin; so that they indeed fall in the month Marchesvan, as the Jewish account formerly given stated; or in the last fortnight of October, and the first fortnight of November. But we are not to suppose that they ceased then; for they continue during the winter months in Judea as the snow does in Britain. The meaning, therefore, is, that they were most severe during that time, to drench the parched earth with rain, and that they continued to water it occasionally afterwards.

The following description of a Jewish dearth of this indispensable element of water, will show the justice of the foregoing remarks.* "The word of the Lord that came to Jeremiah concerning the dearth. Judah mourneth, and the gates thereof (or the people who met at the gates, as the places of public resort) languish; they are black unto the ground (with thirst); and the cry of Jerusalem is gone up. And their nobles have sent their little ones to the waters (or running streams): they came to the pits, (reservoirs, or tanks, which used to be filled by the rain,) and found no water: they returned with their vessels empty; they were ashamed

* Jer. xiv. 1—6.

and confounded, and covered their heads. Because the ground is chapt, for there was no rain in the earth, the ploughmen were ashamed; they covered their heads. Yea, the hinds also calved in the field, and forsook their offspring; because there was no grass. And the wild asses did stand in the high places; they snuffed up the wind like dragons; their eyes did fail, because there was no grass." From these verses it appears, that the delay of the former rains was accounted a serious evil both by man and beast.[a] How exceedingly appropriate then, is the Jewish appellation for rain, when they call it emphatically "the river of God!" No sooner did it appear, than all was in motion, and the words of Isaiah were completely verified;[b] "Blessed are ye who sow beside all waters, who send forth thither the feet of the ox and the ass."

In considering, however, the former rain now, and the latter rain in spring, which we shall describe by and by, we are not to suppose that they are confined to Judea. For while the great south-west monsoon, as it is called, deluges the east, from Africa to the Malay peninsula, during the summer months, or from the beginning of June to September, according to circumstances, there is a rain that falls in winter, and extends over all the countries west of the Indus, as far as the Hellespont, which assumes the form of rain or snow, according to the temperature of the place, and is of great importance to husbandry in that tract of country. Now, it is this winter rain which affects Judea; and the former and latter rains are those beginnings

[a] In the Mishna, Tractat. de Jejuniis, cap. i. ii. we have the fasts which were appointed by the sanhedrin for the want of this useful element largely described.

[b] Ch. xxxii. 20.

and endings of it, which, being heavier than the rains in the intervening months, were not only more noticed, but really more beneficial to the crops, from the particular seasons at which they fell.[a] This extended view of the subject enables us to account for the knowledge which Job had of these rains, although residing in Arabia. He lay in the line of them, and therefore, in describing the deference which was paid to his opinion in the days of his prosperity, he said,[b] "They waited for me as for the rain, and they opened their mouth wide as for the latter rain."

But we are now come to the second division of the Jewish year, or חרף *hereph*, literally meaning the stripping season, but translated, in Gen. viii. 22, *the winter*. This comprehended half Chisleu, all Thebeth, and half Shebat, or from the beginning of December till the end of January. Harmer, by a long deduction of particulars, has shown that the seasons at Aleppo are nearly the same as those in Judea; and accordingly, I may observe, that the winter at Aleppo is nearly of the same duration as that in Judea; for it begins the 12th December, and lasts forty days, ending the 20th January, and is called the Murbania. In the Holy Land, the lightning and thunder are almost always in winter. During the winter, also, although the rains are not so frequent as in Europe, yet, after they begin to fall, they pour down for three or four days and nights together as vehemently as if they would drown the country.[c] It seems to have been one of those heavy falls of rain which so much incom-

[a] See a good account of both these rainy seasons in Elphinstone's account of the Kingdom of Cabul, book i. chap. 5. [b] Ch. xxix. 23.

[c] Gesta Dei per Francos, vol. i. p. 1097, 1098.

moded the Jews, when they were collected together at Jerusalem by Ezra, in the beginning of December, to reform the abuse of intermarrying with strangers. For we hear them requesting to be soon dismissed, because "it was a time of much rain, and they were not able to stand without." Yet although these heavy rains were unpleasant to those who were exposed to them, they were necessary to vegetation, and hence commended in Amos iv. 7, 8. The wind that usually brings rain in winter is the north-east. And the easterly winds generally prevail during the winter months till February, when they change to the west, and continue till autumn, at which season they regularly become north-easterly again.[a] No description of an eastern winter can be given in fewer words, or in more appropriate language, than that in Eccl. xii. 2, where Solomon describes the winter of life in eastern imagery. "The sun, and the light, and the moon, and the stars, are darkened, and the clouds return after the rain." The joys of life assume a less interesting appearance than they once did, and the infirmities of age follow each other in quick succession, like the clouds of an eastern winter, which, instead of dispersing as in Britain to produce good weather, return to discharge new torrents. Indeed, the months of November, December, January, and February, are, in Syria, the most boisterous months in the year.[b] And Niebuhr[c] tells us, that "the Arabs call the rainy season, which, at Moskat, and among the eastern mountains of Arabia, lasts from the 21st November till the 18th February, by the

[a] Russell's Aleppo, p. 282. [b] Ibid. p. 148, 149, 156, 157.
[c] Descript. de l'Arabie, p. 4.

name of *scitte*," almost the very word which is used for "winter" in Cant. ii. 11. Harmer mentions also great rains at Christmas, and says that frosty weather is then common, but never severe or lasting.[a]

Yet, although these months be boisterous when compared with the rest of the year, they are far from being intemperate when compared with more northerly latitudes. The trees indeed begin to shed their leaves before the middle of November, and hence the reason of this division of the year being called חרף *hereph*, or "the stripping season." But during the whole of the winter at Aleppo, or from the 12th December till the 20th January, the weather is so mild that the narcissus flowers all the time, and hyacinths and violets, at the latest, appear before it is quite over.[b]—They begin fires in their houses for warming themselves in the day, says Dr. Russell, about the end of November. Accordingly, Jeremiah tells us, ch. xxxvi. 22, that Jehoiakim, king of Judah, "sat in the winter-house in the ninth month, (Chisleu, corresponding with the latter end of November and beginning of December,) and there was a fire on the hearth burning before him." And D'Herbelot, in his Bibliotheque Orientale,[c] says, that they generally leave them off through the day at the end of February, but they are occasionally used in rainy weather during the day till April, and even occasionally during the night till May; hence, when our Lord was tried in March, the servants are said to have had a fire to warm themselves.[d] I ought

[a] Ob. ch. i. ob. 2. Clarke's edit.
[b] Harm. Ob. ch. i. ob. 16. Clarke.
[c] Art. Schabath.
[d] John xviii. 18.

to remark, as an additional cause for this use of fires, that although the weather be mild when the sun shines, and the air is calm, the air is very piercing during the night, especially in the winter. Hence Job complains of the wicked, that "they cause the naked to lodge without clothing, and that they have no covering from the cold; that they are wet with the showers of the mountains, and embrace the rock for want of a shelter."[a] And David, when describing the Divine Majesty, says, that "he giveth snow like wool; he scattereth the hoar-frost like ashes; he casteth forth his ice like morsels; who can stand before his cold?"[b] By persons in warm latitudes, such sudden transitions from heat to cold are severely felt, and in December and January they have sometimes been fatal.[c] Yet continued frosts are seldom known in Judea, for Dr. Russell tells us, that in all the thirteen years he resided at Aleppo, (the temperature of which resembles Judea,) the ice could never above three times carry a man; and snow, excepting in three of these years, never lay above a day.

The third division of the Jewish year was called קור *kur*, or קר *ker*, meaning *the cold;* comprehending half Shebat, all Adar, and half Nisan, or from the beginning of February till the end of March; and the only reason I can assign for the name is, that about the beginning of February there are some intense colds. For, the beginning of that month, O. S. Dr. Shaw tells us, is the usual time at Jerusalem for the falling of snow,[d] as it is also in Egypt, where the frosts of winter are chiefly be-

[a] Ch. xxiv. 7, 8.
[b] Ps. cxlvii. 16, 17.
[c] Harm. ch. i. ob. 11.
[d] Page 335.

tween the 7th and 14th of that month.[a] Some indeed would persuade us that there is no winter in Egypt, but their meaning is, that it seldom rains, hails, thunders, or has violent storms of wind, which form an eastern winter, for Maillet saw rain several times.[b] Pitts says, that at Cairo it rained sometimes very heavily.[c] And Pococke assures us, that in Upper Egypt it hailed and rained almost a whole morning in February; and very hard the night following, and the same some days after. The same winds and rains continue in Judea, in this division of the year, as in the former one; but the rains are chiefly in the night; attended sometimes with lightning and thunder when the weather happens to be dark and gloomy; and when the sky hath in some measure become clear, dark clouds soon return to pour down a fresh deluge, after a great deal of rain had descended before.[d] Yet these rains, and the cold formerly mentioned, are chiefly peculiar to the beginning of February; for as it advances, the fields, which were pretty green before, become, by the springing up of the latter grain, entirely covered with pleasing verdure. And though the forest trees continue in a leafless state, till the end of the month, yet as the almond, when latest, is in blossom before the middle of February, and is quickly succeeded by the apricot, peach, &c. the gardens assume a delightful appearance; and as March advances, the weather, in general, becomes very pleasant.[e] Maundrell found rain followed by lightning and thunder in March; and in the

[a] Egmont and Heyman, vol. ii. p. 214, 215. [b] Lett. i. p. 19.
[c] Page 95. [d] Russell's Aleppo, p. 14, 66, 155. [e] Ibid. p. 14, 66, 155.

Gesta Dei per Francos,[a] we are told that at Jerusalem, trees were just become green in the same month.

The fourth division of the Jewish year was called קציר *ketsir*, or קצור *ketsur*, *the harvest*, comprehending half Nizan, all Ijar, and half Sivan; or, from the beginning of April till the end of May. According to the prophet Joel ii. 23, and according to the Rabbis, *the latter rains* fell in the month Nizan, or in the last fortnight of March and first fortnight of April;[b] with which the testimony of Burckhardt corresponds. For in his Journal of a Tour from Aleppo to Damascus, through the valley of the Orontes and Mount Libanus in 1812, he says that on "March 21st, the Emir of Beteddin (to the east of Beirout, the ancient Berytus) wished him to stay a few days longer, to go out a hunting with him, but he was anxious to reach Damascus, and feared that the rain and snow would make the road over the mountain impassable. In which he was not mistaken, having found that if he had tarried a single day longer, he would have been obliged to return along the great road, by the way of Beirout. And after crossing the Libanus, where it snowed, he had no sooner entered the plain (of Bekaa, or Cœlo Syria, which separates the chain of the mountains of Libanus from that of Antilibanus,) than it began to snow again, and continued to rain and snow for several days."[c] Dr. Shaw, however,

[a] Page 309.

[b] Mishna, Tractat. de Jejuniis, cap. i. sect. 2. Lightfoot's Heb. and Talm. Exer. on Luke iv. 25.

[c] Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, p. 205, 206.

places the latter rains sometimes in the beginning, and sometimes towards the end of April, O. S.;[a] consequently between the 12th of April and the 12th of May, N. S. They are called harvest rains, as the word signifies, Deut. xi. 14, because they help to fill and ripen the corn for cutting. Thus, the former rains fell after the autumnal equinox, at their seed-time, to quicken the grain; and the latter rains fall after the vernal equinox to insure a plentiful crop. It is owing to these latter rains, that Jordan in the first month[b] annually overflows its banks, at the season of barley harvest;[c] and the reason why it overflows them only once in the year is, that when the former rains fell, the ground was so parched by the summer's drought, that they scarcely quenched its thirst; but having been saturated, at times, with plentiful showers during the winter, those surplus portions of the latter rain which fall in spring, and the melted snow from Lebanon, naturally empty themselves into that river, and carry it along in full flood. When the latter rains are past, the weather of Judea is variable till May, by cold winds from Libanus;[d] from the end of which month, till the middle of September, there are few or no showers, and scarcely a cloud. The verdure fades before the middle of May, and by the end of it all becomes parched and barren.[e] Doubdan, in returning from Cana to Nazareth on the 8th of May, found the heat so great that he could hardly breathe;[f] and it is to this that Isaiah[g] seems to allude when he says,

[a] Page 335, 2d edit.
[b] 1 Chron. xii. 15.
[c] Josh. iii. 15. Ecclus. xxiv. 26.
[d] De la Valle, p. 121, 122.
[e] Russell.
[f] Page 513.
[g] Ch. xviii. 4.

"The Lord said unto me, I will take my rest, and I will consider in my dwelling-place, like a clear heat upon herbs, and like a cloud of dew in the heat of harvest." In ch. xxv. 4, 5, he hath the same kind of language to describe God's care of the poor and the needy: "He is a shadow from the heat. He will bring down the noise of strangers as the heat in a dry place, even the heat with the shadow of a cloud." It is to the former part of this division of the Jewish year, that the following description of spring, given by Solomon, evidently refers; for the time of the singing of birds, mentioned in it, and especially the singing of the nightingale, begins at Jordan, according to Thevenot, about the 16th of April, but at Aleppo not till the end of April. Cant. ii. 11—13. "The winter is past, the rain is over and gone; the flowers appear on the earth; the time of the singing of birds is come; and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land; the fig-tree putteth forth her green figs, and the vines with the tender grape give a good smell." Indeed, it is impossible to describe the rich fragrance of an eastern climate, when the spring and summer are in bloom, and before the excessive heat comes on. The air is filled with the odours of plants, and flowers, and trees, which the breeze wafts about in most delicious freshness. Mr. Reland observes on Josephus's Antiquities, vi. 5, and proves elsewhere in his note in iii. 1, that although thunder and lightning with us happen usually in summer, yet in Palestine and Syria they are chiefly confined, as we have already said, to winter. This consideration, therefore, will give beauty and force to the words of Samuel in 1 Sam. xii. 17, 18, "Is

it not wheat harvest to-day? I will call unto the Lord, and he shall send thunder and rain, that ye may perceive and see that your wickedness is great, which ye have done in the sight of the Lord, in asking you a king. So Samuel called unto the Lord, and the Lord sent thunder and rain that day; and all the people greatly feared the Lord and Samuel." Had thunder and rain been common in harvest, the miracle would have consisted in their coming at the invocation of Samuel, but since they very seldom appeared at that season, it made the surprise of the Israelites the greater.

The fifth division of the Jewish year was called קיץ *kits*, or קייץ *kiits*, *the summer*, and comprehended half Sivan, all Thamuz, and half Ab; or from the beginning of June till the end of July. During this season the winds are westerly, for it will be recollected, that as the easterly winds were said to prevail, from the autumnal equinox till February; so at that time they changed to the west, and continue westerly till the autumnal equinox again. In Egypt, during summer, a fresh north wind blows every day, except when they are visited with the suffocating south; and the sea-coast of Judea has a wind of the same kind nearly in the daily sea-breeze; but the interior is fanned chiefly by the west wind, unless when the hot wind of the desert comes either from the south or east. It will easily be thought that the sun's rays in June and July are very intense, and that the face of nature must be much parched; we shall not wonder, therefore, when we are told, that the streams which in winter rushed with the impetuosity of torrents, then dwindle into brooks, or become

entirely dry;[a] a circumstance which is beautifully alluded to in Job vi. 15—18. Thunder is exceedingly uncommon in summer,[b] and it seldom, if ever, rains.[c] But when it does rain, it is commonly preceded by a whirlwind, with clouds of dust, and is, as Ezekiel[d] expresses it, "with a stormy whirlwind, and an overflowing shower, or great hail." Hence Dr. Russell confirms Scripture, when he says, that at Aleppo, the climate of which is similar to Judea, they have severe thunder showers about the beginning of July, O. S. The above remarks, however, about the intense heat, are chiefly applicable to the lower grounds, for even in the hottest months, the inhabitants of Libanus and Antilibanus feel such cold at times, during the night, as to make furs a very necessary part of dress.—Before leaving this division of the Jewish year, we should notice the light which it and the preceding one throw on an interesting portion of Scripture. It is said in Jer. viii. 20, that "the harvest (קציר *ketsir*) is past, the summer (קיץ *kits*) is ended, and we are not saved:" and a person ignorant of the manner in which the Jews divided their year, is naturally led to suppose that the words are wrong placed, for that the harvest, in place of preceding the summer, ought to have come after it. But the prophet spake in perfect accordance with established usage. For in Judea, the harvest commences in

[a] "All the rivers in the East vary much in size at different times in the year. They swell in consequence of the melting of the snow, at the end of March, or early in April; and commence gradually to fall, from the beginning of June, to the end of July." (Macdonald Kinneir's Journey through Asia Minor, &c. in 1813, 1814, p. 412.)

[b] Volney, Voy. tom. i. p. 321. [c] Joseph. War, iii. 7.

[d] Ch. xiii. 11, 13.

the beginning of April, and extends to the end of May; and the summer commences in the beginning of June, and extends to the end of July: it was natural, therefore, for him who was a Jew, to place the harvest first, however odd it may sound in our ears.

The last division of the Jewish year is חום *hum*, or *the heat*, comprehending half Ab, all Elul, and half Tizri, or from the beginning of August till the end of September. During this period the air becomes still more heated, and the face of nature more withered; those places only being verdant which are near rivulets of water. This withered aspect is what the Psalmist alludes to in Ps. xxxii. 4, when he says that "his moisture is turned into the drought of summer." During this period, the sky through the day is clear and cloudless, after the dews are up; and hence the continued miracle of a pillar of cloud, in a cloudless sky, accompanying the Israelites for forty years, to their own comfort, and the amazement, no doubt, of the neighbouring nations. But in the night, a plentiful dew descends, which either wets the earth like a shower, or appears as hoar-frost, according to circumstances; and which, lying on the leaves of plants, serves to keep them alive in this season of heat; but no sooner does the sun appear, than it ascends as smoke from an oven, and becomes invisible. Hence the beauty of the prophet's language, when, in describing the transient goodness of Ephraim and Judah, he says, "it is as a morning cloud, and as the early dew, it goeth away."[a]—It has often been said that the day and the night are

[a] Hosea vi. 4.

antipodes to each other, in those eastern countries, but the following observations of Chardin will give it additional force. "In Europe," says he, "the days and nights resemble each other, with respect to the qualities of heat and cold; but it is quite otherwise in the East. In the lower Asia in particular, the day is always hot: and as soon as the sun is fifteen degrees above the horizon, no cold is felt, even in the depth of winter. On the contrary, in the height of summer, the nights are as cold as at Paris in the month of March. It is for this reason, that in Persia and Turkey they always make use of furred habits in the country; such only being sufficient to resist the cold of the nights. I have travelled," he adds, "in Arabia and Mesopotamia, the theatre of the adventures of Jacob, both in winter and in summer, and have found the truth of what the patriarch says, Gen. xxx. 40, "In the day, the drought consumed me, and the frost by night." This contrariety in the air, in twenty-four hours, is extremely great in some places; and not conceivable by those who have not seen it. One would imagine he had past, in a moment, from the violent heats of summer, to the depth of winter. Thus it hath pleased God," continues he, "to temper the heat of the sun by the coolness of the nights: without which the greatest part of the East would be barren, and a desert. The earth could not produce any thing."[a] It is this difference of day and night to which Jeremiah refers, ch. xxxvi. 30, where he says of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, that "his dead body should be cast out in the day to the heat, and in the night to the frost."

[a] Harmer's Observ. vol. i. ch. i. ob. 23.

And to this that Baruch alludes, ch. ii. 24, 25, when he complains that the above words of the prophet were fulfilled, on the bodies of their kings and their fathers, which had been cast out to the heat of the day, and to the frost of the night.

The heat of the day is so great at noon in summer,[a] that delicate people, or persons of rank, frequently retire to rest. Niebuhr tells us, that in Arabia it is so hot in July and August, that, except in cases of necessity, nobody goes out from eleven in the morning till three in the afternoon; and that the Arabs seldom work during that time, but employ it in sleeping in apartments, into which the air is let from above.[b] At such seasons, a mist and dew coming after the heat, is exceedingly refreshing, and as such is noticed in Ecclus. xliii. 22. Dr. Russell also informs us that they rise very early, dine soon, and repose like Eglon[c] and Ishbosheth,[d] from one or two till four in the afternoon. If we suppose this to have been the season to which the Psalmist alludes in Ps. iv. 4, rather than to the season of the night, by which it is usually explained, it will give his words more beauty and force: "Commune with your own heart on your bed, and be still:"—take advantage of the hours which the climate affords for serious meditation. The same idea seems to be contained in Ps. lxiii. 6, where their resting in the heat of the day, and their rest in the night, seem both alluded to: "I remember thee on my bed, and meditate on thee in the night-watches." In September, Dr. Russell states, that scarcely a night passes at Aleppo with-

[a] Ecclus. xliii. 3, 21.
[b] Description de l'Arabie, p. 6. [c] Judg. iii. 24. [d] 2 Sam. iv. 5.

out much lightning in the north-west quarter of the heavens, but unattended with thunder; and when it appears in the west or south-west, it is a sure sign of rain, either preceded or followed by thunder.[a] This we may also expect in Judea before the equinox, as the atmosphere is then charged with electricity.

We have, unfortunately, few meteorological observations, or prognostications as to the weather of Judea, from the paucity of ancient records, and the danger of present travelling; but the following hints should not be overlooked. A red sky in the evening betokened fair weather; and when the sky was red and lowering in the morning, they expected foul weather that day.[b] When a cloud arose from the west or Mediterranean, they expected a shower; and when the south wind blew, they said, There will be heat.[c] Such are the observations which we have been able to collect on the weather of Judea, and the difference of temperature at different seasons of the year; yet they are far from being generally applicable, since heat is regulated not merely by latitude, but by its proximity to, or remoteness from, the sea; by the nature of the soil, and the degree of elevation. Thus, the air is much colder in the mountainous parts than on the coast;[d] and Shaphet, in Galilee, from its height of situation, is so fresh and cool, that the heats of summer are scarcely felt; while about Jericho, in the neighbourhood of Jordan, it is extremely troublesome and even fatal.[e]

[a] Aleppo, vol. ii. p. 385. [b] Matth. xvi. 2, 3. [c] Luke xii. 54, 55.
[d] Reland, Palest. p. 387. [e] Egmont and Heyman, vol. ii. p. 47.

SECT. V.

Agriculture of Judea.

Time of ploughing; form of their plough; the ox goad; their manner of sowing; diseases of grain; blasting or blight; mildew; hoar-frost; thunder showers; caterpillar; locusts; harvest in Judea. The barley harvest; wheat harvest; manner of reaping by pulling up; cutting with a sickle; harvest a season of joy; sheaves, but no shocks in Judea; threshing the grain by a staff; flail; feet of cattle; the drag; the wain with iron wheels or teeth: winnowing by the shovel and fan; threshing floors in airy situations; straw used as fodder; grain preserved in earthen jars, or heaps in the fields, or subterraneous repositories: these last sometimes sealed. Grinding corn by the handmill; the work of women, at day-break; corn ground in a mill wrought by asses.

We have no allusions in Scripture as to the connexion between astronomy and agriculture; but it is well known that the Greeks and Romans were guided in their agricultural operations, by the rising and setting of certain stars; and it is not unlikely that the Jews were so likewise, although they are not particularly mentioned. Let us, then, before we collect and compare the modern practice in the East with that of Scripture, begin with the hints which Virgil has given us in his Georgics, and more especially which Hesiod has left, in his excellent treatise entitled, Εργα και Ἡμεραι, and of which the Georgics are an evident imitation. In Italy, Virgil directs his countrymen to give a light furrow to poor land, at the rising of Arcturus, or about the middle of September; lest the scanty moisture should forsake the sandy soil,

if they ploughed it sooner.[a] Between the time that the sun entered Libra, which was at the autumnal equinox, and the winter solstice, or the 22d of December, was the season for sowing barley, flax, and the poppy.[b] When the dog-star had set, and Taurus had opened the year, they sowed beans, trefoil, and millet; and wheat and other strong bearded grain, when the Pleiades, and the Gnossian star of Ariadne's crown, were set in the morning. Some, indeed, began before the setting of Maia, one of the Pleiades, but they were mocked with empty ears: and vetches, kidney-beans, and Egyptian lentils, were planted when Boötes set.[c] Such are the hints which are given us by the Roman agriculturist, who died nineteen years before Christ. Let us next attend to the observations of Hesiod, who is thought to have been contemporary with Homer, and of course to have flourished 907 years before Christ; carrying us back to the times of Jehoshaphat king of Judah, and Ahab king of Israel.

He advises the Greeks to begin the harvest at the rising of the Pleiades, and ploughing when they set; which constellation, after lying concealed 40 days and 40 nights, appears again when the sickle is sharpened.[d] They cut their wood in autumn, when the dog-star appeared.[e] The voice of the crane, on her annual return, was the signal for ploughing, and showed the time of rainy winter.[f] The appearance of the cuckoo was rather late for sowing; but, if it rained moderately for three days, they had as good a crop as those who sowed ear-

[a] Georg. i. 66—70; iii. 304. [b] Georg. i. 208—212. [c] Georg. i. 215—230.
[d] Hesiod, ii. 1—5. [e] Hesiod, ii. 35. [f] Hesiod, ii. 66.

lier.[a] When the winter had finished, sixty days after the equinox, Arcturus, leaving the ocean, first appeared in the evening, and was the signal for cutting their vines.[b] And when the tortoise lifted its claws from the earth, as if flying the Pleiades, the vines were no more to be dug, but the hooks sharpened for the harvest.[c] When the thistle was in flower, and the grasshopper chirped under the trees, the vines were best, for then Sirius ruled.[d] When the force of Orion was first felt, they trod out their grain in a place exposed to the wind, and then laid it up in vessels.[e] When Orion and Sirius came to the middle of the heavens, and Aurora, with her rosy fingers, beheld Arcturus, they plucked their grapes, laid them on the ground for ten days and nights, and then drew off the juice into vessels.[f] After the Pleiades, Hyades, and strength of Orion were set, then was the season for ploughing.[g] It appears from Homer,[h] however, and Madame Dacier's note upon it, that the Grecians did not plough in the manner now in use; for they first broke up the ground with oxen, and then ploughed it more lightly with mules. And, when they employed two ploughs in a field, they measured the space they could plough in a day, and set their ploughs at the two extremities of that space, when they proceeded to plough towards each other. This intermediate space was constantly fixed, but less in proportion for two ploughs of oxen, than for two of mules: because oxen were slower, and employed more in a field that had not been yet turned

[a] Hesiod, ii. 104. [b] Hesiod, ii. 184. [c] Hesiod, ii. 189.
[d] Hesiod, ii. 200. [e] Hesiod, ii. 215. [f] Hesiod, ii. 227.
[g] Hesiod, ii. 232. [h] Il. x. 351.

up; whereas mules were naturally swifter, and made greater speed on ground that had already got the first furrow. Pope's note on the above is, that this manner of measuring a space of ground, seems to have been customary in those times, from that passage in 1 Sam. xiv. 14, where "Jonathan and his armour-bearer slew twenty men, within as it were half an acre of land, which a yoke of oxen might plough." And I may add, that the same thing is alluded to in the Odyssey viii. 124, where Homer is describing the space of ground at the games given by Alcinous, king of Phæacia, in honour of Ulysses, in which Clytonius outstripped his rivals at the race "as far as the hinds allow between the mule and ox from plough to plough." These are the notices which Hesiod and Virgil give us of ancient agriculture;[a] but they are not such good interpreters of Scripture as the present usages of the East: we shall therefore quit them, to collect what can be got by comparing the accounts of eastern travellers, beginning,

1st, With *the times of ploughing and sowing.*— It was observed, when treating of the weather of the Holy Land, that, when the former rains begin to fall, there are commonly two or three days of heavy rain, after which the weather clears up for twenty or thirty days; and that then the rains return, and continue at times during the winter. The natives never think of ploughing their fields

[a] Those who wish to enter deeply into the subject, may consult the Husbandry of the Ancients, in two volumes, by the Rev. Adam Dickson, late minister of Whittingham; a work fraught with much good sense and sound criticism: but what must enhance its value to every classical scholar is, that the originals of all the passages cited by him are to be found in the notes.

till these rains begin; for the ground is so parched with the long continued drought of summer, that to sow before rain would be throwing away the seed. During the twenty or thirty days, therefore, above mentioned, they are exceedingly busy in ploughing and sowing. Ploughing at Aleppo, which Mr. Harmer considers as contemporary with ploughing in Judea, begins about the end of September (although, in Ray's Collection of Travels, p. 319, we read of travellers, who saw the fields about Rama, ploughed in the middle of September,) and they sow their earliest wheat about the middle of October; but as the frosts are never so severe as to prevent ploughing through the winter, they continue to sow all sorts of grain till the end of January, and barley sometimes after the middle of February, O. S.[a] No harrows are used; but

[a] This is later than in Italy, where the seed-time anciently extended from the 1st October till the winter solstice, or the 21st December; although it was reckoned better husbandry to have it finished by the 9th December. (Varro, lib. i. cap. 34. Columella, lib. ii. cap. 8.) Their spring, or trimestrian seed-time, began as soon as the land was in a proper condition for being sown, and was finished in March, but it was considered only of secondary importance. (Cato, cap. 35. Columella, lib. ii. cap. 9.)—To some of my readers it will perhaps appear singular, that while seed-time in Judea is in October, it should be in India in June. But the same general cause influences the operations of both countries; the appearance, viz. of the former rains. For we saw when treating of the seasons, that as there is a winter monsoon which begins in October, and extends over all the countries west of the Indus, as far as the Hellespont; so there is a summer monsoon which deluges the East from Africa to the Malay peninsula, from the beginning of June to September. Now as there is no vegetation in these tropical climates without water, the inhabitants of Judea and India never begin to sow till the beginning of their respective monsoons. The same wisdom, therefore, which makes the natives of Judea sow in October, at the beginning of the winter monsoon, makes the inhabitants of India begin to sow in June, at the beginning of their summer monsoon. Accordingly Sir John Malcolm tells us, that

the ground, after being ploughed once, is sown, and then ploughed a second time. If the soil be sandy, they even sow without ploughing, and then plough down the seed, which certainly is in favour of the grain in such a latitude. It obtains moisture at the bottom of the furrow, when it would not always find it at the top, and takes a firmer hold of the soil. Their plough is so light, that a man of moderate strength can carry it in his hand. A little cow, or at most two, and sometimes only an ass (as in Isaiah's time, ch. xxxii. 20,) is sufficient to draw it; and one man both holds the plough and drives the animal with so much ease, that he generally smokes his pipe at the same time.[a] Anciently, however, they ploughed with a couple of oxen. For when Elijah cast his mantle over Elisha "he was ploughing with twelve yoke of oxen, and

"the first of Bysakh, (April) which is the commencement of the agricultural year, (in Central India) is with the cultivators a day of rejoicing, as on it they commence their labours. The seed is usually sown by a drill plough early in June, after the first fall of rain. This employs them for more than a month, and is a time of incessant exertion. After the grain has risen five or six inches high, women and children are employed in weeding, and a rude harrow is passed over the field three or four times; and in the beginning of September, when most of the grains are ripe, the governor or collector of the district sends for the persons who have had the management, or have rented the different lands, to make payment of the first of the four Kists or instalments in which the revenue is paid." (Memoir of Central India, vol. ii. p. 31, 32.) The similarity of the seasons in Judea and India will be here observed. Their former rains and their seed-time were at the beginning of their monsoon, their latter rains and their harvest at the end of it: the only difference is, that the monsoon in Judea begins in October and ends in April, whilst the monsoon in India begins in June and ends in September.

[a] Russell's Aleppo, vol. i. p. 73, &c. Mr. Wilson of Kelvinbank presented the Highland Society of Scotland, at their meeting in July 1821, with a model of one of these, which he brought from Nazareth, while recently travelling in the Holy Land.

himself with the twelfth."[a] Whilst Hasselquist was at Bethlehem, 19th of April 1751, he saw a plough with a singular but useful appendage. "While my companions," says he, "were saying their prayers at the place where the angel appeared to the shepherds, I had an opportunity of viewing a kind of plough, here used to turn up the earth, on which I saw something which I had never seen in any other place: viz. they fix a reed along the plough handle to the share, and at the upper end of the reed is fixed a leather funnel. The workman, by this invention, waters the earth at the same time he is ploughing it. Under his left arm comes a pipe from a leathern bag, filled with water, which hangs on his shoulders: out of this he lets the water run into the funnel, which through the reed waters the ground as he is ploughing; a compendious method of watering the earth in dry weather."[b] The instrument used for urging the animal forward in these eastern ploughs is a goad, several of which Maundrell tells us he measured, and found them about eight feet long, and six inches in circumference at the thickest end. They were armed at the lesser end with a sharp point, for driving the animal, and at the greater was a small spade or paddle of iron, for removing any clay that might adhere to the plough while working.[c] They seem to have been common in Greece in the days of Homer, for he describes the votaries of Bacchus as pursued and slain by Lycurgus with an ox-goad (Δεινομεναι βουπληγι).[d] It was no wonder, then, that Shamgar, one of the judges of Israel,

[a] 1 Kings xix. 19. [b] Travels, p. 146. [c] Travels, April 15.
[d] Il. vi. 135.

slew six hundred Philistines with one of them.[a] In the fertile plain of Esdraelon, the ploughing is never above six inches deep, with no manure.[b] And near Jerusalem they plough with a guard attending, to prevent their being robbed by the Arabs of the grain they are intending to sow.[c]—Their manner of sowing is commonly with the hand; but the Gemara tells us, that in ancient times they used also a cart full of holes, which they conveyed along the field. With the above account of the times of sowing, agrees the following extract from Lightfoot, who tells us, from the Jewish writings, that they sowed the wheat and spelt anciently in Tizri, Marchesvan, and Chisleu, or from the autumnal equinox till the middle of December; and barley from the middle of Marchesvan[d] even to Shebat and Adar, or from the beginning of November to the middle of March: adding, that the gloss upon these passages is, "that the late seed, or that which is hid deep, and lieth long in the earth, as the wheat and spelt, which do not soon ripen, are sown in Tizri, Marchesvan, and Chisleu; but that the early seed, or the barley, which ripens soon, is sown in Shebat and Adar."[e]

An acquaintance with these seasons of sowing, and the manner in which the eastern people treat their crops, is exceedingly useful to an interpreter

[a] Judg. iii. 31.

[b] This plain lies on the south and west sides of mount Tabor. It is about eight hours (24 miles) in length, and four hours in breadth (12 miles.) It is very fertile naturally, but when Burckhardt visited it, June 26, 1812, it was entirely deserted. Its present name is Merj Ibn Aamer. (Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, p. 334.)

[c] Harmer, ch. i. ob. 2. Clarke's edit.

[d] Heb. and Talm. Exer. Matth. xii. 1.

[e] Heb. and Talm. Exer. on John iv. 39.

of Scripture, where they are frequently alluded to. Thus when Solomon in Eccl. xi. 6, is urging to perseverance in deeds of charity to the bodies and souls of men, he uses language which has an evident reference to the operations of the husbandman. "In the morning sow thy seed, and in the evening withhold not thine hand; for thou knowest not whether shall prosper, either this or that; or whether they both shall be alike good." In Is. xxviii. 24, 25, the sagacity of the husbandman is praised for improving the season of labour, after the autumnal rains have begun to fall. "Doth the ploughman plough all day to sow? Doth he open and break the clods of the ground (which had been parched with the summer's drought)? When he hath made plain the face thereof, (by the plough) doth he not cast abroad the fitches, (dill) and scatter the cummin, and cast in the principal wheat, and the appointed barley, (or rather the millet and the barley,) and the rye, (or rather corn of Damascus,) in their place?" And we have twice mention of the necessity of water to the growth of rice, rye, corn of Damascus, and other grains of the same kind; which Dr. Clarke indeed notices in his Travels, vol. iii. p. 30, when he says, "The seed is commonly cast upon the water, a practice twice alluded to in sacred Scripture. Balaam prophesied of Israel, that his seed should be in many waters.[a] And, in the directions given for charity by the son of David, it is written,[b] "Cast thy seed upon the waters, for thou shalt find it after many days."

In Exodus ix. 31, 32, we have some additional

[a] Numb. xxiv. 7. [b] Eccl. xi. 1.

particulars of some of the Jewish crops. For, when Moses inflicted the plague of thunder and hail on the Egyptians, which appears to have been about a week before the passover, or the 27th of March, since the passover was about the 4th of April, the flax and the barley were smitten, because the barley was in the ear, and the flax was bolled; but the wheat and rye were not smitten, because they were not grown up: that is, they were not so far advanced as that their stems were broken down by the hail, or their grain blasted by the fire.[a]

2. *Diseases of grain.*—In every country there are certain diseases to which grain, while growing, is liable. In the land of Judea, an excess of rain is not commonly the cause of the failure of crops; but they often suffer by too much drought. This is the cause of that blasting or blight which is mentioned in Scripture. The dry east wind, and the hot wind of the desert, carry off the moisture from the surface of the plants more rapidly than it can be supplied; so that, according to its violence or duration, the grain is either injured only or destroyed. The mildew is also hurtful to these eastern crops. It is a viscous substance, which exudes from the pores of the leaves, and becomes still more so by the evaporation of the more fluid parts by the sun; and is evidently occasioned by the excessive heat of the climate, which renders those juices volatile, that would have continued fixed in the plant, and which, by forcing themselves out, remain on the surface like a slimy substance, without the power of being carried off. The evil it does is twofold. In the first place, it

[a] Parkhurst, Heb. Lex. אפל.

weakens the plant when it is still tender, by converting that into perspirable matter which was intended for nourishment; and, in the second place, by remaining on the surface in its glutinous state, it shuts up the pores, prevents the insensible perspiration from going on, and causes a species of fever in the internal structure of the plant; which continues to be hurtful, till it is either washed off by the rains, or rendered gradually soluble by the dews.—A third accident to which the eastern crops are liable is hoar-frost, which falls upon them in the night, and destroys their fibres. Thunder showers also, in the East, are frequently hurtful to standing corn: for the cold which thunder produces converts the falling vapours into hail, and often into rugged masses of ice, which destroy all on which they fall.—The caterpillar is another enemy to the standing corn: one species of which lodges in the top of the plant, cankering the juices, and starving the grain; while another (like those aphides called *Sim* in Persia, which are a species of white lice) fixes upon the stalk and root, and either corrupts it, or gnaws it asunder. The most destructive enemies, however, are the locusts, which fortunately appear but seldom. Their numbers are incredible, and their ravages astonishing. In the emphatical words of Joel, [a] "Before them is the garden of the Lord, and behind them a barren wilderness."

3. *Harvest.*—The beginning of barley harvest, in Judea, is about the middle of the month Nizan, or the beginning of our April: [b] so that, if we count back four months, we shall come to the

[a] Ch. ii. 3. [b] Lightf. Heb. and Talm. Exer. John iv. 35.

middle of Chisleu, or beginning of December, (at which time we formerly saw they sowed barley,) as the time when our Saviour conversed with the woman of Samaria; and, in this point of view, his words to his disciples on that occasion are very expressive.[a] "Say ye not, that there are yet four months, and then cometh harvest? Behold, I say unto you, Lift up your eyes, and look on the fields (covered with people coming from Samaria), for they are white already to harvest (or ripe for becoming converts to me as the promised Messiah)."[b] —But although the barley harvest commences about the beginning of April, it is a considerable time before it, and the wheat harvest, which succeeds it, are concluded.[c] For Hasselquist saw barley ripe between Acra and Nazareth, on the 2d of May, N. S.; and wheat that appeared to be three weeks later.[d] And in the Gesta Dei per Francos, p. 173, we are told, that when the Christian army went to Jerusalem on the 6th of June, the harvest was almost over. It would appear, then, that the barley and wheat harvests extend from the beginning of April to the middle of June. But at Aleppo they are shorter: for Dr. Russell tells us, that the barley harvest begins there about the beginning of May, and that both it and the wheat harvest are generally over by the 20th of that month.[e] And Dr. Shaw says, that in Barbary, it comes on so late as the end of May and beginning of June.[f] But these observations do not contradict the former remarks, as to the length of the harvest in Judea: for Dr. Russell, in a ma-

[a] John iv. 35. [b] Verses 39—42. [c] Ruth ii. 23.
[d] Travels, p. 153, 156. [e] Vol. i. p. 74. [f] Page 137.

nuscript note on Harmer's Observations, says that the harvest in Judea is earlier than at Aleppo; and consequently earlier still than in Barbary; as indeed we have found, from various authorities, to be the case.—But, having seen the time of harvest, let us next attend to the manner in which they reaped the grain. This was sometimes done with a sickle, gathering the corn in the arm,[a] in the manner of the present Welsh, whose hook is large, and performs its work in a neater and more expeditious manner than the sickles commonly in use. But the most common way was by pulling it up by the roots;[b] a practice which appears strange to us, but which was naturally suggested to them by the scarcity of fodder and fuel. We have not unfrequently hitherto found Homer a good interpreter of Jewish customs; and perhaps he may be so now, as to the manner in which the bands of reapers were disposed in a field. According to him, the Grecians reaped in the same manner as they ploughed, beginning at the sides of the field, which was equally divided, and continuing till they met in the middle; by which means they raised an emulation between the bands of reapers.[c] I am uncertain whether the same practice was observed in Judea; but, if it was, it would have a similar effect in producing despatch. Naomi's reapers had vinegar and water to cool their thirst, and parched corn for their food;[d] and, in the history of Bel and the Dragon, we find a Jewish prophet called Habaccuc, who had pottage, and

[a] Is. xvii. 5.

[b] Maundrell, p. 144. Pococke, vol. ii. p. 130. Russell, vol. i. p. 75. Capt. Light's Travels, p. 101–104. [c] Il. xi. 67. [d] Ruth ii. 14.

broken bread in a bowl, which he was taking to the field, to give to the reapers.—In Judea the harvest was a season of joy; and as such is alluded to more than once in Scripture.[a] Yet their joy was not inconsistent with religion. Thus Boaz, when he went to his reapers, said, "The Lord be with thee!" to which they replied, "The Lord bless thee!"[b] Nay, even the salutations of travellers as they passed, partook of a religious feeling, when they said, "The blessing of the Lord be upon you! We bless you in the name of the Lord."[c]—After the grain was cut down, or pulled up, it was formed into sheaves; but the sheaves were never set up into shocks, as with us, although they are mentioned in our translation of Judg. xv. 5, Job v. 26; for the original word signifies neither a shock composed of a few sheaves standing in the field, nor a stack of many sheaves in the barn-yard, properly thatched, to stand for a length of time; but a heap of sheaves laid loosely together, to be trodden out as quickly as possible, in the same way as is done in the East at the present day.—But let us attend now to the

4. *Thrashing out of the corn;* or the manner in which they separated the corn from the straw.—This was done in several ways.—The first was by the staff or flail, which was used for the smaller grains, as fitches, dill, or cummin.[d]—The second was by the feet of cattle, which is practised in many parts of the East at this day. An eye-witness informed the author of this work, that, after the floor is properly prepared by the removal of

[a] Ps. cxxvi. 5. Is. ix. 3.
[b] Ruth ii. 4.
[c] Ps. cxxix. 8.
[d] Is. xxviii. 27, 28.

about six inches of earth, and the space filled up with clay and cow-dung, a post is erected in the middle, with a moveable wooden ring at top, through which the cord passes that yokes the oxen, and can be lengthened or shortened at the pleasure of the driver, so as make them move in a narrower or wider circle. This seems to have been the most ancient practice, for barley, wheat, and rye; as we find the husbandmen forbidden in the law "to muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn."[a] Homer hath described this method, as practised in his time and country.[b] The ancient Arabs, Syrians, Egyptians, and Romans, thrashed their corn in the same manner, by the feet of cattle.[c] And "those nations," says Dr. Shaw,[d] speaking of the Arabs and Moors in Barbary, "continue to tread out their corn after the primitive custom of the East." But instead of beeves, they frequently make use of mules and horses, by tying three or four of them together, and driving them round the *nedders* (as they call the thrashing-floors, the Lybicæ areæ of Horace), where the sheaves lie open and expanded, in the same manner as they are placed and prepared with us for thrashing. This, indeed, is a much quicker way than ours, though less cleanly; for as it is performed in the open air,[e] upon any round level plat of ground, daubed over with cow-dung, to prevent, as much as possible, the earth, sand, or gravel from rising, a great quantity of them all, notwithstanding this precaution, must, unavoidably, be taken up with the grain: at

[a] Deut. xxv. 4.
[b] Il. xx. 495.
[c] Bochart, vol. ii. p. 302, &c. 311, &c.
[d] Page 138, 139.
[e] Hosea xiii. 3.

the same time, the straw, which is their only fodder, is hereby shattered to pieces; a circumstance very pertinently alluded to in 2 Kings xiii. 7, where the king of Syria is said to have made "the Israelites like dust by thrashing."—The third kind of thrashing instrument was the drag; which consisted of a frame of strong planks, made rough at the bottom with hard stones or iron. It was drawn by horses or oxen over the corn sheaves, spread on the floor, the driver sitting upon it. The Roman tribula was of this kind, as described by Varro,[a] and Columella;[b] and Kempfer has given a print representing the manner of using this instrument.[c] —The fourth instrument, for separating the corn from the straw, was the wain. This was somewhat like the former, but had wheels with iron teeth, or edges like a saw.[d] We have a description and print of such a machine, used at present in Egypt, for the same purpose; which moves upon three rollers, armed with iron teeth or wheels, to cut the straw, in Niebuhr's Voy. en Arabie, Tab. xvii. p. 123.—The following is Captain Light's account of it, as seen in 1814: "A frame of four feet wide and as many high, consisting of three sides, was placed on wooden rollers, serving as axles to a number of thin circular iron plates, put in motion by a couple of oxen, driven by a boy, who sat on a cross bar above the rollers, and moved over the straw as it lay in heaps on the ground, after the grain had been trodden out. In a short time the straw was cut into small portions, which served to feed the cattle of the natives."[e]—In Syria they

[a] De Re Rustica, lib. i. [b] Lib. ii. cap. 21.
[c] Amæn. Exot. p. 682, fig. 3. [d] Hieron. in loc. [e] Page 46.

make use of a drag constructed in the same manner as above described:[a] and it appears from Varro,[b] that this teethed sledge was the same as the plostellum Pænicum, or Carthaginian wain, which they no doubt derived from their Phœnician or Canaanitish ancestors.—It is pleasing to remark how useful oxen are in the operations of husbandry, and that the original law for inculcating humanity towards them is still observed by the people of the East. Thus Dr. Russell[c] tells us, that "the natives of Aleppo, to this day, religiously observe the ancient custom, of allowing the oxen employed in separating the corn from the straw, to eat what they please." And Dr. Chandler, in his Travels into Asia Minor,[d] observes, that near the ancient Sigæum he saw "oxen unmuzzled, treading out the corn."—We have all the above kinds of thrashing instruments spoken of in Isaiah xxviii. 25—28, and shortly explained in Bishop Lowth's note, which is engrossed in the above account of them.

5. *Winnowing.*—When the corn is thrashed, the next operation is to separate the corn from the straw, the chaff, and the dust. By the practice of the East, the straw is completely bruised, or rather cut into very short pieces, by the feet of the oxen, and the teeth of the wain: the whole mass, therefore, is thrown either with a pitchfork or a shovel, some yards forward across the wind, which, driving away the straw, leaves the corn, and unthrashed ears, in a separate heap. The earth and other impurities are then separated from the grain by means of a sieve;[e] and the unthrashed ears are submitted

[a] Niebuhr, Descrip. de l'Arabie, p. 140. [b] De Re Rustica, lib. i. cap. 12. [c] Page 50. [d] Page 40. [e] Amos ix. 9. Luke xxii. 31.

a second time to the feet of the oxen, till they are fitted for winnowing.[a] From the nature of these operations, the thrashing-floors in the East required to be in airy situations. Accordingly, Gideon's and Araunah's thrashing-floors were in the open air;[b] while in Hosea xiii. 3, we read of "the chaff that is driven with the whirlwind out of the thrashing-floor." Indeed, the original word for a thrashing-floor (גֹּרֶן *geren*) signifies a place exposed to the wind; and Hesiod[c] advises his husbandman to thrash his corn "in a place well exposed to the wind." We have here, therefore, two ways of winnowing corn by the wind, the first by a fork, when the straw is only bruised by the feet of cattle; and the second by a shovel, when the straw has been cut by the drag or wain. But there were times when the weather was calm, and when long exposure of the thrashed corn, in open areas, would have been productive of the worst consequences. Their only resource, then, was the van, which Columella thus explains. "The corn which is thrashed in the area should be heaped up, that it may be cleaned with any wind; but if the weather should continue calm for several days, it must be cleaned with vans, (vannis) lest, after a calm, a severe tempest should destroy the labours of the year." Vans were also used for smaller grains, or when small quantities of the larger were required to be winnowed in calm weather. Hence the van is mentioned along with the shovel in Is. xxx. 24, and wheat is spoken of by John the Baptist in Matth. iii. 12, as winnowed by the van. Indeed,

[a] Niebuhr, Voy. en Arabie, tom. i. p. 123. [b] Judg. vi. 11. 2 Sam. xxiv. 18. [c] Oper. et Dies, vers. 597.

it is not probable that the dressing of grain in large quantities could ever have been carried on in that way. The natural mode was to catch the wind when they could, since machines to procure a constant artificial blast were not then invented, nor are they even known in these countries at the present day. Homer mentions the van as carried on the shoulder.[a]

6. *Laying it up in granaries.*—When the straw was separated, it was carefully laid up to be given to cattle, either by itself, or mixed with barley and beans: for it was too valuable "to be trodden down for the dunghill," as our version hath it in Isaiah xxv. 10. And as for the corn, when it was properly cleansed, it was not put up in sacks, as with us; but, after lying for some days to dry, they either put it into earthen jars, (called barrels in 1 Kings xvii. 12,) to preserve it from the worms and other insects, as they do in Egypt and Palestine at this day;[b] or laid it up in the fields,[c] in mattamores, as Dr. Shaw calls them, which are heaps of grain laid on the surface of the ground, and covered with earth. Sir Robert Wilson thus describes them: "The magazines of corn in Egypt are formed on the outside of the city walls, otherwise they would be too extended for the inhabitants to defend. The property of each village is deposited in one place, every individual owner heaping up his own rick, and keeping it distinct from his neighbours, by preserving a path round." —But besides these repositories in the fields, they have others under ground, to preserve grain in the

[a] Odyss. xi. 127; xxiii. 275. [b] Harm. Ob. vol. i. p. 277, &c.
[c] Jer. xli. 8.

wettest seasons. These are very common in the East, as Harmer has shown from various authors;[a] and Dr. Russell says, that "about Aleppo in Syria, their granaries are, even at this day, subterraneous grottos, the entry to which is by a small hole or opening, like a well, often in the highway; and, as they are commonly left open, when empty, they make it not a little dangerous riding in the night."[b] The original word for "garners," in Joel i. 17, means these subterraneous repositories; but those in the field were above ground. An eye-witness informed me, that in India they make up the rice heaps, by plastering them within and without with cow-dung, to prevent insects from hurting the grain. And when they are thus finished, they are sealed, both to secure private property, and to prevent defrauding the government. Accordingly we are told, that "the doors of Joseph's granary in Old Cairo are kept carefully sealed; but its inspectors do not make use of wax on the occasion, but put their seal upon an handful of clay, with which they cover the lock of the door."[c] It would appear that this custom of sealing with clay was very ancient; for Job xxxviii. 14, when speaking of the world as obedient to the plastic hand of its Maker, says, "it is turned as clay to the seal:" and indeed the dryness of the eastern summer made it a sufficient security for a considerable length of time.

7. *Grinding into meal.*—The grain was commonly reduced to meal by the handmill, which consisted of a lower millstone, the upper side of which was concave, and an upper millstone, whose

[a] Ch. xi. ob. 68. Clarke's edit. [b] Aleppo, p. 18.
[c] Harm. Ob. vol. ii. p. 457, where see more.

lower surface was convex; so that the concave surface of the one was made to correspond with the convex surface of the other. The hole for receiving the corn was in the centre of the upper millstone; and in the operation of grinding, the lower was fixed, and the upper made to move round upon it, with considerable velocity by means of a handle.[a] Grinding corn among the Greeks and Romans was the work of slaves, and commonly of females.[b] It was accounted a mean employment, and was therefore inflicted upon male slaves as a punishment.[c] Sir John Chardin has also remarked, "that female slaves are generally employed in the East, at the handmills, at the present day; that this work is extremely laborious; and that it is esteemed the lowest employment in the house."[d] Hence Job xxxi. 10, says in his own vindication, "If I have acted dishonestly, let the wife of my bosom grind to another."

As the operation of grinding was commonly performed in the morning at daybreak, the sound of the females at the handmills was heard all over the city, and often awoke their more indolent masters.[e] And the Scriptures mention the want of this noise as a mark of desolation in Jer. xxv. 10, Rev. xviii. 22. Even to this day the same practice is contin-

[a] In Niebuhr's Voy. en Arabie, tom. i. p. 122, pl. 17, fig. A, may be seen a representation of one of these handmills as still used in Egypt.

[b] Homer, Odyss. vii. 104; xx. 105—115. Exod. xi. 5. Matth. xxiv. 40. Lowth's note on Is. xlvii. 2.

[c] Molendum in pistrino; vapulandum; habendæ compedes.
Terent. Phormio, ii. 1, 19.
Hominem pistrino dignum.
Id. Heaut. iii. 2, 19.

[d] Harmer's Ob. vol. i. p. 250.

[e] Ib. p. 250—253.

ued: for Dr. Shaw,[a] when speaking of the Moors in Barbary, tells us, that they "grind their wheat and barley at home, having two portable millstones for that purpose, the uppermost whereof is turned round by a small handle of wood or iron, that is placed in the rim." When this stone is large, or expedition required, a second person is called in to assist; and as it is usual for women only to be concerned in this employment, who seat themselves over against each other, with the millstones between them, we may see not only the propriety of the expression, Exod. xi. 5, of sitting behind the mill, but the force of Matth. xxiv. 41, that "two women shall be grinding at the mill; the one shall be taken, and the other left." The above manner of preparing corn, shows us also the humanity of that law in Deut. xxiv. 6, "No man shall take the nether or the upper millstone in pledge, for he taketh a man's life in pledge." He could not grind his daily bread without it.

I have not met with any writer on Jewish antiquities, who speaks of a mill driven by asses, and yet there is something in Matth. xviii. 6, which seems to favour it; for our Saviour says, that "whosoever shall offend one of these little ones, which believe in him, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea." The original words for millstone are μυλος ονικος, which must either mean a millstone turned by asses, or a millstone carried by them. The reader will judge which ought to be preferred. We read in Catullus, who died A. A. C. 40, of a one-ass mill (molæ

[a] Page 231.

asinariæ unæ); so that they might have been introduced into Judea before our Saviour's time. And Lightfoot quotes a passage from a Talmudic author, where the ass-mill is distinguished from the hand-mill.[a] Mills driven by water were not invented till a little before the time of Augustus, and windmills long after that.[b]

SECT. VI.

State of Pasturage in Judea.

Pasture unappropriated till after the division of Canaan; exceedingly parched in summer; low grounds irrigated; abundance of grass in winter; scarcity of grass and water in summer; springs much valued; covered with stone to prevent evaporation and dust; reservoirs; horses and camels kept on hard food, except in the covering season. Pasture burnt to improve the grass, but forbidden at certain seasons. Wealth of the East consists much in cattle; instances of this; folding; care to improve the breed; their attention during the yeaning season: sheepshearing, when performed; a season of joy; flocks watched during the night; fed in upland districts in spring; beside streams in summer; browse in the vineyards in autumn; go at large in winter. Sheep when at liberty have a daily range.

It appears from Scripture, that in the times of the patriarchs, the lands devoted to pasturage were unappropriated; the owners of the sheep conveying them in succession from place to place, as their necessities required, in the same manner as is mentioned by Horace,[c] and as the Arabs do at the present day. But when Judea was divided among the tribes, pasturage, like agriculture, be-

[a] Heb. and Talm. Exer. on Luke xvii. 1.

[b] Lowth's note on Is. xlvii. 2. [c] Carm. lib. iii. ode xxiv. 12.

came private property. Hence Josephus tells us of some robbers on the borders of Judea, who retained their pastures which they had hired, without paying their rent.[a] It should ever be remembered, however, that during the Jewish summer, the grass is uncommonly withered; those places only being verdant, which are situated in the neighbourhood of springs or rivulets: hence Sir John Chardin tells us, that "in every place where there is water, there is always grass, for water makes every thing grow in the East."[b] And the Psalmist, who, from his pastoral character, was well acquainted with the flocks of Judea, speaks of the green pastures and the still waters.

In every country, it is a principal object of attention amongst storemasters, to have abundance of food for their flocks and herds, at all seasons of the year, and this likewise was the case in Judea; but their worst time was the very reverse of ours, for in winter and spring they had abundance, since that was their rainy season, whilst in summer they had want; a want of food, and a want of water. Hence the value of springs and reservoirs. As for springs, they were either open in the sides of the hills, or dug in the valleys. In general, these last were the most esteemed, because in parched districts, and difficult to obtain. They were commonly covered with a stone, to prevent evaporation, or being filled with sand; and were even secured by a seal, to preserve them as private property.[c] Chardin saw some that were sealed with this view. As for reservoirs or tanks, as they are called in India, these were large quantities of

[a] Antiq. xvi. 9. [b] Harm. Ob. vol. i. p. 54. [c] Cant. iv. 12.

water, secured within strong mounds, and filled in the rainy season, to afford a sufficiency during the dry.

It was the practice of the Jewish shepherds to go before their flocks, and to lead them in that way to the most suitable pastures. And as our Saviour says that "the sheep knew their voice, and would not follow a stranger, for they knew not the voice of a stranger;"[a] it appears probable, that the Jewish shepherds rendered their sheep familiar to their voice, and taught them to follow them, as the sheep in Spain follow their keepers. "When I desired the shepherd," says Mr. Arthur Young, "to catch me one of his rams (out of a flock of 2000) to examine its wool, shape, and carcass, I supposed he would do it with his crook, or probably not be able to do it at all; but he walked into the flock, and singling out a ram and a goat, bade them follow him, holding out his hand, as if to give them something."[b]—It is probable, that the same kind methods were also in use among the Jewish neat-herds, when conducting their cattle; unless we were to suppose, that in their migrations they used a kind of song, somewhat resembling the *ranz des vaches* of the Senns, or neat-herds in Switzerland, which is no sooner begun to be sung, than the cows that are grazing in a dispersed manner on the Alps, hasten to their keeper, and follow him to new pasture.

But whilst the Jewish sheep, goats, and kine, were allowed to roam at large through the whole year, it was different with respect to the horses and camels. These were kept then probably as

[a] John x. 4, 5. [b] Annals of Agriculture.

they are now, almost always on hard food; the horses upon barley, and the camels on chopped straw, barley, and beans; for they make no hay in the East, although our translation hath hay in two places:[a] and any grass that is eaten by horses is in the covering season in March, when the grass is pretty well grown.[b] Hence "the mown grass," mentioned in Ps. lxxii. 6, should have been translated, "grass which had been eaten down;" and "the king's mowings," in Amos vii. 1, should have been rendered, "the king's feedings," when his stud of horses were sent to grass to be at full liberty to generate their kind.

I may mention one additional circumstance concerning the lands in Judea devoted to pasturage, (which is often indeed practised in Britain at a different season of the year,) and that was, the burning the undergrowth and old herbage, before the descent of the autumnal rains. It made the new grass after them peculiarly verdant; but was expressly forbidden while the corn was growing; or when the cut corn was lying in heaps, in order to be trodden by oxen or buffaloes.[c] The following extract from Burckhardt's Travels will set this in a striking light. "In returning from Kelaat Haman, in the neighbourhood of Tiberias, (A. D. 1812,) I was several times reprimanded," says he, "by my guide, for not taking proper care of the lighted tobacco, that fell from my pipe. The whole of the mountain is thickly covered with dry grass, which readily takes fire, and the slightest breath of air instantly spreads the conflagration,

[a] Prov. xxvii. 25. Is. xv. 6.

[b] Harm. Ob. ch. xi. ob. 74. Clarke.

[c] Exod. xxii. 6.

far over the country, to the risk of the peasant's harvest. The Arabs who inhabit the valley of Jordan, invariably put to death any person, who is known to have been even the innocent cause of firing the grass: and they have made it a public law among themselves, that, even in the height of intestine warfare, no one shall attempt to set his enemy's harvest on fire."[a] When the withered grass and stubble, however, were not burnt, they were often eagerly collected to be "cast into the oven,"[b] or put under the plate on which they baked their bread.

The wealth of the eastern pastoral tribes consists chiefly in sheep, goats, camels, oxen, and asses. Job, before his affliction, had 7000 sheep, 3000 camels, 500 oxen, and 500 she-asses; and after his recovery, he lived so long as to have double that number.[c] And Mesha, king of Moab, was a sheep master, and paid the king of Israel, as a tribute, an hundred thousand lambs, and an hundred thousand rams, with the wool.[d] Indeed, the numbers belonging to some of the Arab emirs are truly astonishing. Sir John Chardin saw one whose flocks extended ten leagues; and near Aleppo he saw a clan of Turcomans passing, with 400,000 beasts of carriage, camels, horses, asses, oxen, and cows, and three millions of sheep and goats. This he had from many of the principal drivers, although there is every reason to believe them greatly exaggerated. These animals, however, were not for show merely, for they were commonly turned to great account, by being sold

[a] Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, p. 331.
[b] Matth. vi. 30. [c] Ch. i. 3; xlii. 12. [d] 2 Kings iii. 4.

at every city as they passed, for any articles of manufacture which were needed, by the numerous establishment of the emir; or, as was most commonly the case, for large quantities of the precious metals.[a] Burckhardt tells us that "the Kourdines bring annually into Syria, from twenty to thirty thousand sheep, from the mountains of Kourdistan; the greater part of which are consumed by Aleppo, Damascus, and the mountains; as Syria does not produce a sufficient number for its inhabitants."[b] We are not to suppose, however, that the Jews could have such immense numbers as those mentioned above, since their country was limited in extent, and divided among a great number of proprietors; yet we have several particulars concerning them which ought to be noticed. Thus, to defend their flocks from the weather, and from wild beasts during the night, they had numerous folds or sheepcots.[c] For improving the breed,

[a] Chardin, MS. tom. vi. quoted by Harmer. Spain is the only kingdom in Europe, where the management of sheep bears a resemblance to that among the Turcomans. In Spain there are two kinds of sheep; the coarse-wooled, which always remain on their native pastures, and are housed every night in winter; and the fine-wooled, which are always in the open air, and travel every autumn from the cool mountains of the northern part of Spain, to feed during the winter on the southern warm plains of Andalusia, Mancha, and Estramadura. Of these latter, it appears from accurate computations, that there are about five millions, and that the wool and flesh of a flock of ten thousand sheep, produce yearly about twenty-four reals a head, or about the value of twelve English sixpences: one of which belongs to the owner, three to the king, and the other eight are allowed for the expenses of pasture, tithes, shepherds, dogs, salt, shearing, &c. Ten thousand sheep form a flock, which is divided into ten tribes, under the management of one person, who has absolute dominion over fifty shepherds and fifty dogs. (Encycl. Perth. Sheep, sect. 8.)

[b] Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, p. 26.

[c] Num. xxxii. 16, 24, 36. 1 Sam. xxiv. 3.

they preferred the bulls of Bashan,[a] and the rams of Bashan[b] and of Nebaioth.[c] But the proportions allotted to each of the kinds were very different from what is allowed in modern practice, being one he-goat or ram to ten she-goats or ewes, and one bull to four cows; at least, that was the proportion which Jacob fixed upon in his present to Esau.[d] Modern farmers would think one to sixty or even a hundred of each kind not too much: but perhaps Jacob gave that number to Esau as a change of breed to his flock. Their care was peculiarly excited in the yeaning season, when some were heavy with lamb, others were giving suck, and the lambs in general were easily hurt. Hence Jacob made it an excuse to Esau, why he could not travel quickly, that the flocks and the herds were accompanied by their young, and that one day's overdriving would be fatal to many of them.[e] And Sir John Chardin confirms the patriarch's observation, from his own experience; for he tells us that when travelling in the East, he saw "their flocks eat down the places of their encampments so quickly, by the great numbers they had, that they were obliged to remove them too often; which was very destructive to their flocks, on account of the young ones, who had not strength enough to follow."[f] The commentators have been much puzzled sometimes, to explain the "bis gravidæ pecudes" of Virgil, Georg. ii. and the triple offspring of the Lybian ewes, mentioned by Homer, Odyss. iv. 86; but the difficulty disap-

[a] Ps. xxii. 12. [b] Deut. xxxii. 14. [c] Is. lx. 7.
[d] Gen. xxxii. 14, 15. [e] Gen. xxxiii. 13.
[f] Harmer, Ob. i. p. 126.

pears, when one thinks of the nature and habits of these animals. Ewes go with young twenty-one weeks; they are only in season once in the year; they give milk about three months, under the present management of stock in Britain, but would give it much longer if allowed; they could not, therefore, have lambs twice, far less thrice, in the year. The difficulty then resolves itself, into two or three at a birth; the first of which is common among full-fed sheep in Britain, and the last may be as common in warmer latitudes.

Sheepshearing seems to have been a season of rejoicing, as we learn from the histories of Laban, Judah, and Nabal;[a] and if it was performed at the same season as travellers tell us it is now, it must have been near the beginning of March, old style.[b] But the seasons and climates regulate this, for sheep are never shorn in any country, till the old fleece is so raised from the skin, as that the shears can clip in the new growth. Accordingly, sheepshearing is two months later in Britain than in Judea; which Harmer has shown to be the average time, between the ripening of the productions in the two countries. The following picture of a goat-herd tending his charge, as given us by Hasselquist, p. 166, may perhaps be descriptive of the Jewish shepherds: "On the road from Acra to Seide, (or Sidon,) we saw a herdsman, who rested with his herd of goats, which was one of the largest I saw in this country." He was eating his dinner, consisting of half ripe ears of wheat, which he roasted and ate, with as good an appetite as a

[a] Gen. xxxi. 19; xxxviii. 12. 1 Sam. xxv. 4.
[b] Harm. Ob. ch. i. ob. 33. Clarke's edit.

Turk does his pillaws: he treated his guests with the same dish, and afterwards gave us milk, warm from the goats, to drink. Roasted ears of wheat, are a very ancient dish in the East, of which mention is made in the book of Ruth."[a] Lightfoot tells us[b] that the Jewish shepherds drove their flocks either to the wilderness[c] or the plains devoted to pasturage, where they fed through the summer; and that they were watched night and day till Marchesvan,[d] or the middle of October, when the autumnal rains began to fall, and they returned home: which account agrees with the information given to us by modern travellers. For we are told that the shepherds, when they have no other shelter, lodge in caves, of which there are many vestiges still about Askelon,[e] or in black coloured tents of goats' hair: that, before June, "the eastern hills are oftentimes stocked with shrubs, and a delicate short grass, which the cattle are more fond of, than of such as is common to fallow ground and meadows. Neither is the grazing and feeding of cattle peculiar to Judea, for it is still practised all over Mount Libanus, the Castravan mountains, and Barbary, where the higher

[a] He refers to Ruth. ii. 14.

[b] Heb. and Talm. Exer. on Luke ii. 8.

[c] "By desert, or wilderness," says Dr. Shaw, "the reader is not always to understand a country altogether barren and unfruitful, but such only as is rarely or never sown or cultivated; which, though it yields no crops of corn or fruit, yet affords herbage more or less for the grazing of cattle, with fountains or rills of water, though more sparingly interspersed than in other places." (Travels, p. 9, note.)

[d] The Rev. Henry Martyn on 5th July, 1811, "met some shepherds keeping watch over their flocks by night," not far from Tebriz, where Sir Gore Ousely, the British ambassador, then was. (Memoir, p. 462.)

[e] Zeph. ii. 6.

grounds are appropriated to this use, as the plains and valleys are reserved for tillage; for, besides the good management and economy, there is this farther advantage in it, that the milk of cattle, fed in this manner, is far more rich and delicious, at the same time that their flesh is more sweet and nourishing."[a] Such is the way in which they shift about, during the spring months. In the summer season, or from June till the autumnal equinox, Dr. Russell tells us, that "they take their flocks to feed beside streams, where alone verdure is to be found."[b] And in the autumn the goats, sheep, and cattle, are much relieved by being turned into the vineyards, and picking up the vine leaves.[c]

I shall only add, that as, in all pastoral districts, the flocks when left to themselves, daily descend from the higher grounds in the morning, feed and rest in some low, agreeable place at noon, and ascend to the heights again in the evening; so this practice is alluded to in Scripture, when the spouse, addressing her beloved, under the character of a shepherd, says,[d] "Tell me, O thou whom my soul loveth, where thou feedest, where thou makest thy flock to rest at noon:" evidently indicating that they had a certain daily range, and that some shady place was selected, to shelter them from the mid-day sun. Virgil, when treating of sheep in his 3d Georgic, line 327, speaks of their beginning to rest at the fourth hour, or ten o'clock, when the heat began to be oppressive: and in Plato's Phædon,[e] we read of προβατα μεσεμβριαζοντα, or sheep reclining at noon under a shade, by a still fountain.

[a] Shaw, p. 338. [b] Page 10. [c] Harmer, vol. i. Pref. lxxviii.
[d] Cant. i. 7. [e] Page 1230.

SECT. VII.

State of Gardening among the Jews.

Kitchen garden; plants of; manner of rearing them. Vineyards, very numerous; frequent allusions to them in Scripture; supposed proportions of profit to the owner and occupier. Flower-gardens mentioned in Scripture; sometimes abused to idolatrous and obscene purposes: the Floralia of the Romans: orchards and shady walks of the Jews: trees and shrubs planted in them. Fences of loose stones; hedges; mud walls; stone regularly built. Gardens supplied with water: frequent allusions to this in Scripture. Maundrell's account of it. Fruits watched while ripening in temporary huts; elegant towers; chiosks; an account of one.—Their manner of making trees fruitful; rule for preserving or destroying them. A calendar of the time when fruits come in season at Sheeraz, in Persia, as an approximation to those in Judea. The daily wages of hired labourers.

Besides the lands which were devoted to agriculture and pasturage, it was usual for the Jews to inclose a certain portion for gardens, either for utility or pleasure. Hence the kitchen garden, the vineyard, the flower-garden, and the orchard.

We know but little of the plants which a kitchen garden contained; but, in general, we may remark, that the great wish of the eastern nations hath always been to procure an abundance of such fruits as, on the one hand, by their cooling nature, allay the heat of the summer months; and, on the other, those herbs of a hot quality, which give a tone to their digestive powers, when debilitated by heat. Hence, while their general food was wheat, barley, rye, fitches, millet, lentils, beans, &c. their great care, during the summer months, was to have a

plentiful and continued supply of cucumbers, melons, and gourds, to serve, in place of water, to allay the thirst; and of onions, lecks, garlic, anise, cummin, cassia, cinnamon, coriander, mustard, juniper, &c. to mix with their dishes, in order to give them a high season, and assist digestion. It appears, indeed, strange to an European, when he hears of the very hot, and highly-seasoned dishes of the East, where the climate itself is of so high a temperature. But God has wisely placed the articles for highest seasoning, in the warmest latitudes, that the same cause which debilitates, by excessive and continued heat, the powers of digestion, might produce in abundance those articles which could correct that debility, and assist the languid powers of nature. In the production of these vegetables little care was necessary. Hasselquist, in his Travels, p. 160, observes, that the inhabitants of Nazareth, in Galilee, "had no spades, but a kind of hoe, or ground axe." And Niebuhr[a] says, "instead of a spade the Arabs of Yemen make use of an iron mattock, (an instrument mentioned in Is. vii. 25,) to cultivate their gardens, and the lands in the mountains, which are too narrow to admit the plough." The turning up of the earth, therefore, with these simple instruments, a plentiful manure, the extirpation of weeds, and a regular application of water, were all that were requisite to produce an abundant crop of vegetables for the kitchen, where the climate in other respects was so favourable.

Vineyards were in great abundance in Judea, sometimes in elevated situations, and sometimes in

[a] Description de l'Arabie, p. 137.

low and sheltered valleys. When in elevated situations, they commonly faced the south, to make up by reflection what was wanting in natural temperature; but low situations were generally preferred, on account of the depth of soil, and other advantages. We have an account of the manner in which they formed a vineyard, in Is. v. 1, 2; for wherever the vine could be cultivated, it was eagerly adopted. Grapes were an agreeable fruit, where the heat of the sun was so great, and their various preparations served either to give variety to entertainments, or to form a considerable branch of commerce, with their less favoured neighbours. It is no wonder, then, that such frequent allusions are made to the vine in Scripture. Thus the improvement of vines by ingrafting, is employed by our Lord, to explain the advantages that are to be derived from union with himself, in John xv. 1—4. The rapidity of the growth of vines, after the sap has begun to ascend by the showers and heat of spring, is beautifully applied by Hosea xiv. 7, to the revival and rapid growth of the people of God: "They shall revive as the corn, and grow as the vine; the scent thereof shall be as the wine of Lebanon." And the disappointment of the vine-dresser, after all his care, is applied by Jehovah, to point out the ingratitude of his professing people, in Jer. ii. 21: "I had planted thee a noble vine, wholly a right seed; how then art thou turned into the degenerate plant of a strange vine unto me?" The Psalmist takes notice of the hurtful effects of hail on vines, in Psalm lxxviii. 47. And Solomon in Cant. ii. 15, speaks of the anxiety of the vine-dressers to catch the foxes, the little foxes, which spoiled

the vines when they had tender grapes. When vineyards were let, a certain proportion of the produce was given to the owner,[a] and a certain proportion to the cultivator of the soil. Thus in Solomon's garden, at Baalhamon, every one for the fruit thereof brought a thousand pieces of silver. Solomon got a thousand, and those who kept the fruit thereof two hundred:[b] but we are not to look upon this proportion, perhaps, as a general rule. In Isaiah vii. 23, the rent for a thousand vines, is said to have been a thousand silverlings, or shekels; about half a crown each. When Captain Light was at Jaffa, or Joppa, in 1814, he found that "one-fourth of the produce of a garden went to the gardener, who is supplied with labourers to weed and work the ground by the owner, by whom all damages are repaired, horses and oxen are found, and water-wheels are erected for irrigation."[c] And when Burckhardt travelled in the neighbourhood of Lebanon, in 1810, "every vine, if of good quality, was accounted worth a piastre, or one shilling sterling to the proprietor."[d]

As for flower-gardens, although they are not minutely described in Scripture, they have always been in high request in the East. The vivid colours of the flowers, and their agreeable smell, have made them to be much cultivated: whilst by collecting them to adorn their chambers, or using them as ornaments of dress, they sweetened the air of their apartments, and counteracted the effects of profuse perspiration. Hence, the bridegroom is said to recline on beds of spices, and dwell

[a] Matth. xxi. 34. [b] Cant. viii. 11, 12. [c] Travels, p. 144.
[d] Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, p. 29.

among the lilies, in Cant. ii. 16; vi. 2, 3; the spouse invites him to these delightful retreats, Cant. ii. 10—13; and in Cant. iv. 13, 14, we have some of the most esteemed plants in an eastern garden. "Thy plants are an orchard of pomegranates, with pleasant fruits; camphire, with spikenard, spikenard and saffron; calamus and cinnamon, with all trees of frankincense; myrrh and aloes (meaning lign-aloes), with all chief spices." Parkhurst[a] supposes that these gardens, in idolatrous times, were sometimes employed to idolatrous and obscene purposes; and that to these the words of Ezekiel, in ch. xiii. 20, refer.—"Wherefore, thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I am against your pillows (or luxurious cushions), wherewith ye there hunt souls to make them fly" (or rather wherewith ye ensnare souls in the flower-gardens, לפרהות *lephereut*); alluding to the luxurious, idolatrous, and wicked acts performed in the chiosks, or summer houses, in those gardens. It is evident, from the context, that idolatry was practised there; and we may naturally presume on its attendant immodesty. Perhaps אשרה, *Asherè*, or Venus, was the deity to whose impure rites these pretended prophetesses, of whom the prophet speaks in verse 18, decoyed persons to their destruction. Isaiah, in ch. i. 29, lxv. 3, lxvi. 17, mentions such kinds of gardens as we are now speaking of; and Varro[b] informs us, that places of this kind, in which were public stews, were likewise by the Romans called Floralia, or Flower-gardens. To which we may add, that the Ludi Florales, or Floral games, were a part of the Roman religion, ce-

[a] Lex. פרה. [b] De Re Rust. lib. i. c. 23.

lebrated by the direction of the Sybilline oracles, in honour of the goddess Flora, and were appointed by the authority of the state: the chief part of the solemnity in which, as Parkhurst tells us, "was managed by a company of shameless strumpets, who ran up and down naked, sometimes dancing in lascivious postures, and sometimes fighting and acting the mimics." How painful is it, to observe the beauties of nature, and the bounties of Providence converted, by the sensual and corrupted mind, into instruments of sin! And how superior to heathenism is the Christian religion, which inculcates a pure and rational piety!

Orchards and shady walks have always gratified an eastern taste:[a] where the fruits, in rich profusion, everywhere meet the eye; where the air is filled with the most delightful odours; and where the thick branches, whilst they exclude the scorching rays of the sun, produce a pleasing undulation in the air, that fans and refreshes their relaxed frame. Their orchards differ almost entirely, however, from ours in the nature of the trees cultivated; for they abound in apple-trees, cassia, cinnamon, citron, date or palm-trees, fig, hazel or pistachio, olive, pomegranate, &c. while their groves are adorned with the almond, ling-aloe, ash, box, cedar, chesnut, cypress, fir, hyssop, juniper, mallow, mulberry, myrtle, oak, oil-tree, pine, poplar, shitah or shittim, sycamore, willow, and a number of others which are not known in more northerly latitudes. In Cant. iv. 13, we have mention of an orchard of pomegranates; and in 2 Esdras xvi. 29, of an orchard of olives; but, in general, a va-

[a] Eccl. ii. 5.

riety of kinds were brought together, in order to augment the beauty of the place.

In whatever way, however, they laid out their gardens, and other inclosures, it was accounted necessary to fence them completely against the depredations of thieves, and the injuries of foxes and jackalls. And, as many of the elevated parts of Judea were devoted to gardens and vineyards, one of the most common fences in such situations, was loose stones in parallel rows, along the sides of the hills, described thus by Maundrell (25th March 1696): "It is obvious," says he, "that the rocks and hills, which appear now so barren, were anciently covered with earth, and cultivated. For this purpose they gathered up the stones, and placed them in several lines along the sides of the mountains, in the form of walls, and by these borders, supported the mould from tumbling, or being washed down; forming many beds of excellent soil, gradually rising one above another, from the bottom to the top of the mountains; a form of culture, of which evident footsteps are to be seen in all the mountains of Palestine. The hills, though improper for any cattle but goats, being disposed in the above-mentioned beds, served very well for bearing corn, melons, gourds, cucumbers, and other vegetables, which are the chief food of these countries for several months of the year. And the most rocky parts, that could not be made to produce corn, might serve for vines and olive-trees, which delight in such dry and flinty places." When Dr. Clarke visited Judea in 1801, he described the journey from Naplous (or Sichem, the ancient capital of Samaria) to Jerusalem, as pre-

senting a striking feature of high cultivation. The limestone hills, and stony valleys were covered with plantations of figs, vines, and olives; and even the most rugged mountains were rendered productive, by being formed into terraces. He viewed it, in short, as "the Eden of the East;" and conceived it as clearly showing, that the Holy Land, if everywhere equally improved, would be indeed a land of abundunce. Captain Light[a] says, "that the cultivation between St. Jeremiah and Jerusalem, in 1814, was generally vine, planted in terraces formed on the sides by walls made of loose stones, or by the natural strata of the soil:" and when ascending Mount Lebanon, he "passed vineyards, plantations of mulberry, olive, and fig-trees, cultivated on terraces formed by walls, which supported the earth from being washed away by the rains, from the sides of the acclivities."

This mode of cultivating the soil is not, however, confined to Judea, for Major Turner, who travelled through Bootan in 1783, says, that "almost every favoured aspect of the hills, which is coated with the smallest quantity of soil, is cleared, and adapted to cultivation, by being shelved into horizontal beds; not a slope, or narrow slip of land between the ridges, lies unimproved."[b] Dr. Hamilton mentions the same mode of agriculture in Nepaul;[c] and Du Halde in China.[d] The Honourable Mr. Elphinstone, also, in his ac-

[a] Travels in the Holy Land, p. 151, 219, 227.

[b] Murray's Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Asia, book iii. ch. 2. [c] Murray, book iii. ch. 3. [d] Tom. i. p. 100; ii. p. 77.

count of the kingdom of Cabul,[a] tells us, that "almost the whole of the cultivation on the steep hills of Otmaunkhail is carried on on terraces rising above each other." The same thing, he informs us, is done in the country under Sreenuggur, where the walls are from three to ten feet high, and the terraces about five yards broad. "The walls are soon concealed by grass and other vegetation; and, as they are never straight, but consult the bends in the surface of the hills, the effect is pleasing and picturesque."

These, then, were the fences in mountainous situations (as they are to-day in Tuscany and Lombardy);[b] but, in deeper soils and level grounds, hedges of ten handbreadths in height at the least, were preferred.[c] Rauwolff tells us, that about Tripoli the common fences are of rhamnus, paliurus, oxyacantha, phillyrea, lycium, balaustium, rubus, and dwarf palm-trees.[d] Lady Mary W. Montagu says, that at Tunis "their vineyards and melon-fields are enclosed by hedges of Indian fig, which is an admirable fence, no wild beast being able to pass it. It grows to a great height, very thick, and the spikes or thorns are as long and sharp as bodkins: it bears a fruit much eaten by the peasants, and which has no ill taste."[e] Hasselquist says,[f] that in Egypt, he saw gardens fenced with the plantain, vine, peach, and mulberry. Doubdan saw a vineyard near Bethlehem strongly enclosed with thorns and rose-bushes, like that mentioned in Micah vii. 4, but intermingled with

[a] Book iii. ch. 1. [b] Chateauvieux, Lettres écrites d'Italie 1812.
[c] Lightfoot's Heb. and Talm. Exer. on Mark xii. 1.
[d] Page 21, 22. [e] Letter 44. [f] Page 111.

pomegranates.[a] Hedges of fig-tree (opuntia) were found by the Baron de Tott between Joppa and Rama:[b] and Mr. Cook, a Westleyan missionary, saw the gardens at Rama, or Arimathea, separated from the road by huge hedges of the prickly pear, a most efficient defence against the strongest cattle.[c] But as these sometimes become open at bottom, and allow admittance to enemies, Rauwolff saw the gardens about Jerusalem surrounded by mud walls, about four feet high:[d] and Egmont and Heyman saw the country about Saphet in Galilee richly improved and enclosed with stone walls.[e] It appears, indeed, that when they wished for perfect security, they both planted a hedge, and built a wall: for it is mentioned in the threatening of God against Israel, under the metaphor of a vineyard, in Is. v. 5, that he would take away the hedge thereof, that it might be eaten up; and break down the wall thereof, that it might be trodden down. On which Vitringa remarks, that the difference in signification between, משוכה, *meshubè*, and גדר, *geder*, is, that the first denotes the other thorny fence or hedge, which was intended to exclude men, and the last, the wall of stones surrounding it, as a defence against beasts. They did not, however, divide fields, unless each could sow nine cabs of seed; nor a garden, unless each division could sow half a cab.[f]

After having enclosed the ground, and planted it with proper trees and seeds, the next concern

[a] Page 154, 155. [b] Part iv. p. 93.
[c] Scottish Miss. Reg. for Dec. 1824, p. 509. [d] Page 336.
[e] Vol. ii. p. 39, 40.
[f] Mishna, Porta ultima, sive codex tertius de Damnis, cap. i. sect. 6.

was to supply it with abundance of water. Hence the mention of trees planted by rivers or rivulets of water,[a] of gardens commended for their plentiful supply of water,[b] and the complaint of the want of it, as destroying the hope of the husbandman.[c] Most people have heard of the irrigation of the lands of Egypt, by the distribution of the waters of the Nile;[d] and all who are acquainted with the horticulture of Judea, and of the East, know that waters are distributed to the different trees, shrubs, and plants, according to their several necessities.[e] Hence the conduit in the garden, mentioned in Ecclus. xxiv. 30; and the words of Ezekiel[f] respecting the Assyrian empire, when he says of it, that "the deep," meaning thereby either the sea, from whence all moisture ultimately comes, or the tanks for containing rain water, "set him up on high with her rivers, running round about his plants, and sent out her little rivers unto all the trees of the field:" thereby intimating, that the providence of God had made it great, and its subjects prosperous. But Maundrell on this subject will be the best interpreter. "The best sight," says he,[g] "that the palace (of the Emir of Beroot, anciently Berytus,) affords, and the worthiest to be remembered, is the orange garden. It contains a large quadrangular plat of ground, divided into sixteen lesser squares, four in a row, with walks between them. The walks are shaded with orange-trees, of a large spreading size. Every one of these

[a] Ps. i. 3. Is. xliv. 4. Numb. xxiv. 6. Jer. xvii. 5—8.
[b] Is lviii. 11. Jer. xxxi. 12. Ezek. xix. 10.
[c] Job xxviii. 4. Is. i. 30. [d] Deut. xi. 10.
[e] Uda mobilibus pomaria rivis. Horat. Carm. i. 7.
[f] Ch. xxxi. 4. [g] Page 3[6].

sixteen lesser squares in the garden, was bordered with stone; and in the stone-work were troughs, very artificially contrived, for conveying the water all over the garden; there being little outlets cut at every tree, for the stream, as it passed by, to flow out and water it." Every one must see how effectually this would correct the heat of the climate and give a luxuriant vegetation to all within, while the grounds without were parched with drought; and the classical reader will here recollect the garden of Alcinous, king of Phæacia.[a] The following extract from Maundrell, may give a tolerable idea of the appearance of the country around Jerusalem, or any great city in the East, where they had abundance of water. "Damascus," says he,[b] "is encompassed with gardens, extending no less, according to common estimation, than thirty miles round, which makes it look like a city in a vast wood. The gardens are thick set with fruit trees of all kinds, kept fresh and verdant by the waters of Barrady, (the Chrysorrhoas of the ancients,) which supply both the gardens and city in great abundance. This river, as it issues from between the clefts of the mountain (of Antilibanus) into the plain, is immediately divided into three streams, of which the middlemost and biggest runs directly to Damascus, and is distributed to all the cisterns and fountains of the city. The other two (which Maundrell takes to be the work of art) are drawn round, one to the right hand, and the other to the left, on the borders of the gardens, into which they are let, as they pass, by little currents, and so dispersed all over the vast wood: insomuch, that there is not

[a] Odyss. vii. 112—130. [b] Page 122.

a garden but has a fine quick stream running through it. Barrady is almost wholly drunk up by the city and gardens; and what small part of it escapes, is united in one channel again, on the south-east side of the city; and, after about three or four hours' course, finally loses itself in a bog there, without ever arriving at the sea." In short, from this extract it appears that the greatest pains were taken to make the most of every stream that passed through the country; and perhaps they used the same method for enriching the water that the Damascenes did the Barrady, by placing men upon hurdles, and dragging them down the stream, to raise the sediment which had been deposited at the bottom.[a]

When the fruits were ripening, it was usual to defend them from the jackalls, by watching them day and night, in small temporary huts, covered with boughs, straw, turf, or the like materials, for a shelter from the heat by day,[b] and the cold and dews by night.[c] Hence the words of the prophet in Is. i. 8; "The daughter of Zion is left as a cottage in a vineyard (deserted, viz. after the vintage is past,) as a lodge, or temporary hut, in a garden of cucumbers." But besides these temporary huts, they had sometimes elegant towers, ten cubits high at the least, and four broad, for the pleasure of

[a] If the city of Damascus was not so extensive formerly as it is now, there might only have been two branches of the Barrady, as all that were then requisite for watering the extent of country laid out in gardens; and if that was the case, these two streams might have been the Abana and Pharphar, which are so highly praised by Naaman the Syrian, in 2 Kings v. 12; for there are no other rivers of equal magnitude in the country.

[b] Is. iv. 6. [c] Lowth, Is. i. 8, note. Job xxvii. 18.

viewing the surrounding scenery;[a] and chiosks, or arbours, in which they indulged in ease and pleasure. We have one of these arbours thus described by Lady M. W. Montagu. "In the midst of the garden is the chiosk, that is, a large room commonly beautified with a fine fountain in the midst of it. It is raised nine or ten steps, and enclosed with gilded lattices, round which vines, jessamines, and honeysuckles, make a sort of green wall. Large trees are planted round this place, which is the scene of their greatest pleasures."[b] It was perhaps a house of this kind that is mentioned in 2 Kings ix. 27, as the place by which Ahaziah, king of Judah, wished to escape the fury of Jehu: for he is said to have "fled by the way of the garden-house."

We know very little of their manner of managing trees, so as to make them more fruitful; but Lightfoot gives us the following short hints from the Talmud: "They lay dung in their gardens, to moisten and enrich the soil; dig about the roots of their trees; pluck up the suckers; take off the leaves; sprinkle ashes; and apply smoke under the trees to kill vermin."[c] The Jews had also a dispute among themselves, as to the degree of fruitfulness that a tree should have, to make it worth preserving; and their conclusion was, "Cut not down the palm which bears a cab of dates; nor the olive, if it but bear the fourth part of a cab."[d] But as much of the fertility depended on the age of the

[a] Lightfoot's Heb. and Talm. Exer. on Mark xii. 1.
[b] Vol. ii. Lett. 32. Comp. vol. iii. Lett. 43.
[c] Heb. and Talm. Exer. Luke xiii. 8.
[d] Lightf. Heb. and Talm. Exer. Luke xiii. 7.

tree, so this rule only held good, after the end of the third year; when they stigmatised those that were barren, or which gave inconsiderable returns, with a red mark, as a mark of destruction.[a] And hence the words of the proprietor of the vine-yard to the vine-dresser, in the parable of the barren fig-tree.[b] "Behold, these three years I come seeking fruit on this tree, and find none; cut it down; why cumbereth it the ground? It hath ill requited all thy care; has been occupying the place which a more fruitful tree might have occupied; and is hurting others with its noxious shade. It deserves, therefore, to have affixed to it the mark of destruction." The vine-dresser's reply was natural and instructive. "Lord, let it alone for this year also, till I shall dig about it, and dung it; and, if after that additional patience on thy part, and care on mine, it shall bear fruit, well: if not, then after that thou shalt cut it down. I shall no longer plead in its behalf."

It would certainly be desirable to have a calendar of the times when the different fruits ripen in Judea, as it might tend to throw light on several portions of Scripture; but, since that hath not yet appeared, I shall add from Clarke's Harmer, ch. i. ob. 30, one which was kept by an European gentleman at Sheeraz in Persia, 1787.

On the 1st of June, apricots, cherries, apples, greengages, and plums, came into season. On June 19th, musk-melons. On July 6th, black grapes. On July 9th, pears. On July 13th, white grapes, and water-melons; and on July 18th, the

[a] Lightf. Chorog. Cent. of Israel, ch. 98. [b] Luke xiii. 6—9.

Arline plum. On July 20th, apricots, apples, and cherries, went out of season. On July 22d, figs came into season. On Aug. 6th, peaches, and the small white grape called askerie. On Sept. 6th, pomegranates. On Sept. 10th, quinces, and the large red grape called sahibi. On Oct. 4th, the large pear called abbasi. And on Oct. 7th, walnuts.

I shall conclude this account of Jewish horticulture by remarking, that, as hired servants were often employed along with slaves, and the other members of the gardener's family, so a regulated sum was commonly given them in name of wages. Thus, our Lord in one of his parables, tells us of a certain person, who went to the market-place, and hired labourers for a penny a day,[a] or about $7\frac{3}{4}$d. of our money. And when Tobit hired Azarias as his servant, he agreed for a drachm a day, and things necessary, meaning his support, which was also $7\frac{3}{4}$d.:[b] so that a drachm, or denarius, was the common wages of a servant or labourer for a day, consisting of twelve hours: although these did not always form the stipulated length; for, in the Jewish writings, the labourers are said to have wrought from sunrise, till the appearance of the stars, when the urgency of the season required it.[c]

[a] Matth. xx. 2. [b] Tobit v 14.
[c] Lightf. Heb. and Talm. Exer. Matth. xx. 1.

SECT. VIII.

State of Property in Judea.

Pasture in the first stage of society common; arable lands only accounted property while they produced crops; property afterwards, either in the hands of proprietors or occupants; rent, how collected from such; farmers, in the present acceptation of the word, then unknown. Square acres in the land of Judea: proportion to each individual family; something like the feudal system among them; the eldest son's share; methods of acquiring property; checks on selfishness: the effect of the appointment of kings on property. The natural effects of the Jewish institutions on their national character.

In pastoral districts, the soil in the East, as was formerly mentioned, is frequently unappropriated, each shepherd keeping his flock in his present pasture, till necessity obliges him to seek for a better. But they sometimes also hold it for a certain annual consideration, given to the government of the country; as Niebuhr tells us the Arab tribes give, for the privilege of feeding their flocks and herds, in some parts of Arabia, in the neighbourhood of Aleppo, and in the rich plains of Upper Egypt.[a]— As for lands devoted to agriculture, they seem to be held under several kinds of tenure. Thus, some are temporary, but independent; the occupant enjoying the present or succeeding crops, so long as they reward his labour, or suit his convenience. Others hold in perpetuity of some neighbouring chief, either for personal service, or pecuniary consideration. And others pay their proportion of taxes to the state, as the price of their security.

[a] Travels, passim.

These are, properly speaking, the possessing proprietors, who devote their care to the improvement of their estates, and personally superintend them. But there are many, who, from ignorance, indolence, distance, or other avocations, find this personal attendance inconvenient or impossible; and therefore commit the change of their property to some trusty individuals, to manage it for them, on the condition of their retaining a certain proportion of the produce, in lieu of wages.—This is often done in the East, and is hinted at in one of the parables of our Lord; where the proprietor, not of an agricultural farm indeed, but of a vineyard, let it out to husbandmen on his going to a far country; and sent his servants at the proper season to receive the fruits thereof.[a] And in Cant. viii. 12, we are told by Solomon, that he, as proprietor of a vineyard, received five-sixths as proprietor, and gave one-sixth to the husbandmen as wages: a royal remuneration surely, if every thing was found them; but as a general ratio of rent, the reverse of this rule ought to have been adopted.—Accordingly, when Egypt, in the days of Joseph, became the property of Pharaoh, a fifth part of the produce was reckoned sufficient, as rent or tax for the king, and four-fifths were allowed to remain with the possessor, regulated perhaps by the rise of the Nile, as marked on the Nilometer, the invention of which, as of every useful invention, they ascribe to Joseph.[b] According to this, when the Nilometer

[a] Matth. xxi. 33, 34.

[b] See a plate of the Nilometer, or Mikeas, in Bruce's Travels to the Source of the Nile, vol. vi., and in Luigi Mayer's Views in Egypt, from the original drawings in the possession of Sir Robert Ainslie, taken during his Embassy to Constantinople.

marked 18 cubits or upwards, which insured an abundant crop, a full fifth was exacted; and when it showed a less rise, government was contented with a less proportion. It is rather remarkable, that the same mode of assessment continues in Egypt, at the present day; but what was originally an equitable tax, is now accounted an oppressive one, from the less extent of country irrigated, and the more imperfect manner of doing it. For the rise of the Nile still fixes the quantum of tax, although the canals, which convey the water from the Nile, are not regularly cleared of the mud that is deposited in them; nor are they carried to the same extent as formerly, owing to the insecurity of life and property. Nay, even this rule, oppressive as it is, is rendered sometimes more oppressive still, by the necessities of the Turkish government, as the following extract from Captain Light's Travels[a] will show: "New modes of obtaining money were adopted; all the land of Egypt was at once considered the property of the divan: it was portioned off to the different villages, overseers stationed to be answerable for its cultivation, the produce divided into a certain number of parts, of which, one-fifth remained to the community, and the rest was at the disposal of the pasha; the same demands were made in bad as in good seasons."

In the Mishna, we have ten cases regulating the relations between proprietor and tenant. The 1st is, Where the tenant was restrained from any alteration in the rotation which had formerly been used. The 2d, Where he was disappointed in the

[a] Page 33.

quality of the soil, and command of water. The 3d regards the loss which the proprietor sustained, from the tenant's leaving the ground in an unworkmanlike state. The 4th, Where the tenant, during his occupancy, had been careless to extirpate weeds. The 5th, Where he was bound to carry on the usual management, even when he could have altered it for a better. The 6th, Where he was entitled to a reduction of rent, when his crops were injured by locusts or blasting. The 7th, Where he was bound to pay his rent from the produce of the farm, even though of inferior quality; but prohibited from buying bad grain for rent, when his grounds produced good. The 8th, When he was prohibited from sowing wheat, if he had contracted only for barley: but he might sow barley, although he had contracted for wheat. The 9th, Where, when the lease being for a short time, he was prohibited from sowing lint, or using the sucklings of the sycamore for roofs to houses: but if it lasted for seven years, he might sow lint the first year, and make use of the sycamores. The 10th regulated the lease as to the sabbatical year; thus, if seven hundred zuzes were the rent for seven years, it meant only six; but if paid for seven years, it meant eight.[a]

I am not certain, however, that farmers, according to the present acceptation of the term, held any place in the ancient modes of occupying land; but if they did, it is easy to see that they could neither be so general, nor so respectable, as they are at present. They are the connecting link of the rich and the poor, and only thrive where there is mutual confidence, and the feeling of many wants; where the law gives security to life and

[a] Porta Secunda, sive Codex Secundus de Damnis, cap. ix.

property; where knowledge directs to judicious management, and commerce creates a floating capital. But we must not overlook the peculiar tenure, by which property was held in the land of Judea. A space of ground, about 200 miles long by 100 miles broad, was divided among twelve tribes, consisting of 2,035,441 individuals, assuming the number at the banks of Jordan as the average population of the Jewish nation.[a] But these 200 miles long by 100 miles broad give 20,000 square miles, which, multiplied by 3,097,600, the square yards in a mile, (for 1760 multiplied into 1760 gives that result,) gives us 61,952,000,000 as the square yards in the land of Canaan; and this divided by 4840, the number of square yards in an English acre, gives 12,800,000 as the number of English acres in Canaan. Now let us divide these by 2,058,474, or the number of souls constituting the Jewish population, and we have six English acres, thirty-four poles, to each individual: or if we suppose five persons to every family, it gives thirty acres, four roods, and ten poles, to each family, making no distinction of soil, and allowing every inch of Canaan to be appropriated.

We are, indeed, unacquainted with the proportions into which the lands of each tribe were divided, but it would appear to have been somewhat on the principle of the feudal system, where rulers

[a] When the Israelites were numbered at Jordan, there were 601,730 males, above twenty years of age (Num. xxvi. 51.); and of course, an equal number of females, so that the total, above twenty years of age, was 1,203,460. Let us see then, what proportion these bore to the whole population. By Dr. Halley's table, calculated from the Bills of Mortality at Breslaw in Silesia, of 1000 children born, only 598 reached the age of twenty. If then 598 at twenty years of age give 1000 at the birth, 1,203,460 at twenty years of age will give 2,012,474 at the birth. But to these must be added the males of the Levites of a month old, 23,000 (Num. xxvi. 62.); and an equal number of females, making together 46,000. So that the whole will amount to 2,058,474, as stated in the text.

of thousands got more than rulers of hundreds; and rulers of fifties more than rulers of tens, because they had more retainers. For although their power was partly judicial, by their appointment to preside in courts of justice; yet that power seems to have been given them, as the natural heads of the community, on account of their birth and affluence. The eldest son, by law, was entitled to a double share of his father's effects, which seems to have been confined to the moveable property; for had the heritable property been capable of division, it would soon have dwindled into nothing. The portion of the eldest son, therefore, seems to have been all the heritable property in land, and a double share of the moveables; but he would acquire more in the course of time, by the reversion of property on the extinction of heirs, and by conquest through marriage. Yet although the law favoured heritable succession, or conquest by marriage, it placed a barrier against the encroachments of avarice, and the oppression of the poor, by the appointment of the jubilee; at which every person who had mortgaged his property, had it restored to himself, or his family, without recourse to legal process. The only deviation from the general law, seems to have been in the case of kings, to whom a certain extent of territory was either assigned, or seized upon for pasturage, agriculture, and vineyards. They had naturally a large establishment, and these were supported partly from this fund, and partly by direct taxes upon the people. Accordingly, Samuel warned them of this when they wished for a king;[a] and we find the kings afterwards acting upon it.

Indeed, it is difficult to say how long heritable property remained regularly divided among them,

[a] 1 Sam. viii. 11—17.

for the jubilees are understood to have been soon neglected, and the concentrating principle of self-interest would therefore acquire a double force. Perhaps we may date it from the introduction of the kingly government, for the state of Judea, under the judges, was a kind of aristocracy, where property was preserved by the balance of power among the contending parties, and the erection of a divine dictatorship. But when kings appeared, they felt wants; their favourites wished for wealth;[a] and the invasion of property, which was introduced by the sovereign, extended to the subject, till the captivity; after which, the original agrarian law seems to have been entirely laid aside, and a new division, according to circumstances, took place. There were several things, however, in the political state of Judea, which enabled property to have an effect on character. Thus, the equal division of property, while it lasted, would produce an attachment to the soil, because their residence was their own; had descended to them through a long train of ancestors; and was rendered sacred by the shades of their fathers, and the endearing recollections of early youth. While being but small in extent, they would naturally be forced to make the most of it for their family, and would acquire those industrious and virtuous habits, which competence without luxury naturally produces. Nor could patriotism and piety fail to spring from, or be fostered by, their peculiar institutions; and it would have been happy for them, if the wise provisions of heaven had been observed, which were intended to render them a distinct people. They would have ceased to imitate the evil practices of the heathen, and might thus have avoided those national calamities, which have so much attracted the attention of historians.

[a] Ezek. xlvi. 16—18.

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